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OF
JOHN LOCKE, Eſq;

In THREE VOLUMES.

The SIXTH EDITION.

To which is added,
The LIFE of the AUTHOR;
AND
A COLLECTION of ſeveral of his PIECES publiſhed
by Mr. DESMAIZEAUX.

VOL. III.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING EDUCATION.

TO

EDWARD CLARKE *of* Chipley, *Eſq*;

SIR,

THESE thoughts concerning education, which now come abroad into the world, do of right belong to you, being written ſeveral years ſince for your ſake, and are no other than what you have already by you in my letters. I have ſo little varied any thing, but only the order of what was ſent you, at different times, and on ſeveral occaſions, that the reader will eaſily find, in the familiarity and faſhion of the ſtyle, that they were rather the private converſation of two friends, than a diſcourſe deſigned for publick view.

The importunity of friends is the common apology for publications men are afraid to own themſelves forward to. But you know, I can truly ſay, that if ſome, who having heard of theſe papers of mine, had not preſſed to ſee them, and afterwards to have them printed, they had lain dormant ſtill, in that privacy they were deſigned for. But thoſe, whoſe judgment I defer much to, telling me, that they were perſuaded, that this rough draught of mine might be of ſome uſe, if made more publick, touch'd upon what will always be very prevalent with me. For I think it every man's indiſpenſable duty, to do all the ſervice he can to his country: and I ſee not what difference he puts between himſelf and his cattle, who lives without that thought. This ſubject is of ſo great concernment, and a right way of education is of ſo general advantage, that did I find my abilities anſwer my wiſhes, I ſhould not have needed exhortations, or importunities, from others. However, the meanneſs of theſe papers, and my juſt diſtruſt of them, ſhall not keep me, by the ſhame of doing ſo little, from contributing my mite, when there is no more required of me, than my throwing it into the publick receptacle. And if there be any more of their ſize and notions, who liked them ſo well, that they thought them worth printing, I may flatter myſelf, they will not be loſt labour to every body.

I myſelf have been conſulted of late by ſo many, who profeſs themſelves at a loſs how to breed their children; and the early corruption of youth is now become ſo general a complaint, that he cannot be thought wholly impertinent, who brings the conſideration of this matter on the ſtage, and offers ſomething, if it be but to excite others, or afford matter of correction. For errors in education ſhould be leſs indulged than any: theſe, like faults in the firſt concoction, that are never mended in the ſecond or third, carry their afterwards-incorrigible taint with them, thro' all the parts and ſtations of life.

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I am

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I am ſo far from being conceited of any thing I have here offered, that I ſhould not be ſorry, even for your ſake, if ſome one, abler and fitter for ſuch a taſk, would, in a juſt treatiſe of education, ſuited to our Engliſh gentry, rectify the miſtakes I have made in this; it being much more deſirable to me, that young gentlemen ſhould be put into (that which every one ought to be ſolicitous about) the beſt way of being formed and inſtructed, than that my opinion ſhould be received concerning it. You will however, in the mean time, bear me witneſs, that the method here propos'd has had no ordinary effects upon a gentleman's ſon it was not deſigned for. I will not ſay, the good temper of the child did not very much contribute to it; but this, I think, you and the parents are ſatisfied of, that a contrary uſage, according to the ordinary diſciplining of children, would not have mended that temper, nor have brought him to be in love with his book, to take a pleaſure in learning, and to deſire, as he does, to be taught, more than thoſe about him think fit always to teach him.

But my buſineſs is not to recommend this treatiſe to you, whoſe opinion of it I know already; nor it to the world, either by your opinion or patronage. The well-educating of their children is ſo much the duty and concern of parents, and the welfare and proſperity of the nation ſo much depends on it, that I would have every one lay it ſeriouſly to heart; and after having well examined and diſtinguiſhed what fancy, cuſtom, or reaſon, adviſes in the caſe, ſet his helping hand to promote, every-where, that way of training up youth, with regard to their ſeveral conditions, which is the eaſieſt, ſhorteſt, and likelieſt to produce virtuous, uſeful, and able men in their diſtinct callings: tho' that moſt to be taken care of, is the gentleman's calling. For if thoſe of that rank are, by their education, once ſet right, they will quickly bring all the reſt into order.

I know not whether I have done more than ſhewn my good wiſhes towards it, in this ſhort diſcourſe; ſuch as it is, the world now has it; and if there be any thing in it worth their acceptance, they owe their thanks to you for it. My affection to you gave the firſt riſe to it, and I am pleaſed, that I can leave to poſterity this mark of the friendſhip has been between us. For I know no greater pleaſure in this life, nor a better remembrance to be left behind one, than a long continued friendſhip, with an honeſt, uſeful, and worthy man, and lover of his country. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and moſt faithful Servant,

7 March
1690.

JOHN LOCKE.

SOME
THOUGHTS
CONCERNING
EDUCATION.

§ 1. "A SOUND mind in a ſound body," is a ſhort, but full deſcription of a happy ſtate in this world: he that has theſe two, has little more to wiſh for; and he that wants either of them, will be but little the better for any thing elſe. Men's happineſs, or miſery, is moſt part of their own making. He whoſe mind directs not wiſely, will never take the right way; and he whoſe body is crazy and feeble, will never be able to advance in it. I confeſs, there are ſome men's conſtitutions of body and mind ſo vigorous, and well framed by nature, that they need not much aſſiſtance from others; but by the ſtrength of their natural genius, they are, from their cradles, carried towards what is excellent; and, by the privilege of their happy conſtitutions, are able to do wonders. But examples of this kind are but few; and I think I may ſay, that, of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, uſeful or not, by their education. 'Tis that which makes the great difference in mankind. The little, or almoſt inſenſible, impreſſions on our tender infancies, have very important and laſting conſequences: and there 'tis, as in the fountains of ſome rivers, where a gentle application of the hand turns the flexible waters into channels, that make them take quite contrary courſes; and by this little direction, given them at firſt, in the ſource, they receive different tendencies, and arrive at laſt at very remote and diſtant places.

§ 2. I IMAGINE the minds of children, are as eaſily turned, this or that way, as water itſelf; and though this be the principal part, and our main care ſhould be about the inſide, yet the clay cottage is not to be neglected. I ſhall therefore begin with the caſe, and conſider firſt the health of the body, as that which Health. perhaps you may rather expect, from that ſtudy I have been thought more peculiarly to have applied myſelf to; and that alſo, which will be ſooneſt diſpatch'd, as lying, if I gueſs not amiſs, in a very little compaſs.

§ 3. How neceſſary health is to our buſineſs and happineſs: and how requiſite a ſtrong conſtitution, able to endure hardſhips and fatigue, is, to one that will make any figure in the world; is too obvious to need any proof.

§ 4. THE conſideration I ſhall here have, of health, ſhall be, not what a phyſician ought to do, with a ſick or crazy child; but what the parents, without the help of phyſick, ſhould do for the preſervation and improvement of an healthy, or at leaſt, not ſickly conſtitution, in their children: and this perhaps might be all diſpatched in this one ſhort rule, viz. "That gentlemen ſhould uſe their chil-

Health.

“ dren, as the honeſt farmers and ſubſtantial yeomen do theirs.” But becauſe the mothers, poſſibly, may think this a little too hard, and the fathers, too ſhort, I ſhall explain myſelf more particularly; only laying down this, as a general and certain obſervation for the women to conſider, viz. that moſt children's conſtitutions are either ſpoiled, or at leaſt harmed, by cockering and tenderneſs.

Tenderneſs.

Warmth.

§ 5. THE firſt thing to be taken care of, is, that children be not too warmly clad or cover'd, winter or ſummer. The face, when we are born, is no leſs tender than any other part of the body: 'tis uſe alone hardens it, and makes it more able to endure the cold. And therefore the Scythian philoſopher gave a very ſignificant anſwer to the Athenian, who wonder'd how he could go naked in froſt and ſnow: “ How, ſaid the Scythian, can you endure your face expoſed to the ſharp “ winter air?” “ My face is uſed to it,” ſaid the Athenian. “ Think me all “ face,” replied the Scythian. Our bodies will endure any thing, that from the beginning they are accuſtomed to.

AN eminent inſtance of this, though in the contrary exceſs of heat, being to our preſent purpoſe, to ſhew what uſe can do, I ſhall ſet down in the author's words, as I meet with it in a late ingenious voyage. * ‘ The heats, ſays he, are ‘ more violent in Malta, than in any part of Europe; they exceed thoſe of Rome ‘ itſelf, and are perfectly ſtifling; and ſo much the more, becauſe there are ſel‘ dom any cooling breezes here. This makes the common people as black as ‘ gypſies: but yet the peaſants defy the ſun; they work on, in the hotteſt part ‘ of the day, without intermiſſion, or ſheltering themſelves from his ſcorching ‘ rays. This has convinced me that nature can bring itſelf to many things, which ‘ ſeem impoſſible, provided we accuſtom ourſelves from our infancy. The Mal‘ teſes do ſo, who harden the bodies of their children, and reconcile them to ‘ the heat, by making them go ſtark naked, without ſhirt, drawers, or any thing ‘ on their head, from their cradles, till they are ten years old.’

* Nouveau voyage du Levant.
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GIVE me leave, therefore, to adviſe you, not to fence too carefully againſt the cold of this our climate: there are thoſe in England, who wear the ſame cloaths winter and ſummer, and that without any inconvenience, or more ſenſe of cold than others find. But if the mother will needs have an allowance for froſt and ſnow, for fear of harm; and the father, for fear of cenſure; be ſure let not his winter-cloathing be too warm: and amongſt other things remember, that when nature has ſo well covered his head with hair, and ſtrengthen'd it with a year or two's age, that he can run about by day without a cap, it is beſt that by night a child ſhould alſo lie without one; there being nothing that more expoſes to head-ach, colds, catarrhs, coughs, and ſeveral other diſeaſes, than keeping the head warm.

§ 6. I HAVE ſaid [he] here, becauſe the principal aim of my diſcourſe is, how a young gentleman ſhould be brought up from his infancy, which in all things will not ſo perfectly ſuit the education of daughters; though, where the difference of ſex requires different treatment, 'twill be no hard matter to diſtinguiſh.

Feet.

§ 7. I WOULD alſo adviſe his feet to be waſh'd every day in cold water; and to have his ſhoes ſo thin, that they might leak and let in water, whenever he comes near it. Here, I fear, I ſhall have the miſtreſs, and maids too, againſt me. One will think it too filthy; and the other, perhaps, too much pains to make clean his ſtockings. But yet truth will have it, that his health is much more worth than all ſuch conſiderations, and ten-times as much more. And he that conſiders how miſchievous and mortal a thing, taking wet in the feet is, to thoſe who have been bred nicely, will wiſh he had, with the poor people's children, gone bare-foot; who, by that means, come to be ſo reconciled by cuſtom, to wet in their feet, that they take no more cold or harm by it, than if they were wet in their hands. And what is it, I pray, that makes this great difference between the hands and the feet in others, but only cuſtom? I doubt not, but if a man from his cradle had been always uſed to go bare-foot, whilſt his hands were conſtantly wrapp'd up in warm mittins, and cover'd with handſhoes, as the Dutch call gloves; I doubt not, I ſay, but ſuch a cuſtom would make taking wet in his hands, as dangerous to him, as now taking wet in their feet is to a great many others. The way to prevent this, is to have his ſhoes made ſo, as to leak water;

Feet.

and his feet waſh'd conſtantly every day in cold water. It is recommendable for its cleanlineſs: but that, which I aim at in it, is health. And therefore I limit it not preciſely to any time of the day. I have known it uſed every night, with very good ſucceſs, and that, all the winter, without the omitting it ſo much as one night, in extreme cold weather; when thick ice cover'd the water, the child bath'd his legs and feet in it; tho' he was of an age not big enough to rub and wipe them himſelf, and when he began this cuſtom, was puleing and very tender. But the great end being to harden thoſe parts, by a frequent and familiar uſe of cold water, and thereby to prevent the miſchiefs, that uſually attend accidental taking wet in the feet, in thoſe who are bred otherwiſe; I think it may be left to the prudence and convenience of the parents, to chuſe either night or morning. The time I deem indifferent, ſo the thing be effectually done. The health and hardineſs procured by it, would be a good purchaſe at a much dearer rate. To which if I add the preventing of corns, that to ſome men would be a very valuable conſideration. But begin firſt in the ſpring with luke-warm, and ſo colder and colder every time, till in a few days you come to perfectly cold water, and then continue it ſo, winter and ſummer. For it is to be obſerv'd in this, as in all other alterations from our ordinary way of living, the changes muſt be made by gentle and inſenſible degrees; and ſo we may bring our bodies to any thing, without pain, and without danger.

Alterations.

How fond mothers are like to receive this doctrine, is not hard to foreſee. What can it be leſs, than to murder their tender babes, to uſe them thus? what! put their feet in cold water in froſt and ſnow, when all one can do is little enough to keep them warm! A little to remove their fears by examples, without which the plaineſt reaſon is ſeldom hearken'd to; Seneca tells us of himſelf, ep. 53. and 83, that he uſed to bathe himſelf in cold ſpring-water in the midſt of winter. This, if he had not thought it not only tolerable, but healthy too, he would ſcarce have done, in an exuberant fortune, that could well have borne the expence of a warm bath; and in an age (for he was then old) that would have excuſed greater indulgence. If we think his ſtoical principles led him to this ſeverity; let it be ſo, that this ſect reconcil'd cold water to his ſufferance: what made it agreeable to his health? for that was not impair'd by this hard uſage. But what ſhall we ſay to Horace, who warm'd not himſelf with the reputation of any ſect, and leaſt of all affected ſtoical auſterities? yet he aſſures us, he was wont in the winter ſeaſon to bathe himſelf in cold water. But perhaps Italy will be thought much warmer than England, and the chillneſs of their waters not to come near ours in winter. If the rivers of Italy are warmer, thoſe of Germany and Poland are much colder, than any in this our country; and yet in theſe, the Jews, both men and women, bathe all over, at all ſeaſons of the year, without any prejudice to their health. And every one is not apt to believe it is miracle, or any peculiar virtue of St. Winifred's well, that makes the cold waters of that famous ſpring do no harm to the tender bodies that bathe in it. Every one is now full of the miracles done, by cold baths, on decay'd and weak conſtitutions, for the recovery of health and ſtrength; and therefore they cannot be impracticable, or intolerable, for the improving and hardening the bodies of thoſe, who are in better circumſtances.

If theſe examples of grown men be not thought yet to reach the caſe of children, but that they may be judg'd ſtill to be too tender and unable to bear ſuch uſage; let them examine what the Germans of old, and the Iriſh now do to them; and they will find that infants too, as tender as they are thought, may, without any danger, endure bathing, not only of their feet, but of their whole bodies in cold water. And there are, at this day, ladies in the highlands of Scotland, who uſe this diſcipline to their children, in the midſt of winter; and find that cold water does them no harm, even when there is ice in it.

Swimming.

§ 8. I SHALL not need here to mention ſwimming, when he is of an age able to learn, and has any one to teach him. 'Tis that ſaves many a man's life: and the Romans thought it ſo neceſſary, that they rank'd it with letters; and it was the common phraſe to mark one ill educated, and good for nothing; that he had neither learn'd to read, nor to ſwim. "Nec literas didicit, nec "natare."

Swimming.

"nature." But beſides the gaining a ſkill, which may ſerve him at need, the advantages to health, by often bathing in cold water, during the heat of ſummer, are ſo many, that I think nothing need to be ſaid to encourage it, provided this one caution be uſed, that he never go into the water, when exerciſe has at all warm'd him, or left any emotion in his blood or pulſe.

Air.

§ 9. ANOTHER thing, that is of great advantage to every one's health, but eſpecially children's, is, to be much in the open air, and very little, as may be, by the fire, even in winter. By this he will accuſtom himſelf alſo to heat and cold, ſhine and rain; all which if a man's body will not endure, it will ſerve him to very little purpoſe in this world: and when he is grown up, it is too late to begin to uſe him to it: it muſt be got early and by degrees. Thus the body may be brought to bear almoſt any thing. If I ſhould adviſe him to play in the wind and ſun without a hat, I doubt whether it could be borne. There would a thouſand objections be made againſt it, which at laſt would amount to no more, in truth, than being ſun-burnt. And if my young maſter be to be kept always in the ſhade, and never expoſed to the ſun and wind, for fear of his complexion, it may be a good way to make him a beau, but not a man of buſineſs. And although greater regard be to be had to beauty in the daughters, yet I will take the liberty to ſay, that the more they are in the air, without prejudices to their faces, the ſtronger and healthier they will be; and the nearer they come to the hardſhips of their brothers in their education, the greater advantage will they receive from it, all the remaining part of their lives.

§ 10. PLAYING in the open air has but this one danger in it, that I know; and that is, that when he is hot with running up and down, he ſhould ſit or lie down on the cold or moiſt earth. This, I grant, and drinking cold drink, when they are hot with labour or exerciſe, brings more people to the grave, or to the brink of it, by fevers, and other diſeaſes, than any thing I know. Theſe miſchiefs are eaſily enough prevented, whilſt he is little, being then ſeldom out of ſight. And if during his childhood, he be conſtantly and rigorouſly kept from ſitting on the ground, or drinking any cold liquor whilſt he is hot, the cuſtom of forbearing, grown into a habit, will help much to preſerve him, when he is no longer under his maid's or tutor's eye. This is all I think can be done in the caſe. For, as years increaſe, liberty muſt come with them; and, in a great many things, he muſt be truſted to his own conduct, ſince there cannot always be a guard upon him; except what you put into his own mind, by good principles and eſtabliſh'd habits, which is the beſt and ſureſt, and therefore moſt to be taken care of. For, from repeated cautions and rules, ever ſo often inculcated, you are not to expect any thing, either in this, or any other caſe, farther than practice has eſtabliſh'd them into habits.

Habits.

Cloaths.

§ 11. ONE thing the mention of the girls brings into my mind, which muſt not be forgot; and that is, that your ſon's cloaths be never made ſtrait, eſpecially about the breaſt. Let nature have ſcope to faſhion the body, as ſhe thinks beſt. She works of herſelf a great deal better and exacter, than we can direct her. And if women were themſelves to frame the bodies of their children in their wombs, as they often endeavour to mend their ſhapes, when they are out, we ſhould as certainly have no perfect children born, as we have few well-ſhap'd, that are ſtrait-laced, or much tamper'd with. This conſideration ſhould methinks keep buſy people (I will not ſay ignorant nurſes and bodice-makers) from medling in a matter they underſtand not; and they ſhould be afraid to put nature out of her way, in faſhioning the parts, when they know not how the leaſt, and meaneſt is made. And yet I have ſeen ſo many inſtances of children, receiving great harm from ſtrait-lacing, that I cannot but conclude, there are other creatures, as well as monkeys, who, little wiſer than they, deſtroy their young ones, by ſenſeleſs fondneſs, and too much embracing.

§ 12. NARROW breaſts, ſhort and ſtinking breath, ill lungs, and crookedneſs, are the natural and almoſt conſtant effects of hard bodice, and cloaths that pinch. That way of making ſlender waiſts, and fine ſhapes, ſerves but the more effectually to ſpoil them. Nor can there, indeed, but be diſproportion in the parts, when the nouriſhment, prepared in the ſeveral offices of the body, cannot be diſtributed,

diſtributed, as nature deſigns. And therefore, what wonder is it, if, it being laid where it can, on ſome part not ſo braced, it often makes a ſhoulder, or a hip, higher or bigger than its juſt proportion? 'tis generally known, that the women of China, (imagining I know not what kind of beauty in it) by bracing and binding them hard from their infancy, have very little feet. I ſaw lately a pair of China ſhoes, which I was told were for a grown woman; they were ſo exceedingly diſproportion'd to the feet of one of the ſame age, amongſt us, that they would ſcarce have been big enough for one of our little girls. Beſides this, 'tis obſerv'd that their women are alſo very little, and ſhort-liv'd; whereas the men are of the ordinary ſtature of other men, and live to a proportionable age. Theſe defects in the female ſex of that country, are by ſome imputed to the unreaſonable binding of their feet; whereby the free circulation of the blood is hindered, and the growth and health of the whole body ſuffers. And how often do we ſee, that ſome ſmall part of the foot being injur'd, by a wrench or a blow, the whole leg or thigh thereby loſes its ſtrength and nouriſhment, and dwindles away? how much greater inconveniencies may we expect, when the thorax, wherein is placed the heart and ſeat of life, is unnaturally compreſſed, and hindered from its due expanſion?

§ 13. As for his diet, it ought to be very plain and ſimple; and, if I might adviſe, fleſh ſhould be forborn, as long as he is in coats, or at leaſt till he is two or three years old. But whatever advantage this may be, to his preſent and future health and ſtrength, I fear it will hardly be conſented to, by parents, miſled by the cuſtom of eating too much fleſh themſelves; who will be apt to think their children, as they do themſelves, in danger to be ſtarved, if they have not fleſh, at leaſt twice a day. This I am ſure, children would breed their teeth with much leſs danger, be freer from diſeaſes, whilſt they were little, and lay the foundations of an healthy and ſtrong conſtitution much ſurer, if they were not cram'd, ſo much as they are, by fond mothers and fooliſh ſervants, and were kept wholly from fleſh, the firſt three or four years of their lives. Diet.

But if my young maſter muſt needs have fleſh, let it be but once a day, and of one ſort, at a meal. Plain beef, mutton, veal, &c. without other ſauce than hunger, is beſt: and great care ſhould be uſed, that he eat bread plentifully, both alone and with every thing elſe. And whatever he eats, that is ſolid, make him chew it well. We Engliſh are often negligent herein; from whence follows indigeſtion, and other great inconveniencies.

§ 14. For breakfaſt and ſupper, milk, milk-pottage, water-gruel, flummery, and twenty other things, that we are wont to make in England, are very fit for children: only, in all theſe let care be taken, that they be plain, and without much mixture, and very ſparingly ſeaſon'd with ſugar, or rather none at all: eſpecially all ſpice, and other things, that may heat the blood, are carefully to be avoided. Be ſparing alſo of ſalt, in the ſeaſoning of all his victuals, and uſe him not to high-ſeaſon'd meats. Our palates grow into a reliſh, and liking of the ſeaſoning and cookery, which by cuſtom they are ſet to; and an over-much uſe of ſalt, beſides that it occaſions thirſt, and over-much drinking, has other ill effects upon the body. I ſhould think that a good piece of well-made and well-baked brown bread, ſometimes with, and ſometimes without, butter or cheeſe, would be often the beſt breakfaſt for my young maſter. I am ſure 'tis as wholeſome, and will make him as ſtrong a man as greater delicacies; and if he be uſed to it, it will be as pleaſant to him. If he at any time calls for victuals between meals, uſe him to nothing but dry bread. If he be hungry, more than wanton, bread alone will down; and if he be not hungry, 'tis not fit he ſhould eat. By this you will obtain two good effects: 1. That by cuſtom he will come to be in love with bread; for as I ſaid, our palates and ſtomachs too are pleaſed with the things we are uſed to. Another good you will gain hereby is, That you will not teach him to eat more, nor oftner than nature requires. I do not think that all people's appetites are alike: ſome have naturally ſtronger, and ſome weaker ſtomachs. But this I think, that many are made gormands and gluttons by cuſtom, that were not ſo by nature: and I ſee, in ſome countries, men as luſty and ſtrong, that eat but two meals a day, as others that have ſet their ſto-

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Diet. machs by a conſtant uſage, like larums, to call on them for four or five. The Romans uſually faſted till ſupper; the only ſet meal, even of thoſe who ate more than once a day: and thoſe who uſed breakfaſts, as ſome did at eight, ſome at ten, others at twelve of the clock, and ſome later, neither ate fleſh, nor had any thing made ready for them. *Auguſtus*, when the greateſt monarch on the earth, tells us, he took a bit of dry bread in his chariot. And Seneca in his 83d epiſtle, giving an account how he managed himſelf, even when he was old, and his age permitted indulgence, ſays, that he uſed to eat a piece of dry bread for his dinner, without the formality of ſitting to it: tho' his eſtate would have as well paid for a better meal (had health requir'd it) as any ſubject's in England, were it doubled. The maſters of the world were bred up with this ſpare diet: and the young gentlemen of Rome felt no want of ſtrength or ſpirit, becauſe they ate but once a day. Or if it happen'd by chance, that any one could not faſt ſo long, as till ſupper, their only ſet meal; he took nothing but a bit of dry bread, or at moſt a few raiſins, or ſome ſuch ſlight thing with it, to ſtay his ſtomach. This part of temperance was found ſo neceſſary, both for health and buſineſs, that the cuſtom of only one meal a day held out againſt that prevailing luxury, which their Eaſtern conqueſts and ſpoils had brought in amongſt them: and thoſe, who had given up their old frugal eating, and made feaſts, yet began them not till the evening. And more than one ſet meal a day, was thought ſo monſtrous, that it was a reproach, as low down as Cæſar's time, to make an entertainment, or ſit down to a full table, till towards ſun-ſet. And therefore, if it would not be thought too ſevere, I ſhould judge it moſt convenient, that my young maſter ſhould have nothing, but bread too for breakfaſt. You cannot imagine of what force cuſtom is: and I impute a great part of our diſeaſes in England, to our eating too much fleſh, and too little bread.

Meals. § 15. As to his meals, I ſhould think it beſt, that, as much as it can be conveniently avoided, they ſhould not be kept conſtantly to an hour. For, when cuſtom hath fix'd his eating to certain ſtated periods, his ſtomach will expect victuals at the uſual hour, and grow peeviſh if he paſſes it; either fretting itſelf into a troubleſome exceſs, or flagging into a downright want of appetite. Therefore I would have no time kept conſtantly to, for his breakfaſt, dinner and ſupper, but rather varied, almoſt every day. And if, betwixt theſe, which I call meals, he will eat, let him have, as often as he calls for it, good dry bread. If any one think this too hard and ſparing a diet for a child, let them know, that a child will never ſtarve, nor dwindle for want of nouriſhment, who, beſides fleſh at dinner, and ſpoon-meat, or ſome ſuch other thing at ſupper, may have good bread and beer, as often as he has a ſtomach: for thus, upon ſecond thoughts, I ſhould judge it beſt for children to be ordered. The morning is generally deſign'd for ſtudy, to which a full ſtomach is but an ill preparation. Dry bread, tho' the beſt nouriſhment, has the leaſt temptation: and no body would have a child cram'd at breakfaſt, who has any regard to his mind or body, and would not have him dull and unhealthy. Nor let any one think this unſuitable to one of eſtate and condition. A gentleman, in any age, ought to be ſo bred, as to be fitted to bear arms, and be a ſoldier. But he that, in this, breeds his ſon ſo, as if he deſign'd him to ſleep over his life, in the plenty and eaſe of a full fortune, he intends to leave him, little conſiders the examples he has ſeen, or the age he lives in.

Drink. § 16. His drink ſhould be only ſmall beer; and that too, he ſhould never be ſuffer'd to have, between meals, but after he had eat a piece of bread. The reaſons why I ſay this, are theſe:

§ 17. 1. MORE fevers and ſurfeits are got by people's drinking, when they are hot, than by any one thing I know. Therefore, if by play he be hot and dry, bread will ill go down; and ſo, if he cannot have drink, but upon that condition, he will be forced to forbear. For, if he be very hot, he ſhould by no means drink. At leaſt, a good piece of bread firſt to be eaten, will gain time to warm the beer blood-hot, which then he may drink ſafely. If he be very dry, it will go down ſo warm'd, and quench his thirſt better: And, if he will not drink it ſo warm'd, abſtaining will not hurt him. Beſides, this will teach him to forbear, which is an habit of greateſt uſe for health of body and mind too. Drink.

§ 18. 2. Not being permitted to drink without eating, will prevent the cuſtom of having the cup often at his noſe; a dangerous beginning and preparation to good-fellowſhip. Men often bring habitual hunger and thirſt on themſelves by cuſtom. And, if you pleaſe to try, you may, though he be weaned from it, bring him by uſe, to ſuch a neceſſity again of drinking in the night, that he will not be able to ſleep without it. It being the lullaby, uſed by nurſes, to ſtill crying children; I believe mothers generally find ſome difficulty to wean their children from drinking in the night, when they firſt take them home. Believe it, cuſtom prevails, as much by day as by night; and you may, if you pleaſe, bring any one to be thirſty every hour.

I once lived in a houſe, where, to appeaſe a froward child, they gave him drink, as often as he cried; ſo that he was conſtantly bibbing: And tho' he could not ſpeak, yet he drank more in twenty-four hours than I did. Try it when you pleaſe, you may with ſmall, as well as with ſtrong beer, drink yourſelf into a drought. The great thing to be minded in education is, what habits you ſettle: Habits. and therefore in this, as all other things, do not begin to make any thing cuſtomary, the practice whereof you would not have continue, and increaſe. It is convenient for health and ſobriety, to drink no more than natural thirſt requires: and he that eats not ſalt meats, nor drinks ſtrong drink, will ſeldom thirſt between meals, unleſs he has been accuſtomed to ſuch unſeaſonable drinking.

§ 19. Above all, take great care that he ſeldom, if ever, taſte any wine, or Strong drink. ſtrong drink. There is nothing ſo ordinarily given children in England, and nothing ſo deſtructive to them. They ought never to drink any ſtrong liquor, but when they need it as a cordial, and the doctor preſcribes it. And in this caſe it is, that ſervants are moſt narrowly to be watched, and moſt ſeverely to be reprehended, when they tranſgreſs. Thoſe mean ſort of people, placing a great part of their happineſs in ſtrong drink, are always forward to make court to my young maſter, by offering him that, which they love beſt themſelves: and finding themſelves made merry by it, they fooliſhly think 'twill do the child no harm. This you are carefully to have your eye upon, and reſtrain with all the ſkill and induſtry you can: there being nothing, that lays a ſurer foundation of miſchief, both to body and mind, than children's being uſed to ſtrong drink; eſpecially to drink in private with the ſervants.

§ 20. Fruit makes one of the moſt difficult chapters in the government of Fruit. health, eſpecially that of children. Our firſt parents ventur'd paradiſe for it: and 'tis no wonder our children cannot ſtand the temptation, though it coſt them their health. The regulation of this cannot come under any one general rule: for I am by no means of their mind, who would keep children almoſt wholly from fruit, as a thing totally unwholeſome for them: by which ſtrict way they make them but the more ravenous after it; and to eat good and bad, ripe or unripe, all that they can get, whenever they come at it. Melons, peaches, moſt ſorts of plums, and all ſorts of grapes in England, I think children ſhould be wholly kept from, as having a very tempting taſte, in a very unwholeſome juice; ſo that, if it were poſſible, they ſhould never ſo much as ſee them, or know there were any ſuch thing. But ſtrawberries, cherries, gooſe-berries, or currans, when thorough ripe, I think may be very ſafely allowed them, and that with a pretty liberal hand, if they be eaten with theſe cautions. 1. Not after meals, as we uſually do, when the ſtomach is already full of other food. But I think they ſhould be eaten rather before, or between meals, and children ſhould have them for their breakfaſts. 2. Bread eaten with them. 3. Perfectly ripe. If they are thus eaten, I imagine them rather conducing, than hurtful, to our health. Summer-fruits, being ſuitable to the hot ſeaſon of the year they come in, refreſh our ſtomachs, languiſhing and fainting under it: and therefore I ſhould not be altogether ſo ſtrict in this point, as ſome are to their children; who being kept ſo very ſhort, inſtead of a moderate quantity of well-choſen fruit, which being allowed them, would content them, whenever they can get looſe, Fruit. looſe, or bribe a ſervant to ſupply them, ſatisfy their longing, with any traſh they can get, and eat to a ſurfeit.

Apples and pears too, which are thorough ripe, and have been gathered ſome time, I think may be ſafely eaten at any time, and in pretty large quantities; eſpecially apples, which never did any body hurt, that I have heard, after October.

Fruits alſo dried without ſugar, I think very wholeſome. But ſweet-meats of all kinds are to be avoided; which, whether they do more harm to the maker or eater, is not eaſy to tell. This I am ſure, it is one of the moſt inconvenient ways of expence, that vanity hath yet found out; and ſo I leave them to the ladies.

Sleep. § 21. Of all that looks ſoft and effeminate, nothing is more to be indulged in children than ſleep. In this alone they are to be permitted to have their full ſatisfaction; nothing contributing more to the growth and health of children, than ſleep. All that is to be regulated in it is, in what part of the twenty-four hours they ſhould take it: which will eaſily be reſolved, by only ſaying, that it is of great uſe to accuſtom them to riſe early in the morning. It is beſt ſo to do, for health: and he that, from his childhood, has by a ſettled cuſtom made riſing betimes eaſy and familiar to him, will not, when he is a man, waſte the beſt and moſt uſeful part of his life in drowzineſs, and lying a-bed. If children therefore are to be called up early in the morning, it will follow of courſe, that they muſt go to bed betimes; whereby they will be accuſtomed to avoid the unhealthy and unſafe hours of debauchery, which are thoſe of the evenings: and they who keep good hours, ſeldom are guilty of any great diſorders. I do not ſay this, as if your ſon, when grown up, ſhould never be in company paſt eight, nor ever chat over a glaſs of wine till midnight. You are now, by the accuſtoming of his tender years, to indiſpoſe him to thoſe inconveniencies as much as you can: and it will be no ſmall advantage, that contrary practice having made ſitting-up uneaſy to him, it will make him often avoid, and very ſeldom propoſe midnight-revels. But if it ſhould not reach ſo far, but faſhion and company ſhould prevail, and make him live, as others do, above twenty, 'tis worth the while to accuſtom him to early riſing and early going to bed, between this and that; for the preſent improvement of his health, and other advantages.

Tho' I have ſaid, a large allowance of ſleep, even as much as they will take, ſhould be made to children when they are little; yet I do not mean, that it ſhould always be continu'd to them, in ſo large a proportion, and they ſuffered to indulge a drowzy lazineſs in their beds, as they grow up bigger. But whether they ſhould begin to be reſtrain'd at ſeven, or ten years old, or any other time, is impoſſible to be preciſely determin'd. Their tempers, ſtrength and conſtitutions muſt be conſidered: But ſome time between ſeven and fourteen, if they are too great lovers of their beds, I think it may be ſeaſonable to begin to reduce them, by degrees, to about eight hours, which is generally reſt enough for healthy grown people. If you have accuſtom'd him, as you ſhould do, to riſe conſtantly very early in the morning, this fault of being too long in bed will eaſily be reformed, and moſt children will be forward enough to ſhorten that time themſelves, by coveting to ſit up with the company at night: tho', if they be not look'd after, they will be apt to take it out in the morning, which ſhould by no means be permitted. They ſhould conſtantly be call'd up, and made to riſe at their early hour; but great care ſhould be taken in waking them, that it be not done haſtily, nor with a loud or ſhrill voice, or any other ſudden violent noiſe. This often affrights children, and does them great harm. And ſound ſleep, thus broke off with ſudden alarms, is apt enough to diſcompoſe any one. When children are to be waken'd out of their ſleep, be ſure to begin with a low call, and ſome gentle motion; and ſo draw them out of it by degrees, and give them none but kind words and uſage, till they are come perfectly to themſelves, and being quite dreſſed, you are ſure they are thoroughly awake. The being forced from their ſleep, how gently ſoever you do it, is pain enough to them: and care ſhould be taken not to add any other uneaſineſs to it, eſpecially ſuch that may terrify them.

Bed. § 22. Let his bed be hard, and rather quilts than feathers. Hard lodging ſtrengthens the parts; whereas being buried every night in feathers, melts and diſſolves

diſſolves the body, is often the cauſe of weakneſs, and the forerunner of an early grave. And, beſides the ſtone, which has often its riſe from this warm wrapping of the reins, ſeveral other indiſpoſitions, and that which is the root of them all, a tender weakly conſtitution, is very much owing to down-beds. Beſides, he that is uſed to hard lodging at home, will not miſs his ſleep (where he has moſt need of it) in his travels abroad, for want of his ſoft bed and his pillows laid in order. And therefore, I think it would not be amiſs, to make his bed after different faſhions; ſometimes lay his head higher, ſometimes lower, that he may not feel every little change he muſt be ſure to meet with, who is not deſign'd to lie always in my young maſter's bed at home, and to have his maid lay all things in print, and tuck him in warm. The great cordial of nature is ſleep. He that miſſes that, will ſuffer by it: and he is very unfortunate, who can take his cordial only in his mother's fine gilt cup, and not in a wooden diſh. He that can ſleep ſoundly, takes the cordial: and it matters not, whether it be on a ſoft bed, or the hard boards. 'Tis ſleep only that is the thing neceſſary. Bed.

§ 23. One thing more there is, which hath a great influence upon the health, and that is, going to ſtool regularly; people that are very looſe, have ſeldom ſtrong thoughts, or ſtrong bodies. But the cure of this, both by diet and medicine, being much more eaſy than the contrary evil, their needs not much to be ſaid about it: for if it come to threaten, either by its violence, or duration, it will ſoon enough, and ſometimes too ſoon, make a phyſician be ſent for: and if it be moderate or ſhort, it is commonly beſt to leave it to nature. On the other ſide, coſtiveneſs has too its ill effects, and is much harder to be dealt with by phyſick; purging medicines, which ſeem to give relief, rather increaſing than removing the evil. Coſtiveneſs.

§ 24. It being an indiſpoſition I had a particular reaſon to enquire into, and not finding the cure of it in books, I ſet my thoughts on work, believing that greater changes than that, might be made in our bodies, if we took the right courſe, and proceeded by rational ſteps.

1. Then I conſidered, that going to ſtool was the effect of certain motions of the body, eſpecially of the periſtaltick motion of the guts.

2. I considered, that ſeveral motions that were not perfectly voluntary, might yet, by uſe and conſtant application, be brought to be habitual, if by an unintermitted cuſtom, they were at certain ſeaſons endeavoured to be conſtantly produced.

3. I had obſerved ſome men, who by taking after ſupper a pipe of tobacco, never failed of a ſtool; and began to doubt with myſelf, whether it were not more cuſtom, than the tobacco, that gave them the benefit of nature; or at leaſt, if the tobacco did it, it was rather by exciting a vigorous motion in the guts, than by any purging quality; for then it would have had other effects.

Having thus once got the opinion, that it was poſſible to make it habitual; the next thing was to conſider, what way and means was the likelieſt to obtain it.

4. Then I gueſſed, that if a man, after his firſt eating in the morning, would preſently ſolicit nature, and try whether he could ſtrain himſelf ſo as to obtain a ſtool, he might in time, by a conſtant application, bring it to be habitual.

§ 25. The reaſons that made me chuſe this time, were:

1. Because the ſtomach being then empty, if it received any thing grateful to it, (for I would never, but in caſe of neceſſity, have any one eat, but what he likes, and when he has an appetite) it was apt to embrace it cloſe by a ſtrong conſtriction of its fibres; which conſtriction, I ſuppoſed, might probably be continued on in the guts, and ſo increaſe their periſtaltick motion; as we ſee in the Ileus, that an inverted motion, being begun any-where below, continues itſelf all the whole length, and makes even the ſtomach obey that irregular motion.

2. Because when men eat, they uſually relax their thoughts; and the ſpirits, then free from other employments, are more vigorouſly diſtributed into the lower belly, which thereby contribute to the ſame effect.

3. Because, whenever men have leiſure to eat, they have leiſure enough alſo to make ſo much court to madam Cloacina, as would be neceſſary to our preſent

Coſtiveneſs.

ſent purpoſe; but elſe, in the variety of human affairs and accidents, it was impoſſible to affix it to any certain hour; whereby the cuſtom would be interrupted: Whereas men in health, ſeldom failing to eat once a day, tho' the hour be changed, the cuſtom might ſtill be preſerved.

§ 26. Upon theſe grounds, the experiment began to be tried, and I have known none, who have been ſteady in the proſecution of it, and taken care to go conſtantly to the neceſſary-houſe, after their firſt eating, whenever that happen'd, whether they found themſelves called on or no, and there endeavour'd to put nature upon her duty, but in a few months they obtained their deſired ſucceſs, and brought themſelves to ſo regular an habit, that they ſeldom ever failed of a ſtool, after their firſt eating, unleſs it were by their own neglect. For, whether they have any motion or no, if they go to the place, and do their part, they are ſure to have nature very obedient.

§ 27. I would therefore adviſe, that this courſe ſhall be taken with a child every day, preſently after he has eaten his breakfaſt. Let him be ſet upon the ſtool, as if diſburdening were as much in his power, as filling his belly; and let not him or his maid know any thing to the contrary, but that it is ſo: and if he be forced to endeavour, by being hinder'd from his play, or eating again till he has been effectually at ſtool, or at leaſt done his utmoſt, I doubt not but in a little while it will become natural to him. For there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that children being uſually intent on their play, and very heedleſs of any thing elſe, often let paſs thoſe motions of nature, when ſhe calls them but gently; and ſo they, neglecting the ſeaſonable offers, do by degrees bring themſelves into an habitual coſtiveneſs. That by this method coſtiveneſs may be prevented, I do more than gueſs: having known, by the conſtant practice of it for ſome time, a child brought to have a ſtool regularly after his breakfaſt, every morning.

§ 28. How far any grown people will think fit to make trial of it, muſt be left to them; tho' I cannot but ſay, that conſidering the many evils that come from that defect, of a requiſite eaſing of nature, I ſcarce know any thing more conducing to the preſervation of health than this is. Once in four and twenty hours, I think is enough; and no body, I gueſs, will think it too much. And by this means it is to be obtained without phyſick, which commonly proves very ineffectual, in the cure of a ſettled and habitual coſtiveneſs.

Phyſick.

§ 29. This is all I have to trouble you with, concerning his management, in the ordinary courſe of his health. Perhaps it will be expected from me, that I ſhould give ſome directions of phyſick, to prevent diſeaſes: for which, I have only this one, very ſacredly to be obſerved: never to give children any phyſick for prevention. The obſervation of what I have already adviſed, will, I ſuppoſe, do that better than the ladies diet-drinks, or apothecary's medicines. Have a great care of tampering that way, leſt, inſtead of preventing, you draw on diſeaſes. Nor even upon every little indiſpoſition is phyſick to be given, or the phyſician to be called to children; eſpecially if he be a buſy man, that will preſently fill their windows with gally-pots, and their ſtomachs with drugs. It is ſafer to leave them wholly to nature, than to put them into the hands of one forward to tamper, or that thinks children are to be cured in ordinary diſtempers, by any thing but diet, or by a method very little diſtant from it; it ſeeming ſuitable both to my reaſon and experience, that the tender conſtitutions of children ſhould have as little done to them as is poſſible, and as the abſolute neceſſity of the caſe requires. A little cold-ſtill'd red poppy-water, which is the true ſurfeit-water, with eaſe and abſtinence from fleſh, often puts an end to ſeveral diſtempers in the beginning, which, by too forward applications, might have been made luſty diſeaſes. When ſuch a gentle treatment will not ſtop the growing miſchief, nor hinder it from turning into a form'd diſeaſe, it will be time to ſeek the advice of ſome ſober and diſcreet phyſician. In this part, I hope, I ſhall find an eaſy belief; and no body can have a pretence to doubt the advice of one, who has ſpent ſome time in the ſtudy of phyſick, when he counſels you not to be too forward in making uſe of phyſick and phyſicians.

§ 30. And thus I have done with what concerns the body and health, which reduces itſelf to theſe few and eaſily obſervable rules. Plenty of open air, exerciſe, and ſleep; plain diet, no wine or ſtrong drink, and very little or no phyſick; not too warm and ſtreight cloathing; eſpecially the head and feet kept cold, and the feet often uſed to cold water, and expoſed to wet. Phyſick.

§ 31. Due care being had to keep the body in ſtrength and vigour, ſo that it may be able to obey and execute the orders of the mind; the next and principal buſineſs is, to ſet the mind right, that on all occaſions it may be diſpoſed to conſent to nothing, but what may be ſuitable to the dignity and excellency of a rational creature. Mind.

§ 32. If what I have ſaid in the beginning of this diſcourſe be true, as I do not doubt but it is, viz. that the difference to be found in the manners and abilities of men, is owing more to their education than to any thing elſe; we have reaſon to conclude, that great care is to be had of the forming children's minds, and giving them that ſeaſoning early, which ſhall influence their lives always after. For when they do well or ill, the praiſe or blame will be laid there: and when any thing is done aukwardly, the common ſaying will paſs upon them, that it is ſuitable to their breeding.

§ 33. As the ſtrength of the body lies chiefly in being able to endure hardſhips, ſo alſo does that of the mind. And the great principle and foundation of all virtue and worth, is placed in this, that a man is able to deny himſelf his own deſires, croſs his own inclinations, and purely follow what reaſon directs as beſt, tho' the appetite lean the other way.

§ 34. The great miſtake I have obſerv'd in people's breeding their children Early. has been, that this has not been taken care enough of in its due ſeaſon; that the mind has not been made obedient to diſcipline, and pliant to reaſon, when at firſt it was moſt tender, moſt eaſy to be bowed. Parents being wiſely ordain'd by nature to love their children, are very apt, if reaſon watch not that natural affection very warily; are apt, I ſay, to let it run into fondneſs. They love their little ones, and 'tis their duty: but they often with them cheriſh their faults too. They muſt not be croſſed, forſooth; they muſt be permitted to have their wills in all things; and they being in their infancies not capable of great vices, their parents think they may ſafely enough indulge their little irregularities, and make themſelves ſport with that pretty perverſeneſs, which they think well enough becomes that innocent age. But to a fond parent, that would not have his child corrected for a perverſe trick, but excuſed it, ſaying it was a ſmall matter; Solon very well replied, "Ay, but cuſtom is a great one."

§ 35. The fondling muſt be taught to ſtrike, and call names; muſt have what he cries for, and do what he pleaſes. Thus parents, by humouring and cockering them when little, corrupt the principles of nature in their children, and wonder afterwards to taſte the bitter waters, when they themſelves have poiſoned the fountain. For when their children are grown up, and theſe ill habits with them; when they are now too big to be dandled, and their parents can no longer make uſe of them as play-things; then they complain, that the brats are untoward and perverſe; then they are offended to ſee them wilful, and are troubled with thoſe ill humours, which they themſelves infuſed and fomented in them; and then, perhaps too late, would be glad to get out thoſe weeds which their own hands have planted, and which now have taken too deep root to be eaſily extirpated. For he that has been uſed to have his will in every thing, as long as he was in coats, why ſhould we think it ſtrange, that he ſhould deſire it, and contend for it ſtill, when he is in breeches? Indeed, as he grows more towards a man, age ſhews his faults the more, ſo that there be few parents then ſo blind, as not to ſee them; few ſo inſenſible as not to feel the ill effects of their own indulgence. He had the will of his maid before he could ſpeak or go; he had the maſtery of his parents ever ſince he could prattle; and why, now he is grown up, is ſtronger and wiſer than he was then, why now of a ſudden muſt he be reſtrained and curbed? why muſt he at ſeven, fourteen, or twenty years old, loſe the privilege which the parents indulgence, till then, ſo largely allow'd him? Try it in a dog, or a horſe, or any other creature, and ſee whether the ill and reſty tricks they have learn'd when young, are eaſily to be mended when they are knit: and yet none of thoſe creatures are half ſo wilful and proud, or half ſo deſirous to be maſters of themſelves and others, as man.

§ 36.

Early. § 36. We are generally wiſe enough to begin with them, when they are very young; and diſcipline betimes thoſe other creatures we would make uſeful and good for ſomewhat. They are only our own offspring, that we neglect in this point; and having made them ill children, we fooliſhly expect they ſhould be good men. For if the child muſt have grapes, or ſugar-plums, when he has a mind to them, rather than make the poor baby cry, or be out of humour; why, when he is grown up, muſt he not be ſatisfied too, if his deſires carry him to wine or women? They are objects as ſuitable to the longing of one of more years, as what he cried for, when little, was to the inclinations of a child. The having deſires accommodated to the apprehenſions and reliſh of thoſe ſeveral ages, is not the fault; but the not having them ſubject to the rules and reſtraints of reaſon: the difference lies not in the having or not having appetites, but in the power to govern, and deny ourſelves in them. He that is not uſed to ſubmit his will to the reaſon of others, when he is young, will ſcarce hearken or ſubmit to his own reaſon, when he is of an age to make uſe of it. And what a kind of a man ſuch an one is like to prove, is eaſy to foreſee.

§ 37. These are overſights uſually committed by thoſe who ſeem to take the greateſt care of their children's education. But, if we look into the common management of children, we ſhall have reaſon to wonder, in the great diſſoluteneſs of manners, which the world complains of, that there are any footſteps at all left of virtue. I deſire to know what vice can be named, which parents, and thoſe about children, do not ſeaſon them with, and drop into them the ſeeds of, as often as they are capable to receive them? I do not mean by the examples they give, and the patterns they ſet before them, which is encouragement enough; but that which I would take notice of here, is the downright teaching them vice, and actual putting them out of the way of virtue. Before they can go, they principle them with violence, revenge and cruelty. “Give me a blow that “I may beat him,” is a leſſon, which moſt children every day hear: and it is thought nothing, becauſe their hands have not ſtrength enough to do any miſchief. But I aſk, does not this corrupt their minds? is not this the way of force and violence, that they are ſet in? and if they have been taught when little, to ſtrike and hurt others by proxy, and encouraged to rejoice in the harm they have brought upon them, and ſee them ſuffer; are they not prepar'd to do it, when they are ſtrong enough to be felt themſelves, and can ſtrike to ſome purpoſe?

The coverings of our bodies, which are for modeſty, warmth and defence, are, by the folly or vice of parents, recommended to their children for other uſes. They are made matter of vanity and emulation. A child is ſet a longing after a new ſuit, for the finery of it: and when the little girl is trick'd up in her new gown and commode, how can her mother do leſs than teach her to admire herſelf, by calling her, “her little queen,” and “her princeſs?” Thus the little ones are taught to be proud of their cloaths, before they can put them on. And why ſhould they not continue to value themſelves for this out-ſide faſhionableneſs of the taylor or tire-woman's making, when their parents have ſo early inſtructed them to do ſo?

Lying and equivocations, and excuſes little different from lying, are put into the mouths of young people, and commended in apprentices and children, whilſt they are for their maſter's or parent's advantage. And can it be thought that he, that finds the ſtraining of truth diſpenſed with, and encouraged, whilſt it is for his godly maſter's turn, will not make uſe of that privilege for himſelf, when it may be for his own profit?

Those of the meaner ſort are hinder'd by the ſtreightneſs of their fortunes, from encouraging intemperance in their children, by the temptation of their diet, or invitations to eat or drink more than enough: but their own ill examples, whenever plenty comes in their way, ſhew that 'tis not the diſlike of drunkenneſs and gluttony that keeps them from exceſs, but want of materials. But if we look into the houſes of thoſe who are a little warmer in their fortunes, their eating and drinking are made ſo much the great buſineſs and happineſs of life, that children are thought neglected, if they have not their ſhare of it. Sauces, and ragouſts, and food diſguiſed by all the arts of cookery, muſt tempt their palates, Early. palates, when their bellies are full: and then, for fear the ſtomach ſhould be overcharg'd, a pretence is found for t'other glaſs of wine, to help digeſtion, tho' it only ſerves to increaſe the ſurfeit.

Is my young maſter a little out of order? the firſt queſtion is, "What will my "dear eat? what ſhall I get for thee?" Eating and drinking are inſtantly preſſed: and every body's invention is ſet on work to find out ſomething, luſcious and delicate enough to prevail over that want of appetite, which nature has wiſely order'd in the beginning of diſtempers, as a defence againſt their increaſe; that, being freed from the ordinary labour, of digeſting any new load in the ſtomach, ſhe may be at leiſure to correct and maſter the peccant humours.

And where children are ſo happy in the care of their parents, as by their prudence to be kept from the exceſs of their tables, to the ſobriety of a plain and ſimple diet; yet there too they are ſcarce to be preſerved from the contagion that poiſons the mind. Tho' by a diſcreet management, whilſt they are under tuition, their healths, perhaps, may be pretty well ſecured; yet their deſires muſt needs yield to the leſſons, which every-where will be read to them upon this part of epicuriſm. The commendation that eating well has every-where, cannot fail to be a ſucceſsful incentive to natural appetite, and bring them quickly to the liking and expence of a faſhionable table. This ſhall have from every one, even the reprovers of vice, the title of living well. And what ſhall ſullen reaſon dare to ſay againſt the public teſtimony? or can it hope to be heard, if it ſhould call that luxury, which is ſo much owned, and univerſally practiſed by thoſe of the beſt quality?

This is now ſo grown a vice, and has ſo great ſupports, that I know not whether it do not put in for the name of virtue; and whether it will not be thought folly, or want of knowledge of the world, to open one's mouth againſt it. And truly I ſhould ſuſpect, that what I have here ſaid of it might be cenſured, as a little ſatyre out of my way, did I not mention it with this view, that it might awaken the care and watchfulneſs of parents in the education of their children; when they ſee how they are beſet on every ſide, not only with temptations, but inſtructors to vice, and that perhaps in thoſe they thought places of ſecurity.

I shall not dwell any longer on this ſubject; much leſs run over all the particulars, that would ſhew what pains are uſed to corrupt children, and inſtil principles of vice into them: But I deſire parents ſoberly to conſider, what irregularity or vice there is, which children are not viſibly taught; and whether it be not their duty and wiſdom to provide them other inſtructions.

Craving. § 38. It ſeems plain to me, that the principle of all virtue and excellency lies in a power of denying ourſelves the ſatisfaction of our own deſires, where reaſon does not authoriſe them. This power is to be got and improved by cuſtom, made eaſy and familiar by an early practice. If therefore I might be heard, I would adviſe, that, contrary to the ordinary way, children ſhould be uſed to ſubmit their deſires, and go without their longings, even from their very cradles. The very firſt thing they ſhould learn to know, ſhould be, that they were not to have any thing, becauſe it pleaſed them, but becauſe it was thought fit for them. If things ſuitable to their wants were ſupplied to them, ſo that they were never ſuffered to have what they once cried for, they would learn to be content without it; would never with bawling and peeviſhneſs contend for maſtery; nor be half ſo uneaſy to themſelves and others as they are, becauſe from the firſt beginning they are not thus handled. If they were never ſuffered to obtain their deſire by the impatience they expreſſed for it, they would no more cry for other things, than they do for the moon.

§ 39. I say not this, as if children were not to be indulged in any thing, or that I expected they ſhould, in hanging-ſleeves, have the reaſon and conduct of counſellors. I conſider them as children, who muſt be tenderly uſed, who muſt play, and have play-things. That which I mean is, that whenever they crav'd what was not fit for them to have, or do, they ſhould not be permitted it, becauſe they were little and deſired it: nay, whatever they were importunate for, they ſhould be ſure, for that very reaſon, to be denied. I have ſeen children at a table, who, whatever was there, never aſked for any thing, but

Craving. contendedly took what was given them: and at another place, I have ſeen others cry for every thing they ſaw, muſt be ſerved out of every diſh, and that firſt too. What made this vaſt difference, but this; that one was accuſtomed to have what they called or cried for, the other to go without it? The younger they are, the leſs, I think, are their unruly and diſorderly appetites to be complied with; and the leſs reaſon they have of their own, the more are they to be under the abſolute power and reſtraint of thoſe, in whoſe hands they are. From which I confeſs, it will follow, that none but diſcreet people ſhould be about them. If the world commonly does otherwiſe, I cannot help that. I am ſaying what I think ſhould be; which, if it were already in faſhion, I ſhould not need to trouble the world with a diſcourſe on this ſubject. But yet I doubt not, but when it is conſidered, there will be others of opinion with me, that the ſooner this way is begun with children, the eaſier it will be for them, and their governors too: and that this ought to be obſerved as an inviolable maxim, that whatever once is denied them, they are certainly not to obtain by crying or importunity; unleſs one has a mind to teach them to be impatient and troubleſome, by rewarding them for it, when they are ſo.

Early. § 40. THOSE therefore that intend ever to govern their children, ſhould begin it whilſt they are very little; and look that they perfectly comply with the will of their parents. Would you have your ſon obedient to you, when paſt a child? Be ſure then to eſtabliſh the authority of a father, as ſoon as he is capable of ſubmiſſion, and can underſtand in whoſe power he is. If you would have him ſtand in awe of you, imprint it in his infancy; and, as he approaches more to a man, admit him nearer to your familiarity: ſo ſhall you have him your obedient ſubject (as is fit) whilſt he is a child, and your affectionate friend when he is a man. For methinks they mightily miſplace the treatment due to their children, who are indulgent and familiar when they are little, but ſevere to them, and keep them at a diſtance when they are grown up. For liberty and indulgence can do no good to children: their want of judgment makes them ſtand in need of reſtraint and diſcipline. And, on the contrary, imperiouſneſs and ſeverity is but an ill way of treating men, who have reaſon of their own to guide them, unleſs you have a mind to make your children, when grown up, weary of you; and ſecretly to ſay with themſelves, "When will you die, father?"

§ 41. I IMAGINE every one will judge it reaſonable, that their children, when little, ſhould look upon their parents as their lords, their abſolute governors; and, as ſuch, ſtand in awe of them: and that, when they come to riper years, they ſhould look on them as their beſt, as their only ſure friends; and, as ſuch, love and reverence them. The way I have mentioned, if I miſtake not, is the only one to obtain this. We muſt look upon our children, when grown up, to be like ourſelves; with the ſame paſſions, the ſame deſires. We would be thought rational creatures, and have our freedom; we love not to be uneaſy under conſtant rebukes and brow-beatings; nor can we bear ſevere humours, and great diſtance, in thoſe we converſe with. Whoever has ſuch treatment when he is a man, will look out other company, other friends, other converſation, with whom he can be at eaſe. If therefore a ſtrict hand be kept over children from the beginning, they will in that age be tractable, and quietly ſubmit to it, as never having known any other: and if, as they grow up to the uſe of reaſon, the rigour of government be, as they deſerve it, gently relaxed, the father's brow more ſmooth'd to them, and the diſtance by degrees abated; his former reſtraints will increaſe their love, when they find it was only a kindneſs to them, and a care to make them capable to deſerve the favour of their parents, and the eſteem of every body elſe.

§ 42. THUS much for the ſettling your authority over your children in general. Fear and awe ought to give you the firſt power over their minds, and love and friendſhip in riper years to hold it: for the time muſt come, when they will be paſt the rod and correction; and then, if the love of you make them not obedient and dutiful; if the love of virtue and reputation keep them not in laudable courſes; I aſk, what hold will you have upon them, to turn them to it? Indeed, fear of having a ſcanty portion, if they diſpleaſe you, may make

Early.

make them ſlaves to your eſtate; but they will be never the leſs ill and wicked in private, and that reſtraint will not laſt always. Every man muſt ſome time or other be truſted to himſelf, and his own conduct; and he that is a good, a virtuous and able man, muſt be made ſo within. And therefore, what he is to receive from education, what is to ſway and influence his life, muſt be ſomething put into him betimes: habits woven into the very principles of his nature; and not a counterfeit carriage, and diſſembled outſide, put on by fear, only to avoid the preſent anger of a father, who perhaps may diſinherit him.

Puniſhments.

§ 43. THIS being laid down in general, as the courſe ought to be taken, 'tis fit we now come to conſider the parts of the diſcipline to be uſed, a little more particularly. I have ſpoken ſo much of carrying a ſtrict hand over children, that perhaps I ſhall be ſuſpected of not conſidering enough, what is due to their tender age and conſtitutions. But that opinion will vaniſh, when you have heard me a little farther. For I am very apt to think, that great ſeverity of puniſhment does but very little good; nay, great harm in education: and I believe it will be found, that, cæteris paribus, thoſe children who have been moſt chaſtiſed, ſeldom make the beſt men. All that I have hitherto contended for, is, that whatſoever rigour is neceſſary, it is more to be uſed, the younger children are; and having by a due application wrought its effect, it is to be relaxed, and changed into a milder ſort of government.

Awe.

§ 44. A COMPLIANCE, and ſuppleneſs of their wills, being by a ſteady hand introduced by parents, before children have memories to retain the beginnings of it, will ſeem natural to them, and work afterwards in them, as if it were ſo; preventing all occaſions of ſtruggling, or repining. The only care is, that it be begun early, and inflexibly kept to, till awe and reſpect be grown familiar, and there appears not the leaſt reluctancy in the ſubmiſſion, and ready obedience of their minds. When this reverence is once thus eſtabliſhed, (which it muſt be early, or elſe it will coſt pains and blows to recover it, and the more, the longer it is deferred) 'tis by it, mixed ſtill with as much indulgence, as they made not an ill uſe of, and not by beating, chiding, or other ſervile puniſhments, they are for the future to be governed, as they grow up to more underſtanding.

Self-denial.

§ 45. THAT this is ſo, will be eaſily allowed, when it is but conſidered, what is to be aimed at, in an ingenuous education; and upon what it turns.

1. He that has not a maſtery over his inclinations, he that knows not how to reſiſt the importunity of preſent pleaſure or pain, for the ſake of what reaſon tells him is fit to be done, wants the true principle of virtue and induſtry; and is in danger of never being good for any thing. This temper, therefore, ſo contrary to unguided nature, is to be got betimes; and this habit, as the true foundation of future ability and happineſs, is to be wrought into the mind, as early as may be, even from the firſt dawnings of any knowledge or apprehenſion in children; and ſo to be confirmed in them, by all the care and ways imaginable, by thoſe who have the overſight of their education.

Dejected.

§ 46. 2. On the other hand, if the mind be curbed, and humbled too much in children; if their ſpirits be abaſed and broken much, by too ſtrict an hand over them; they loſe all their vigour and induſtry, and are in a worſe ſtate than the former. For extravagant young fellows, that have livelineſs and ſpirit, come ſometimes to be ſet right, and ſo make able and great men: but dejected minds, timorous and tame, and low ſpirits, are hardly ever to be raiſed, and very ſeldom attain to any thing. To avoid the danger that is on either hand, is the great art: and he that has found a way, how to keep up a child's ſpirit, eaſy, active, and free; and yet, at the ſame time, to reſtrain him from many things he has a mind to, and to draw him to things that are uneaſy to him; he, I ſay, that knows how to reconcile theſe ſeeming contradictions, has, in my opinion, got the true ſecret of education.

Beating.

§ 47. THE uſual lazy and ſhort way by chaſtiſement, and the rod, which is the only inſtrument of government that tutors generally know, or ever think of, is the moſt unfit of any to be uſed in education; becauſe it tends to both thoſe miſchiefs; which, as we have ſhewn, are the Scylla and Charybdis, which, on the one hand or the other, ruin all that miſcarry.

Beating.

§ 48. 1. This kind of puniſhment contributes not at all to the maſtery of our natural propenſity to indulge corporal and preſent pleaſure, and to avoid pain at any rate; but rather encourages it; and thereby ſtrengthens that in us, which is the root, from whence ſpring all vicious actions, and the irregularities of life. For what other motive, but of ſenſual pleaſure, and pain, does a child act by, who drudges at his book againſt his inclination, or abſtains from eating unwholeſome fruit, that he takes pleaſure in, only out of fear of whipping? He in this only prefers the greater corporal pleaſure, or avoids the greater corporal pain. And what is it, to govern his actions, and direct his conduct, by ſuch motives as theſe? what is it, I ſay, but to cheriſh that principle in him, which it is our buſineſs to root out and deſtroy? And therefore I cannot think any correction uſeful to a child, where the ſhame of ſuffering for having done amiſs, does not work more upon him than the pain.

§ 49. 2. This ſort of correction naturally breeds an averſion to that which 'tis the tutor's buſineſs to create a liking to. How obvious is it to obſerve, that children come to hate things which were at firſt acceptable to them, when they find themſelves whipped, and chid, and teazed about them? And it is not to be wondered at in them; when grown men would not be able to be reconciled to any thing by ſuch ways. Who is there that would not be diſguſted with any innocent recreation, in itſelf indifferent to him, if he ſhould with blows, or ill language, be haled to it, when he had no mind? or be conſtantly ſo treated, for ſome circumſtances in his application to it? This is natural to be ſo. Offenſive circumſtances ordinarily infect innocent things, which they are join'd with: and the very ſight of a cup, wherein any one uſes to take nauſeous phyſick, turns his ſtomach; ſo that nothing will reliſh well out of it, tho' the cup be ever ſo clean, and well-ſhaped, and of the richeſt materials.

§ 50. 3. Such a ſort of ſlaviſh diſcipline makes a ſlaviſh temper. The child ſubmits, and diſſembles obedience, whilſt the fear of the rod hangs over him; but when that is removed, and, by being out of ſight, he can promiſe himſelf impunity, he gives the greater ſcope to his natural inclination; which by this way is not at all altered, but on the contrary heightened and increaſed in him; and after ſuch reſtraint, breaks out uſually with the more violence. Or,

§ 51. 4. If ſeverity carried to the higheſt pitch does prevail, and works a cure upon the preſent unruly diſtemper, it is often bringing in the room of it a worſe and more dangerous diſeaſe, by breaking the mind; and then, in the place of a diſorderly young fellow, you have a low-ſpirited mop'd creature: who, however with his unnatural ſobriety he may pleaſe ſilly people, who commend tame unactive children, becauſe they make no noiſe, nor give them any trouble; yet, at laſt, will probably prove as uncomfortable a thing to his friends, as he will be, all his life, an uſeleſs thing to himſelf and others.

Rewards.

§ 52. Beating them, and all other ſorts of ſlaviſh and corporal puniſhments, are not the diſcipline fit to be uſed in the education of thoſe we would have wiſe, good, and ingenuous men; and therefore very rarely to be applied, and that only in great occaſions, and caſes of extremity. On the other hand, to flatter children by rewards of things that are pleaſant to them, is as carefully to be avoided. He that will give to his ſon apples, or ſugar-plumbs, or whatever elſe of this kind he is moſt delighted with, to make him learn his book, does but authorize his love of pleaſure, and cocker up that dangerous propenſity, which he ought by all means to ſubdue and ſtifle in him. You can never hope to teach him to maſter it, whilſt you compound for the check you give his inclination in one place, by the ſatisfaction you propoſe to it in another. To make a good, a wiſe, and a virtuous man, 'tis fit he ſhould learn to croſs his appetite, and deny his inclinations to riches, finery, or pleaſing his palate, &c. whenever his reaſon adviſes the contrary, and his duty requires it. But when you draw him to do any thing that is fit, by the offer of money; or reward the pains of learning his book, by the pleaſure of a luſcious morſel; when you promiſe him a lace-cravat, or a fine new ſuit, upon performance of ſome of his little taſks; what do you, by propoſing theſe as rewards, but allow them to be the good things he ſhould aim at, and thereby encourage his longing for them, and accuſtom him to place

Rewards.

his happineſs in them? Thus people, to prevail with children to be induſtrious about their grammar, dancing, or ſome other ſuch matter, of no great moment to the happineſs or uſefulneſs of their lives, by miſapplied rewards and puniſhments, ſacrifice their virtue, invert the order of their education, and teach them luxury, pride, or covetouſneſs, &c. For in this way, flattering thoſe wrong inclinations, which they ſhould reſtrain and ſuppreſs, they lay the foundations of thoſe future vices, which cannot be avoided, but by curbing our deſires, and accuſtoming them early to ſubmit to reaſon.

§ 53. I ſay not this, that I would have children kept from the conveniences or pleaſures of life, that are not injurious to their health or virtue: on the contrary, I would have their lives made as pleaſant, and as agreeable to them as may be, in a plentiful enjoyment of whatſoever might innocently delight them: provided it be with this caution, that they have thoſe enjoyments, only as the conſequences of the ſtate of eſteem and acceptation they are in with their parents and governors; but they ſhould never be offered or beſtowed on them, as the reward of this or that particular performance, that they ſhew an averſion to, or to which they would not have applied themſelves without that temptation.

§ 54. But if you take away the rod on one hand, and theſe little encouragements, which they are taken with, on the other; how then (will you ſay) ſhall children be governed? Remove hope and fear, and there is an end of all diſcipline. I grant, that good and evil, reward and puniſhment, are the only motives to a rational creature; theſe are the ſpur and reins, whereby all mankind are ſet on work and guided, and therefore they are to be made uſe of to children too. For I adviſe their parents and governors always to carry this in their minds, that children are to be treated as rational creatures.

§ 55. Rewards, I grant, and puniſhments muſt be propoſed to children, if we intend to work upon them. The miſtake, I imagine, is, that thoſe that are generally made uſe of, are ill choſen. The pains and pleaſures of the body are, I think, of ill conſequence, when made the rewards and puniſhments, whereby men would prevail on their children: for, as I ſaid before, they ſerve but to increaſe and ſtrengthen thoſe inclinations, which 'tis our buſineſs to ſubdue and maſter. What principle of virtue do you lay in a child, if you will redeem his deſires of one pleaſure, by the propoſal of another? This is but to inlarge his appetite, and inſtruct it to wander. If a child cries for an unwholeſome or dangerous fruit, you purchaſe his quiet by giving him a leſs hurtful ſweet-meat. This perhaps may preſerve his health, but ſpoils his mind, and ſets that farther out of order. For here you only change the object; but flatter ſtill his appetite, and allow that muſt be ſatisfied, wherein, as I have ſhewed, lies the root of the miſchief: and till you bring him to be able to bear a denial of that ſatisfaction, the child may be at preſent quiet and orderly, but the diſeaſe is not cured. By this way of proceeding you foment and cheriſh in him, that which is the ſpring, from whence all the evil flows; which will be ſure on the next occaſion to break out again with more violence, give him ſtronger longings, and you more trouble.

Reputation.

§ 56. The rewards and puniſhments then, whereby we ſhould keep children in order, are quite of another kind; and of that force, that when we can get them once to work, the buſineſs, I think, is done, and the difficulty is over. Eſteem and diſgrace are, of all others, the moſt powerful incentives to the mind, when once it is brought to reliſh them. If you can once get into children a love of credit, and an apprehenſion of ſhame and diſgrace, you have put into them the true principle, which will conſtantly work, and incline them to the right. But it will be aſked, How ſhall this be done?

I confeſs, it does not, at firſt appearance, want ſome difficulty; but yet I think it worth our while to ſeek the ways (and practiſe them when found) to attain this, which I look on as the great ſecret of education.

§ 57. Firſt, children (earlier perhaps than we think) are very ſenſible of praiſe and commendation. They find a pleaſure in being eſteem'd and valued, eſpecially by their parents, and they whom they depend on. If therefore the father careſs and commend them, when they do well; ſhew a cold and neglect-

Reputation.

ful countenance to them upon doing ill; and this accompanied by a like carriage of the mother, and all others that are about them; it will in a little time make them ſenſible of the difference; and this, if conſtantly obſerved, I doubt not but will of itſelf work more than threats or blows, which loſe their force, when once grown common, and are of no uſe when ſhame does not attend them; and therefore are to be forborn, and never to be uſed, but in the caſe hereafter mentioned, when it is brought to extremity.

§ 58. But, ſecondly, to make the ſenſe of eſteem or diſgrace ſink the deeper, and be of the more weight, other agreeable or diſagreeable things ſhould conſtantly accompany theſe different ſtates; not as particular rewards and puniſhments of this or that particular action, but as neceſſarily belonging to, and conſtantly attending one, who by his carriage has brought himſelf into a ſtate of diſgrace or commendation. By which way of treating them, children may as much as poſſible be brought to conceive, that thoſe that are commended and in eſteem for doing well, will neceſſarily be belov'd and cheriſh'd by every body, and have all other good things as a conſequence of it; and, on the other ſide, when any one by miſcarriage falls into diſeſteem, and cares not to preſerve his credit, he will unavoidably fall under neglect and contempt: and in that ſtate, the want of whatever might ſatisfy or delight him, will follow. In this way the objects of their deſires are made aſſiſting to virtue; when a ſettled experience from the beginning teaches children, that the things they delight in, belong to, and are to be enjoy'd by thoſe only, who are in a ſtate of reputation. If by theſe means you can come once to ſhame them out of their faults, (for beſides that, I would willingly have no puniſhment) and make them in love with the pleaſure of being well thought on, you may turn them as you pleaſe, and they will be in love with all the ways of virtue.

§. 59. The great difficulty here is, I imagine, from the folly and perverſeneſs of ſervants, who are hardly to be hindered from croſſing herein the deſign of the father and mother. Children, diſcountenanced by their parents for any fault, find uſually a refuge and relief in the careſſes of thoſe fooliſh flatterers, who thereby undo whatever the parents endeavour to eſtabliſh. When the father or mother looks ſour on the child, every body elſe ſhould put on the ſame coldneſs to him, and no body give him countenance, till forgiveneſs aſk'd, and a reformation of his fault, has ſet him right again, and reſtored him to his former credit. If this were conſtantly obſerv'd, I gueſs there would be little need of blows or chiding: their own eaſe and ſatisfaction would quickly teach children to court commendation, and avoid doing that, which they found every body condemned, and they were ſure to ſuffer for, without being chid or beaten. This would teach them modeſty and ſhame; and they would quickly come to have a natural abhorrence for that, which they found made them ſlighted and neglected by every body. But how this inconvenience from ſervants is to be remedied, I muſt leave to parents care and conſideration. Only I think it of great importance; and that they are very happy, who can get diſcreet people about their children.

Shame.

§ 60. Frequent beating or chiding is therefore carefully to be avoided; becauſe this ſort of correction never produces any good, farther than it ſerves to raiſe ſhame and abhorrence of the miſcarriage that brought it on them. And if the greateſt part of the trouble be not the ſenſe that they have done amiſs, and the apprehenſion that they have drawn on themſelves the juſt diſpleaſure of their beſt friends, the pain of whipping will work but an imperfect cure. It only patches up for the preſent, and ſkins it over, but reaches not to the bottom of the ſore. Ingenuous ſhame, and the apprehenſions of diſpleaſure, are the only true reſtraint: theſe alone ought to hold the reins, and keep the child in order. But corporal puniſhments muſt neceſſarily loſe that effect, and wear out the ſenſe of ſhame, where they frequently return. Shame in children has the ſame place that modeſty has in women; which cannot be kept, and often tranſgreſſed againſt. And as to the apprehenſion of diſpleaſure in the parents, that will come to be very inſignificant, if the marks of that diſpleaſure quickly ceaſe, and a few blows fully expiate. Parents ſhould well conſider, what faults in

Shame.

their children are weighty enough to deſerve the declaration of their anger: but when their diſpleaſure is once declared to a degree that carries any puniſhment with it, they ought not preſently to lay by the ſeverity of their brows, but to reſtore their children to their former grace with ſome difficulty; and delay a full reconciliation, till their conformity, and more than ordinary merit, make good their amendment. If this be not ſo order'd, puniſhment will by familiarity become a mere thing of courſe, and loſe all its influence: offending, being chaſtiſed, and then forgiven, will be thought as natural and neceſſary as noon, night, and morning following one another.

Reputation.

§ 61. CONCERNING reputation, I ſhall only remark this one thing more of it: that, tho' it be not the true principle and meaſure of virtue, (for that is the knowledge of a man's duty, and the ſatisfaction it is to obey his Maker, in following the dictates of that light God has given him, with the hopes of acceptation and reward) yet it is that which comes neareſt to it: and being the teſtimony and applauſe that other people's reaſon, as it were, by a common conſent, gives to virtuous and well-order'd actions, it is the proper guide and encouragement of children, till they grow able to judge for themſelves, and to find what is right by their own reaſon.

§ 62. THIS conſideration may direct parents, how to manage themſelves in reproving and commending their children. The rebukes and chiding, which their faults will ſometimes make hardly to be avoided, ſhould not only be in ſober, grave, and unpaſſionate words, but alſo alone and in private: but the commendations children deſerve, they ſhould receive before others. This doubles the reward, by ſpreading their praiſe; but the backwardneſs parents ſhew in divulging their faults, will make them ſet a greater value on their credit themſelves, and teach them to be the more careful to preſerve the good opinion of others, whilſt they think they have it: but when, being expoſed to ſhame, by publiſhing their miſcarriages, they give it up for loſt, that check upon them is taken off; and they will be the leſs careful to preſerve others good thoughts of them, the more they ſuſpect that their reputation with them is already blemiſh'd.

Childiſhneſs.

§ 63. But if a right courſe be taken with children, there will not be ſo much need of the application of the common rewards and puniſhments, as we imagined, and as the general practice has eſtabliſhed. For all their innocent folly, playing, and childiſh actions are to be left perfectly free and unreſtrain'd, as far as they can conſiſt with the reſpect due to thoſe that are preſent; and that with the greateſt allowance. If theſe faults of their age, rather than of the children themſelves, were, as they ſhould be, left only to time, and imitation, and riper years to cure, children would eſcape a great deal of miſapplied and uſeleſs correction; which either fails to overpower the natural diſpoſition of their childhood, and ſo, by an ineffectual familiarity, makes correction in other neceſſary caſes of leſs uſe; or elſe, if it be of force to reſtrain the natural gaiety of that age, it ſerves only to ſpoil the temper both of body and mind. If the noiſe or buſtle of their play prove at any time inconvenient, or unſuitable to the place or company they are in, (which can only be where their parents are) a look or a word from the father or mother, if they have eſtabliſhed the authority they ſhould, will be enough either to remove, or quiet them for that time. But this gameſome humour, which is wiſely adapted by nature to their age and temper, ſhould rather be encouraged, to keep up their ſpirits, and improve their ſtrength and health, than curbed or reſtrained: and the chief art is to make all that they have to do, ſport and play too.

Rules.

§ 64. AND here give me leave to take notice of one thing I think a fault in the ordinary method of education; and that is, the charging of childrens memories, upon all occaſions, with rules and precepts, which they often do not underſtand, and conſtantly as ſoon forget as given. If it be ſome action you would have done, or done otherwiſe; whenever they forget, or do it aukwardly, make them do it over and over again, till they are perfect: whereby you will get theſe two advantages: firſt, to ſee whether it be an action they can do, or is fit to be expected of them. For ſometimes children are bid to do things, Rules. things, which, upon trial, they are found not able to do; and had need be taught and exerciſed in, before they are required to do them. But it is much eaſier for a tutor to command, than to teach. Secondly, another thing got by it will be this; that by repeating the ſame action, till it be grown habitual in them, the performance will not depend on memory, or reflection, the concomitant of prudence and age, and not of childhood; but will be natural in them. Thus, bowing to a gentleman when he ſalutes him, and looking in his face when he ſpeaks to him, is by conſtant uſe as natural to a well-bred man, as breathing; it requires no thought, no reflection. Having this way cured in your child any fault, it is cured for ever: and thus, one by one, you may weed them out all, and plant what habits you pleaſe.

§ 65. I HAVE ſeen parents ſo heap rules on their children, that it was impoſſible for the poor little ones to remember a tenth part of them, much leſs to obſerve them. However, they were either by words or blows corrected for the breach of thoſe multiplied and often very impertinent precepts. Whence it naturally follow'd, that the children minded not what was ſaid to them; when it was evident to them, that no attention they were capable of, was ſufficient to preſerve them from tranſgreſſion, and the rebukes which follow'd it.

LET therefore your rules to your ſon be as few as is poſſible, and rather fewer than more than ſeem abſolutely neceſſary. For if you burden him with many rules, one of theſe two things muſt neceſſarily follow; that either he muſt be very often puniſh'd, which will be of ill conſequence, by making puniſhment too frequent and familiar; or elſe you muſt let the tranſgreſſions of ſome of your rules go unpuniſh'd, whereby they will of courſe grow contemptible, and your authority become cheap to him. Make but few laws, but ſee they be well obſerv'd, when once made. Few years require but few laws; and as his age increaſes, when one rule is by practice well eſtabliſh'd, you may add another.

§ 66. BUT pray remember, children are not to be taught by rules, which will be always ſlipping out of their memories. What you think neceſſary for them to do, ſettle in them by an indiſpenſable practice, as often as the occaſion returns; and, if it be poſſible, make occaſions. This will beget habits in them, which, being once eſtabliſh'd, operate of themſelves eaſily and naturally, without the aſſiſtance of the memory. But here let me give two cautions: 1. The one is, that you keep them to the practice of what you would have grow into a habit in them, by kind words, and gentle admonitions, rather as minding them of what they forget, than by harſh rebukes and chiding, as if they were wilfully guilty. 2dly, Another thing you are to take care of, is, not to endeavour to ſettle too many habits at once, leſt by variety you confound them, and ſo perfect none. When conſtant cuſtom has made any one thing eaſy and natural to them, and they practiſe it without reflection, you may then go on to another.

Habits.

Practice. THIS method of teaching children by a repeated practice, and the ſame action done over and over again, under the eye and direction of the tutor, till they have got the habit of doing it well, and not by relying on rules truſted to their memories, has ſo many advantages, which way ſoever we conſider it, that I cannot but wonder (if ill cuſtoms could be wonder'd at in any thing) how it could poſſibly be ſo much neglected. I ſhall name one more that comes now in my way. By this method we ſhall ſee, whether what is requir'd of him be adapted to his capacity, and any way ſuited to the child's natural genius and conſtitution: for that too muſt be conſider'd in a right education. We muſt not hope wholly to change their original tempers, nor make the gay, penſive and grave; nor the melancholy, ſportive, without ſpoiling them. God has ſtamped certain characters upon men's minds, which, like their ſhapes, may perhaps be a little mended; but can hardly be totally alter'd and transform'd into the contrary.

HE therefore, that is about children, ſhould well ſtudy their natures and aptitudes, and ſee, by often trials, what turns they eaſily take, and what becomes them; obſerve what their native ſtock is, how it may be improved, and what it is fit for: he ſhould conſider what they want, whether they be capable of having it wrought into them by induſtry, and incorporated there by practice; and whether it be worth while to endeavour it. For, in many caſes, all that we can do, or ſhould aim at, is, to make the beſt of what nature has given, to prevent the vices and faults to which ſuch a conſtitution is moſt inclined, and give it all the advantages it is capable of. Every one's natural genius ſhould be carried as far as it could; but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but labour in vain; and what is ſo plaſter'd on, will at beſt ſit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the ungracefulneſs of conſtraint and affectation. Practice.

AFFECTATION is not, I confeſs, an early fault of childhood, or the product of untaught nature: it is of that ſort of weeds, which grow not in the wild uncultivated waſte, but in garden-plots, under the negligent hand, or unſkilful care of a gardener. Management and inſtruction, and ſome ſenſe of the neceſſity of breeding, are requiſite to make any one capable of affectation, which endeavours to correct natural defects, and has always the laudable aim of pleaſing, tho' it always miſſes it; and the more it labours to put on gracefulneſs, the farther it is from it. For this reaſon it is the more carefully to be watched, becauſe it is the proper fault of education; a perverted education indeed, but ſuch as young people often fall into, either by their own miſtake, or the ill conduct of thoſe about them. Affectation.

HE that will examine wherein that gracefulneſs lies, which always pleaſes, will find it ariſes from that natural coherence, which appears between the thing done, and ſuch a temper of mind, as cannot but be approved of as ſuitable to the occaſion. We cannot but be pleaſed with an humane, friendly, civil temper, where-ever we meet with it. A mind free, and maſter of itſelf and all its actions, not low and narrow, not haughty and inſolent, not blemiſh'd with any great defect, is what every one is taken with. The actions, which naturally flow from ſuch a well-form'd mind, pleaſe us alſo, as the genuine marks of it; and being, as it were, natural emanations from the ſpirit and diſpoſition within, cannot but be eaſy and unconſtrain'd. This ſeems to me to be that beauty, which ſhines through ſome men's actions, ſets off all that they do, and takes all they come near; when by a conſtant practice, they have faſhion'd their carriage, and made all thoſe little expreſſions of civility and reſpect, which nature or cuſtom has eſtabliſhed in converſation, ſo eaſy to themſelves, that they ſeem not artificial or ſtudied, but naturally to follow from a ſweetneſs of mind, and a well-turn'd diſpoſition.

ON the other ſide, affectation is an aukward and forced imitation of what ſhould be genuine and eaſy, wanting the beauty that accompanies what is natural; becauſe there is always a diſagreement between the outward action, and the mind within, one of theſe two ways: 1. Either when a man would outwardly put on a diſpoſition of mind, which then he really has not, but endeavours by a forced carriage to make ſhew of; yet ſo, that the conſtraint he is under, diſcovers itſelf: And thus men affect ſometimes to appear ſad, merry, or kind, when, in truth, they are not ſo.

2. THE other is, when they do not endeavour to make ſhew of diſpoſitions of mind, which they have not, but to expreſs thoſe they have, by a carriage not ſuited to them: And ſuch in converſation are all conſtrain'd motions, actions, words, or looks, which, tho' deſigned to ſhew either their reſpect or civility to the company, or their ſatisfaction and eaſineſs in it, are not yet natural nor genuine marks of the one or the other; but rather of ſome defect or miſtake within. Imitation of others, without diſcerning what is graceful in them, or what is peculiar to their characters, often makes a great part of this. But affectation of all kinds, whenceſoever it proceeds, is always offenſive: becauſe we naturally hate whatever is counterfeit; and condemn thoſe, who have nothing better to recommend themſelves by.

PLAIN and rough nature, left to itſelf, is much better than an artificial ungracefulneſs, and ſuch ſtudied ways of being ill-faſhioned. The want of an accompliſhment, or ſome defect in our behaviour, coming ſhort of the utmoſt gracefulneſs, often eſcapes obſervation and cenſure. But affectation in any part of our carriage, is lighting up a candle to our defects; and never fails

Affectation. to make us be taken notice of, either as wanting ſenſe, or wanting ſincerity. This governors ought the more diligently to look after; becauſe, as I above obſerved, 'tis an acquired uglineſs, owing to miſtaken education, few being guilty of it, but thoſe who pretend to breeding, and would not be thought ignorant of what is faſhionable and becoming in converſation: and, if I miſtake not, it has often its riſe from the lazy admonitions of thoſe who give rules, and propoſe examples, without joining practice with their inſtructions, and making their pupils repeat the action in their ſight, that they may correct what is indecent or conſtrain'd in it, till it be perfected into an habitual and becoming eaſineſs.

Manners. § 67. MANNERS, as they call it, about which children are ſo often perplex'd, and have ſo many goodly exhortations made them, by their wiſe maids and governeſſes, I think, are rather to be learn'd by example than rules; and then children, if kept out of ill company, will take a pride to behave themſelves prettily, after the faſhion of others, perceiving themſelves eſteemed and commended for it. But if, by a little negligence in this part, the boy ſhould not put off his hat, nor make legs very gracefully, a dancing-maſter will cure that defect, and wipe off all that plainneſs of nature, which the a-la-mode people call clowniſhneſs. And ſince nothing appears to me to give children ſo much becoming confidence and behaviour, and ſo to raiſe them to the converſation of thoſe above Dancing. their age, as dancing; I think they ſhould be taught to dance, as ſoon as they are capable of learning it. For, tho' this conſiſts only in outward graceſulneſs of motion, yet, I know not how, it gives children manly thoughts and carriage, more than any thing. But otherwiſe I would not have little children much tormented about punctilio's, or niceties of breeding.

NEVER trouble yourſelf about thoſe faults in them, which you know age will cure. And therefore want of well-faſhioned civility in the carriage, whilſt civility is not wanting in the mind, (for there you muſt take care to plant it early) ſhould be the parents leaſt care, whilſt they are young. If his tender mind be fill'd with a veneration for his parents and teachers, which conſiſts in love and eſteem, and a fear to offend them; and with reſpect and good-will to all people; that reſpect will of itſelf teach thoſe ways of expreſſing it, which he obſerves moſt acceptable. Be ſure to keep up in him the principles of good nature and kindneſs; make them as habitual as you can, by credit and commendation, and the good things accompanying that ſtate: and when they have taken root in his mind, and are ſettled there by a continued practice, fear not; the ornaments of converſation, and the outſide of faſhionable manners, will come in their due time, if, when they are removed out of their maid's care, they are put into the hands of a well-bred man to be their governor.

WHILST they are very young, any careleſſneſs is to be borne with in children, that carries not with it the marks of pride or ill nature: but thoſe, whenever they appear in any action, are to be corrected immediately, by the ways abovementioned. What I have ſaid concerning manners, I would not have ſo underſtood, as if I meant that thoſe, who have the judgment to do it, ſhould not gently faſhion the motions and carriage of children, when they are very young. It would be of great advantage, if they had people about them, from their being firſt able to go, that had the ſkill, and would take the right way to do it. That which I complain of, is the wrong courſe that is uſually taken in this matter. Children who were never taught any ſuch thing as behaviour, are often (eſpecially when ſtrangers are preſent) chid for having ſome way or other failed in good manners, and have thereupon reproofs and precepts heaped upon them, concerning putting off their hats, or making of legs, &c. Tho' in this thoſe concerned pretend to correct the child, yet, in truth, for the moſt part, it is but to cover their own ſhame: and they lay the blame on the poor little ones, ſometimes paſſionately enough, to divert it from themſelves, for fear the by-ſtanders ſhould impute to their want of care and ſkill the child's ill behaviour.

FOR, as for the children themſelves, they are never one jot bettered by ſuch occaſional lectures: they at other times ſhould be ſhewn what to do, and by reiterated actions, be faſhioned before-hand into the practice of what is fit and becoming; and not told, and talk'd to do upon the ſpot, of what they have never been accuſtomed, nor know how to do as they ſhould: to hare and rate them thus at every turn, is not to teach them, but to vex, and torment them to no purpoſe. They ſhould be let alone, rather than chid for a fault, which is none of theirs, nor is in their power to mend for ſpeaking to. And it were much better their natural, childiſh negligence, or plainneſs, ſhould be left to the care of riper years, than that they ſhould frequently have rebukes miſplaced upon them, which neither do, nor can, give them graceful motions. If their minds are well diſpoſed, and principled with inward civility, a great part of the roughneſs, which ſticks to the outſide for want of better teaching, time, and obſervation will rub off, as they grow up, if they are bred in good company; but if in ill, all the rules in the world, all the correction imaginable, will not be able to poliſh them. For you muſt take this for a certain truth, that let them have what inſtructions you will, and ever ſo learned lectures of breeding daily inculcated into them, that which will moſt influence their carriage, will be the company they converſe with, and the faſhion of thoſe about them. Children (nay, and men too) do moſt by example. We are all a ſort of chameleons, that ſtill take a tincture from things near us: Nor is it to be wonder'd at in children, who better underſtand what they ſee, than what they hear.

Manners.

§ 68. I mentioned above, one great miſchief that came by ſervants to children, when by their flatteries they take off the edge and force of the parents rebukes, and ſo leſſen their authority. And here is another great inconvenience, which children receive from the ill examples which they meet with, amongſt the meaner ſervants.

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They are wholly, if poſſible, to be kept from ſuch converſation: for the contagion of theſe ill precedents, both in civility and virtue, horribly infects children, as often as they come within reach of it. They frequently learn, from unbred, or debauched ſervants, ſuch language, untowardly tricks and vices, as otherwiſe they poſſibly would be ignorant of, all their lives.

§ 69. 'Tis a hard matter wholly to prevent this miſchief. You will have very good luck, if you never have a clowniſh or vicious ſervant, and if from them your children never get any infection. But yet, as much muſt be done towards it, as can be; and the children kept as much as may be * in the company of their parents, and thoſe to whoſe care they are committed. To this purpoſe, their being in their preſence ſhould be made eaſy to them: they ſhould be allowed the liberties and freedom ſuitable to their ages, and not be held under unneceſſary reſtraints, when in their parent's or governor's ſight. If it be a priſon to them, 'tis no wonder they ſhould not like it. They muſt not be hinder'd from being children, or from playing, or doing as children, but from doing ill. All other liberty is to be allowed them. Next, to make them in love with the company of their parents, they ſhould receive all their good things there, and from their hands. The ſervants ſhould be hindered from making court to them, by giving them ſtrong drink, wine, fruit, play-things, and other ſuch matters, which may make them in love with their converſation.

§ 70. Having named company, I am almoſt ready to throw away my pen, and trouble you no farther on this ſubject. For ſince that does more than all precepts, rules, and inſtructions, methinks 'tis almoſt wholly in vain to make a long diſcourſe of other things, and to talk of that almoſt to no purpoſe. For you will be ready to ſay, "What ſhall I do with my ſon? If I keep him always "at home, he will be in danger to be my young maſter; and if I ſend him "abroad, how is it poſſible to keep him from the contagion of rudeneſs and "vice, which is every-where ſo in faſhion? In my houſe, he will perhaps be "more innocent, but more ignorant too of the world: wanting there change "of company, and being uſed conſtantly to the ſame faces, he will, when he "comes abroad, be a ſheepiſh or conceited creature."

I confess, both ſides have their inconveniences. Being abroad, 'tis true, will make him bolder, and better able to buſtle and ſhift amongſt boys of his own age; and the emulation of ſchool-fellows often puts life and induſtry into young lads.

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* How much the Romans thought the education of their children, a buſineſs that properly belonged to the parents themſelves, ſee in Suetonius, Auguſt. Sect. 64. Plutarch in vita Catonis Cenſoris; Diodorus Siculus, l. 2. cap. 3.

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lads. But till you can find a ſchool, wherein it is poſſible for the maſter to look after the manners of his ſcholars, and can ſhew as great effects of his care of forming their minds to virtue, and their carriage to good breeding, as of forming their tongues to the learned languages; you muſt confeſs, that you have a ſtrange value for words, when preferring the languages of the ancient Greeks and Romans, to that which made them ſuch brave men, you think it worth while to hazard your ſon's innocence and virtue, for a little Greek and Latin. For, as for that boldneſs and ſpirit, which lads get amongſt their play-fellows at ſchool, it has ordinarily ſuch a mixture of rudeneſs, and an ill-turn'd confidence, that thoſe miſbecoming and diſingenuous ways of ſhifting in the world muſt be unlearned, and all the tincture waſh'd out again, to make way for better principles, and ſuch manners as make a truly worthy man. He that conſiders how diametrically oppoſite the ſkill of living well, and managing, as a man ſhould do, his affairs in the world, is to that malpertneſs, tricking, or violence, learnt among ſchool-boys, will think the faults of a privater education infinitely to be preferr'd to ſuch improvements; and will take care to preſerve his child's innocence and modeſty at home, as being nearer of kin, and more in the way of thoſe qualities, which make an uſeful and able man. Nor does any one find, or ſo much as ſuſpect, that that retirement and baſhfulneſs, which their daughters are brought up in, makes them leſs knowing or leſs able women. Converſation, when they come into the world, ſoon gives them a becoming aſſurance; and whatſoever, beyond that, there is of rough and boiſterous, may in men be very well ſpared too: for courage and ſteadineſs, as I take it, lie not in roughneſs and ill breeding.

VIRTUE is harder to be got, than a knowledge of the world; and if loſt in a young man, is ſeldom recovered. Sheepiſhneſs and ignorance of the world, the faults imputed to a private education, are neither the neceſſary conſequences of being bred at home; nor, if they were, are they incurable evils. Vice is the more ſtubborn, as well as the more dangerous evil of the two; and therefore, in the firſt place, to be fenced againſt. If that ſheepiſh ſoftneſs, which often enervates thoſe, who are bred like fondlings at home, be carefully to be avoided, it is principally ſo for virtue's ſake; for fear leſt ſuch a yielding temper ſhould be too ſuſceptible of vitious impreſſions, and expoſe the novice too eaſily to be corrupted. A young man, before he leaves the ſhelter of his father's houſe, and the guard of a tutor, ſhould be fortified with reſolution, and made acquainted with men, to ſecure his virtue; leſt he ſhould be led into ſome ruinous courſe, or fatal precipice, before he is ſufficiently acquainted with the dangers of converſation, and has ſteadineſs enough not to yield to every temptation. Were it not for this, a young man's baſhfulneſs, and ignorance in the world, would not ſo much need an early care. Converſation would cure it in a great meaſure; or if that will not do it early enough, it is only a ſtronger reaſon for a good tutor at home. For, if pains be to be taken to give him a manly air and aſſurance betimes, it is chiefly as a fence to his virtue, when he goes into the world, under his own conduct.

IT is prepoſterous, therefore, to ſacrifice his innocency to the attaining of confidence, and ſome little ſkill of buſtling for himſelf among others, by his converſation with ill-bred and vitious boys; when the chief uſe of that ſturdineſs, and ſtanding upon his own legs, is only for the preſervation of his virtue. For if confidence or cunning come once to mix with vice, and ſupport his miſcarriages, he is only the ſurer loſt; and you muſt undo again, and ſtrip him of that he has got from his companions, or give him up to ruin. Boys will unavoidably be taught aſſurance by converſation with men, when they are brought into it; and that is time enough. Modeſty and ſubmiſſion, till then, better fits them for inſtruction: and therefore there needs not any great care to ſtock them with confidence beforehand. That which requires moſt time, pains, and aſſiduity, is to work into them the principles and practice of virtue and good breeding. This is the ſeaſoning they ſhould be prepar'd with, ſo as not eaſily to be got out again: this they had need to be well provided with. For converſation, when they come into the world, will add to their knowledge and aſſurance, but be

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too apt to take from their virtue; which therefore they ought to be plentifully ſtored with, and have that tincture ſunk deep into them.

How they ſhould be fitted for converſation, and entered into the world, when they are ripe for it, we ſhall conſider in another place. But how any one's being put into a mixed herd of unruly boys, and there learning to wrangle at trap, or rook at ſpan-farthing, fits him for civil converſation, or buſineſs, I do not ſee. And what qualities are ordinarily to be got from ſuch a troop of play-fellows, as ſchools uſually aſſemble together, from parents of all kinds, that a father ſhould ſo much covet it, is hard to divine. I am ſure, he who is able to be at the charge of a tutor at home, may there give his ſon a more genteel carriage, more manly thoughts, and a ſenſe of what is worthy and becoming, with a greater proficiency in learning into the bargain, and ripen him up ſooner into a man, than any at ſchool can do. Not that I blame the ſchool-maſter in this, or think it to be laid to his charge. The difference is great between two or three pupils in the ſame houſe, and three or fourſcore boys lodg'd up and down. For, let the maſter's induſtry and ſkill be ever ſo great, it is impoſſible he ſhould have 50 or 100 ſcholars under his eye, any longer than they are in the ſchool together: nor can it be expected, that he ſhould inſtruct them ſucceſsfully in any thing but their books; the forming of their minds and manners requiring a conſtant attention, and particular application to every ſingle boy; which is impoſſible in a numerous flock, and would be wholly in vain, (could he have time to ſtudy and correct every one's particular defects, and wrong inclinations) when the lad was to be left to himſelf, or the prevailing infection of his fellows, the greateſt part of the four and twenty hours.

BUT fathers, obſerving that fortune is often moſt ſucceſsfully courted by bold and buſtling men, are glad to ſee their ſons pert and forward betimes; take it for an happy omen, that they will be thriving men, and look on the tricks they play their ſchool-fellows, or learn from them, as a proficiency in the art of living, and making their way thro' the world. But I muſt take the liberty to ſay, that he that lays the foundation of his ſon's fortune in virtue, and good breeding, takes the only ſure and warrantable way. And 'tis not the waggeries or cheats practiſed among ſchool-boys, 'tis not their roughneſs one to another, nor the well-laid plots of robbing an orchard together, that make an able man; but the principles of juſtice, generoſity and ſobriety, joined with obſervation and induſtry, qualities which I judge ſchool-boys do not learn much of one another. And if a young gentleman, bred at home, be not taught more of them, than he could learn at ſchool, his father has made a very ill choice of a tutor. Take a boy from the top of a grammar-ſchool, and one of the ſame age, bred as he ſhould be in his father's family, and bring them into good company together; and then ſee which of the two will have the more manly carriage, and addreſs himſelf with the more becoming aſſurance to ſtrangers. Here I imagine the ſchool-boy's confidence will either fail or diſcredit him; and if it be ſuch as fits him only for the converſation of boys, he had better be without it.

Vice.

VICE, if we may believe the general complaint, ripens ſo faſt now-a-days, and runs up to ſeed ſo early in young people, that it is impoſſible to keep a lad from the ſpreading contagion, if you will venture him abroad in the herd, and truſt to chance, or his own inclination, for the choice of his company at ſchool. By what fate vice has ſo thriven amongſt us theſe few years paſt, and by what hands it has been nurs'd up into ſo uncontroul'd a dominion, I ſhall leave to others to inquire. I wiſh that thoſe who complain of the great decay of chriſtian piety and virtue every-where, and of learning and acquired improvements in the gentry of this generation, would conſider how to retrieve them in the next. This I am ſure, that, if the foundation of it be not laid in the education and principling of the youth, all other endeavours will be in vain. And if the innocence, ſobriety, and induſtry of thoſe who are coming up, be not taken care of and preſerved, 'twill be ridiculous to expect, that thoſe who are to ſucceed next on the ſtage, ſhould abound in that virtue, ability, and learning, which has hitherto made England conſiderable in the world. I was going to add courage too, tho' it has been look'd on as the natural inheritance of Engliſhmen. What has

Vice.

been talked of ſome late actions at ſea, of a kind unknown to our anceſtors, gives me occaſion to ſay, that debauchery ſinks the courage of men; and when diſſoluteneſs has eaten out the ſenſe of true honour, bravery ſeldom ſtays long after it. And I think it impoſſible to find an inſtance of any nation, however renowned for their valour, who ever kept their credit in arms, or made themſelves redoubtable amongſt their neighbours, after corruption had once broke through, and diſſolv'd the reſtraint of diſcipline; and vice was grown to ſuch a head, that it durſt ſhew itſelf barefaced, without being out of countenance.

Virtue.

'TIS virtue then, direct virtue, which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in education; and not a forward pertneſs, or any little arts of ſhifting. All other conſiderations and accompliſhments ſhould give way, and be poſtponed to this. This is the ſolid and ſubſtantial good, which tutors ſhould not only read lectures, and talk of; but the labour and art of education ſhould furniſh the mind with, and faſten there, and never ceaſe till the young man had a true reliſh of it, and placed his ſtrength, his glory, and his pleaſure in it.

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THE more this advances, the eaſier way will be made for other accompliſhments in their turns. For he that is brought to ſubmit to virtue, will not be refractory, or reſty, in any thing that becomes him. And therefore I cannot but prefer breeding of a young gentleman at home in his father's ſight, under a good governor, as much the beſt and ſafeſt way to this great and main end of education; when it can be had, and is order'd as it ſhould be. Gentlemen's houſes are ſeldom without variety of company: they ſhould uſe their ſons to all the ſtrange faces that come there, and engage them in converſation with men of parts and breeding, as ſoon as they are capable of it. And why thoſe, who live in the country, ſhould not take them with them, when they make viſits of civility to their neighbours, I know not: this I am ſure, a father that breeds his ſon at home, has the opportunity to have him more in his own company, and there give him what encouragement he thinks fit; and can keep him better from the taint of ſervants, and the meaner ſort of people, than is poſſible to be done abroad. But what ſhall be reſolv'd in the caſe, muſt in great meaſure be left to the parents, to be determin'd by their circumſtances and conveniencies. Only I think it the worſt ſort of good huſbandry, for a father not to ſtrain himſelf a little for his ſon's breeding; which, let his condition be what it will, is the beſt portion he can leave him. But if, after all, it ſhall be thought by ſome, that the breeding at home has too little company, and that at ordinary ſchools, not ſuch as it ſhould be for a young gentleman; I think there might be ways found out to avoid the inconveniencies on the one ſide and the other.

Example.

§ 71. HAVING under conſideration how great the influence of company is, and how prone we are all, eſpecially children, to imitation; I muſt here take the liberty to mind parents of this one thing, viz. That he that will have his ſon have a reſpect for him and his orders, muſt himſelf have a great reverence for his ſon. "Maxima debetur pueris reverentia." You muſt do nothing before him, which you would not have him imitate. If any thing eſcape you, which you would have paſs for a fault in him, he will be ſure to ſhelter himſelf under your example, and ſhelter himſelf ſo, as that it will not be eaſy to come at him to correct it in him the right way. If you puniſh him for what he ſees you practiſe yourſelf, he will not think that ſeverity to proceed from kindneſs in you, or carefulneſs to amend a fault in him; but will be apt to interpret it, the peeviſhneſs and arbitrary imperiouſneſs of a father, who, without any ground for it, would deny his ſon the liberty and pleaſures he takes himſelf. Or if you aſſume to yourſelf the liberty you have taken, as a privilege belonging to riper years, to which a child muſt not aſpire, you do but add new force to your example, and remember the action the more powerfully to him. For you muſt always recommend, that children affect to be men earlier than is thought: and they love breeches, not for their cut, or eaſe, but becauſe the having them is a mark or a ſtep towards manhood. What I ſay of the father's carriage before his children, muſt extend itſelf to all thoſe who have any authority over them, or for whom he would have them have any reſpect.

Puniſhment.

§ 72. BUT to return to the buſineſs of rewards and puniſhments. All the actions of childiſhneſs, and unfaſhionable carriage, and whatever time and age will of itſelf be ſure to reform, being (as I have ſaid) exempt from the diſcipline of the rod, there will not be ſo much need of beating children, as is generally made uſe of. To which if we add learning to read, write, dance, foreign language, &c. as under the ſame privilege, there will be but very rarely any occaſion for blows or force in an ingenuous education. The right way to teach them thoſe things, is, to give them a liking and inclination to what you propoſe to them to be learn'd, and that will engage their induſtry and application. This I think no hard matter to do, if children be handled as they ſhould be, and the rewards and puniſhments above-mention'd be carefully applied, and with them theſe few rules obſerv'd in the method of inſtructing them.

Taſk.

§ 73. 1. NONE of the things they are to learn ſhould ever be made a burden to them, or impoſed on them as a taſk. Whatever is ſo propoſed, preſently becomes irkſome: the mind takes an averſion to it, tho' before it were a thing of delight or indifferency. Let a child be but ordered to whip his top at a certain time every day, whether he has, or has not a mind to it; let this be but required of him as a duty, wherein he muſt ſpend ſo many hours morning and afternoon, and ſee whether he will not ſoon be weary of any play at this rate. Is it not ſo with grown men? What they do chearfully of themſelves, do they not preſently grow ſick of, and can no more endure, as ſoon as they find it is expected of them as a duty? Children have as much a mind to ſhew that they are free, that their own good actions come from themſelves, that they are abſolute and independent, as any of the proudeſt of you grown men, think of them as you pleaſe.

Diſpoſition.

§ 74. 2. As a conſequence of this, they ſhould ſeldom be put about doing even thoſe things you have got an inclination in them to, but when they have a mind and diſpoſition to it. He that loves reading, writing, muſick, &c. finds yet in himſelf certain ſeaſons wherein thoſe things have no reliſh to him: and, if at that time he forces himſelf to it, he only pothers and wearies himſelf to no purpoſe. So it is with children. This change of temper ſhould be carefully obſerv'd in them, and the favourable ſeaſons of aptitude and inclination be heedfully laid hold of: and if they are not often enough forward of themſelves, a good diſpoſition ſhould be talk'd into them, before they be ſet upon any thing. This I think no hard matter for a diſcreet tutor to do, who has ſtudied his pupil's temper, and will be at a little pains to fill his head with ſuitable ideas, ſuch as may make him in love with the preſent buſineſs. By this means a great deal of time and tiring would be ſaved: for a child will learn three times as much when he is in tune, as he will with double the time and pains, when he goes aukwardly, or is dragg'd unwillingly to it. If this were minded as it ſhould, children might be permitted to weary themſelves with play, and yet have time enough to learn what is ſuited to the capacity of each age. But no ſuch thing is conſidered in the ordinary way of education, nor can it well be. That rough diſcipline of the rod is built upon other principles, has no attraction in it, regards not what humour children are in, nor looks after favourable ſeaſons of inclination. And indeed it would be ridiculous, when compulſion and blows have raiſed an averſion in the child to his taſk, to expect he ſhould freely of his own accord leave his play, and with pleaſure court the occaſions of learning: whereas, were matters order'd right, learning any thing they ſhould be taught, might be made as much a recreation to their play, as their play is to their learning. The pains are equal on both ſides: nor is it that which troubles them; for they love to be buſy, and the change and variety is that which naturally delights them. The only odds is, in that which we call play they act at liberty, and employ their pains (whereof you may obſerve them never ſparing) freely; but what they are to learn, is forced upon them: they are called, compelled, and driven to it. This is that, which at firſt entrance balks and cools them; they want their liberty: get them but to aſk their tutor to teach them, as they do often their play-fellows, inſtead of his calling upon them to learn; and they being ſatisfied that they act as freely in this, as they do

in

Diſpoſition.

in other things, they will go on with as much pleaſure in it, and it will not differ from their other ſports and play. By theſe ways, carefully purſued, a child may be brought to deſire to be taught any thing you have a mind he ſhould learn. The hardeſt part, I confeſs, is with the firſt or eldeſt; but when once he is ſet aright, it is eaſy by him to lead the reſt whither one will.

§ 75. Tho' it be paſt doubt, that the fitteſt time for children to learn any thing is, when their minds are in tune, and well diſpoſed to it; when neither flagging of ſpirit, nor intentneſs of thought upon ſomething elſe, makes them aukward and averſe; yet two things are to be taken care of: 1. That theſe ſeaſons either not being warily obſerv'd, and laid hold on, as often as they return; or elſe not returning as often as they ſhould, the improvement of the child be not thereby neglected, and ſo he be let grow into an habitual idleneſs, and confirm'd in this indiſpoſition. 2. That tho' other things are ill learned when the mind is either indiſpoſed, or otherwiſe taken up; yet it is of great moment, and worth our endeavours, to teach the mind to get the maſtery over itſelf; and to be able, upon choice, to take itſelf off from the hot purſuit of one thing, and ſet itſelf upon another with facility and delight; or at any time to ſhake off its ſluggiſhneſs, and vigorouſly employ itſelf about what reaſon, or the advice of another, ſhall direct. This is to be done in children, by trying them ſometimes, when they are by lazineſs unbent, or by avocation bent another way, and endeavouring to make them buckle to the thing propoſed. If by this means the mind can get an habitual dominion over itſelf, lay by ideas or buſineſs, as occaſion requires, and betake itſelf to new and leſs acceptable employments, without reluctancy or diſcompoſure, it will be an advantage of more conſequence than Latin, or logick, or moſt of thoſe things children are uſually required to learn.

Compulſion.

§ 76. Children being more active and buſy in that age, than in any other part of their life, and being indifferent to any thing they can do, ſo they may be but doing, dancing and Scotch-hoppers would be the ſame thing to them, were the encouragements and diſcouragements equal. But to things we would have them learn, the great and only diſcouragement I can obſerve, is, that they are called to it; 'tis made their buſineſs; they are teized and chid about it, and do it with trembling and apprehenſion; or, when they come willingly to it, are kept too long at it, till they are quite tired: all which intrenches too much on that natural freedom they extremely affect. And 'tis that liberty alone, which gives the true reliſh and delight to their ordinary play-games. Turn the tables, and you will find, they will ſoon change their application; eſpecially if they ſee the examples of others, whom they eſteem and think above themſelves. And if the things which they obſerve others to do, be order'd ſo that they inſinuate themſelves into them, as the privilege of an age or condition above theirs, then ambition, and the deſire ſtill to get forward, and higher, and to be like thoſe above them, will ſet them on work, and make them go on with vigour and pleaſure: pleaſure in what they have begun by their own deſire. In which way the enjoyment of their dearly beloved freedom will be no ſmall encouragement to them. To all which, if there be added the ſatisfaction of credit and reputation, I am apt to think, there will need no other ſpur to excite their application and aſſiduity, as much as is neceſſary. I confeſs, there needs patience and ſkill, gentleneſs and attention, and a prudent conduct to attain this at firſt. But why have you a tutor, if there needed no pains? But when this is once eſtabliſh'd, all the reſt will follow more eaſily, than in any more ſevere and imperious diſcipline. And I think it no hard matter, to gain this point; I am ſure it will not be, where children have no ill examples ſet before them. The great danger therefore I apprehend, is only from ſervants, and other ill-order'd children, or ſuch other vicious or fooliſh people, who ſpoil children, both by the ill pattern they ſet before them in their own ill manners, and by giving them together, the two things they ſhould never have at once; I mean, vicious pleaſures, and commendation.

Chiding.

§ 77. As children ſhould very ſeldom be corrected by blows; ſo, I think, frequent, and eſpecially, paſſionate chiding, of almoſt as ill conſequence. It leſſens the authority of the parents, and the reſpect of the child: for I bid you

Chiding.

ſtill remember, they diſtinguiſh early betwixt paſſion and reaſon: and as they cannot but have a reverence for what comes from the latter, ſo they quickly grow into a contempt of the former; or if it cauſes a preſent terror, yet it ſoon wears off; and natural inclination will eaſily learn to ſlight ſuch ſcare-crows, which make a noiſe, but are not animated by reaſon. Children being to be reſtrained by the parents only in vicious (which, in their tender years, are only a few) things, a look or nod only ought to correct them, when they do amiſs: or, if words are ſometimes to be uſed, they ought to be grave, kind, and ſober, repreſenting the ill, or unbecomingneſs of the faults, rather than a haſty rating of the child for it, which makes him not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh whether your diſlike be not more directed to him than his fault. Paſſionate chiding uſually carries rough and ill language with it, which has this further ill effect, that it teaches and juſtifies it in children: and the names that their parents or preceptors give them, they will not be aſham'd or backward to beſtow on others, having ſo good authority for the uſe of them.

Obſtinacy.

§ 78. I foreſee here it will be objected to me; What then, will you have children never beaten, nor chid, for any fault? This will be to let looſe the reins to all kind of diſorder. Not ſo much as is imagined, if a right courſe has been taken in the firſt ſeaſoning of their minds, and implanting that awe of their parents above-mentioned. For beating, by conſtant obſervation, is found to do little good, where the ſmart of it is all the puniſhment is feared or felt in it; for the influence of that quickly wears out, with the memory of it. But yet there is one, and but one fault, for which, I think, children ſhould be beaten; and that is obſtinacy or rebellion. And in this too, I would have it order'd ſo, if it can be, that the ſhame of the whipping, and not the pain, ſhould be the greateſt part of the puniſhment. Shame of doing amiſs, and deſerving chaſtiſement, is the only true reſtraint belonging to virtue. The ſmart of the rod, if ſhame accompanies it not, ſoon ceaſes, and is forgotten, and will quickly, by uſe, loſe its terror. I have known the children of a perſon of quality kept in awe, by the fear of having their ſhoes pulled off, as much as others by apprehenſions of a rod hanging over them. Some ſuch puniſhment I think better than beating; for, 'tis ſhame of the fault, and the diſgrace that attends it, that they ſhould ſtand in fear of, rather than pain, if you would have them have a temper truly ingenuous. But ſtubbornneſs, and an obſtinate diſobedience, muſt be maſter'd with force and blows: for this there is no other remedy. Whatever particular action you bid him do, or forbear, you muſt be ſure to ſee yourſelf obey'd; no quarter, in this caſe, no reſiſtance. For when once it comes to be a trial of ſkill, a conteſt for maſtery betwixt you, as it is, if you command, and he refuſes; you muſt be ſure to carry it, whatever blows it coſts, if a nod or words will not prevail; unleſs, for ever after, you intend to live in obedience to your ſon. A prudent and kind mother, of my acquaintance, was, on ſuch an occaſion, forced to whip her little daughter, at her firſt coming home from nurſe, eight times ſucceſſively, the ſame morning, before ſhe could maſter her ſtubbornneſs, and obtain a compliance in a very eaſy and indifferent matter. If ſhe had left off ſooner, and ſtopp'd at the ſeventh whipping, ſhe had ſpoiled the child for ever; and, by her unprevailing blows, only confirmed her refractorineſs, very hardly afterwards to be cured: but wiſely perſiſting, till ſhe had bent her mind, and ſuppled her will, the only end of correction and chaſtiſement, ſhe eſtabliſhed her authority thoroughly in the very firſt occaſions, and had ever after a very ready compliance and obedience in all things from her daughter. For, as this was the firſt time, ſo, I think, it was the laſt too ſhe ever ſtruck her.

The pain of the rod, the firſt occaſion that requires it, continued and increaſed without leaving off, till it has thoroughly prevailed, ſhould firſt bend the mind, and ſettle the parent's authority: and then gravity, mixed with kindneſs, ſhould for ever after keep it.

This, if well reflected on, would make people more wary in the uſe of the rod and the cudgel; and keep them from being ſo apt to think beating the ſafe and univerſal remedy, to be applied at random, on all occaſions. This is certain however, if it does no good, it does great harm; if it reaches not the mind, Obſtinacy.

and makes not the will ſupple, it hardens the offender; and whatever pain he has ſuffered for it, it does but indear to him his beloved ſtubbornneſs, which has got him this time the victory, and prepares him to conteſt and hope for it for the future. Thus, I doubt not, but by ill-order'd correction, many have been taught to be obſtinate and refractory, who otherwiſe would have been very pliant and tractable. For, if you puniſh a child ſo, as if it were only to revenge the paſt fault, which has raiſed your choler; what operation can this have upon his mind, which is the part to be amended? If there were no ſturdy humour or wilfulneſs mixed with his fault, there was nothing in it, that required the ſeverity of blows. A kind, or grave admonition is enough, to remedy the ſlips of frailty, forgetfulneſs, or inadvertency, and is as much as they will ſtand in need of. But, if there were a perverſeneſs in the will, if it were a deſigned, reſolved diſobedience, the puniſhment is not to be meaſured by the greatneſs or ſmallneſs of the matter wherein it appeared, but by the oppoſition it carries, and ſtands in, to that reſpect and ſubmiſſion that is due to the father's orders; which muſt always be rigorouſly exacted, and the blows by pauſes laid on, till they reach the mind, and you perceive the ſigns of a true ſorrow, ſhame, and purpoſe of obedience.

THIS, I confeſs, requires ſomething more than ſetting children a taſk, and whipping them without any more ado, if it be not done, and done to our fancy. This requires care, attention, obſervation, and a nice ſtudy of children's tempers, and weighing their faults well, before we come to this ſort of puniſhment. But is not that better, than always to have the rod in hand, as the only inſtrument of government; and, by frequent uſe of it, on all occaſions, miſapply and render inefficacious this laſt and uſeful remedy, where there is need of it? For, what elſe can be expected, when it is promiſcuouſly uſed upon every little ſlip? When a miſtake in concordance, or a wrong poſition in verſe, ſhall have the ſeverity of the laſh, in a well-temper'd and induſtrious lad, as ſurely as a wilful crime in an obſtinate and perverſe offender; how can ſuch a way of correction be expected to do good on the mind, and ſet that right? which is the only thing to be look'd after; and, when ſet right, brings all the reſt that you can deſire along with it.

§ 79. WHERE a wrong bent of the will wants not amendment, there can be no need of blows. All other faults, where the mind is rightly diſpoſed, and refuſes not the government and authority of the father or tutor, are but miſtakes, and may often be over-look'd; or, when they are taken notice of, need no other but the gentle remedies of advice, direction, and reproof; till the repeated and wilful neglect of thoſe, ſhews the fault to be in the mind, and that a manifeſt perverſeneſs of the will lies at the root of their diſobedience. But whenever obſtinacy, which is an open defiance, appears, that cannot be wink'd at, or neglected, but muſt, in the firſt inſtance, be ſubdued and maſter'd: only care muſt be had, that we miſtake not; and we muſt be ſure it is obſtinacy, and nothing elſe.

§ 80. BUT ſince the occaſions of puniſhment, eſpecially beating, are as much to be avoided as may be, I think it ſhould not be often brought to this point. If the awe I ſpoke of be once got, a look will be ſufficient in moſt caſes. Nor indeed ſhould the ſame carriage, ſeriouſneſs or application be expected from young children, as from thoſe of riper growth. They muſt be permitted, as I ſaid, the fooliſh and childiſh actions, ſuitable to their years, without taking notice of them; inadvertency, careleſſneſs, and gaiety, is the character of that age. I think the ſeverity I ſpoke of, is not to extend itſelf to ſuch unreaſonable reſtraints; nor is that haſtily to be interpreted obſtinacy or wilfulneſs, which is the natural product of their age or temper. In ſuch miſcarriages they are to be aſſiſted, and help'd towards an amendment, as weak people under a natural infirmity; which, tho' they are warn'd of, yet every relapſe muſt not be counted a perfect neglect, and they preſently treated as obſtinate. Faults of frailty, as they ſhould never be neglected, or let paſs without minding; ſo, unleſs the will mix with them, they ſhould never be exaggerated, or very ſharply reproved; but with a gentle hand ſet right, as time and age permit. By this

Obſtinacy.

means, children will come to ſee what 'tis in any miſcarriage, that is chiefly offenſive, and ſo learn to avoid it. This will encourage them to keep their wills right, which is the great buſineſs; when they find, that it preſerves them from any great diſpleaſure; and that in all their other failings they meet with the kind concern and help, rather than the anger and paſſionate reproaches of their tutor and parents. Keep them from vice, and vicious diſpoſitions, and ſuch a kind of behaviour in general will come, with every degree of their age, as is ſuitable to that age, and the company they ordinarily converſe with: and as they grow in years, they will grow in attention and application. But that your words may always carry weight and authority with them, if it ſhall happen, upon any occaſion, that you bid him leave off the doing of any even childiſh things, you muſt be ſure to carry the point, and not let him have the maſtery. But yet, I ſay, I would have the father ſeldom interpoſe his authority and command in theſe caſes, or in any other, but ſuch as have a tendency to vicious habits. I think there are better ways of prevailing with them; and a gentle perſuaſion in reaſoning (when the firſt point of ſubmiſſion to your will is got) will moſt times do much better.

Reaſoning.

§ 81. It will perhaps be wonder'd, that I mention reaſoning with children: and yet I cannot but think that the true way of dealing with them. They underſtand it as early as they do language; and, if I miſobſerve not, they love to be treated as rational creatures, ſooner than is imagined. 'Tis a pride ſhould be cheriſhed in them, and, as much as can be, made the greateſt inſtrument to turn them by.

But when I talk of reaſoning, I do not intend any other, but ſuch as is ſuited to the child's capacity and apprehenſion. No body can think a boy of three or ſeven years old, ſhould be argued with, as a grown man. Long diſcourſes, and philoſophical reaſonings, at beſt, amaze and confound, but do not inſtruct children. When I ſay therefore, that they muſt be treated as rational creatures, I mean, that you ſhould make them ſenſible, by the mildneſs of your carriage, and the compoſure, even in your correction of them, that what you do is reaſonable in you, and uſeful and neceſſary for them; and that it is not out of capricio, paſſion, or fancy, that you command or forbid them any thing. This they are capable of underſtanding; and there is no virtue they ſhould be excited to, nor fault they ſhould be kept from, which I do not think they may be convinced of: but it muſt be by ſuch reaſons as their age and underſtanding are capable of, and thoſe propoſed always in very few and plain words. The foundations on which ſeveral duties are built, and the fountains of right and wrong, from which they ſpring, are not, perhaps, eaſily to be let into the minds of grown men, not uſed to abſtract their thoughts from common receiv'd opinions. Much leſs are children capable of reaſonings from remote principles. They cannot conceive the force of long deductions: the reaſons that move them muſt be obvious, and level to their thoughts, and ſuch as may (if I may ſo ſay) be felt and touched. But yet, if their age, temper, and inclinations be conſidered, there will never want ſuch motives, as may be ſufficient to convince them. If there be no other more particular, yet theſe will always be intelligible, and of force, to deter them from any fault, fit to be taken notice of in them, *viz.* that it will be a diſcredit and diſgrace to them, and diſpleaſe you.

Examples.

§ 82. But, of all the ways whereby children are to be inſtructed, and their manners formed, the plaineſt, eaſieſt, and moſt efficacious, is to ſet before their eyes the examples of thoſe things you would have them do or avoid. Which, when they are pointed out to them, in the practice of perſons within their knowledge, with ſome reflections on their beauty or unbecomingneſs, are of more force to draw or deter their imitation, than any diſcourſes which can be made to them. Virtues and vices can by no words be ſo plainly ſet before their underſtandings, as the actions of other men will ſhew them, when you direct their obſervation, and bid them view this or that good or bad quality in their practice. And the beauty or uncomelineſs of many things, in good and ill breeding, will be better learnt, and make deeper impreſſions on them, Example.

in the examples of others, than from any rules or inſtructions can be given about them.

This is a method to be uſed, not only whilſt they are young; but to be continued, even as long as they ſhall be under another's tuition or conduct. Nay, I know not whether it be not the beſt way to be uſed by a father, as long as he ſhall think fit, on any occaſion, to reform any thing he wiſhes mended in his ſon; nothing ſinking ſo gently, and ſo deep, into men's minds, as example. And what ill they either overlook, or indulge in themſelves, they cannot but diſlike, and be aſhamed of, when it is ſet before them in another.

Whipping.

§ 83. It may be doubted concerning whipping, when, as the laſt remedy, it comes to be neceſſary; at what times, and by whom it ſhould be done: whether preſently upon the committing the fault, whilſt it is yet freſh and hot; and whether parents themſelves ſhould beat their children. As to the firſt: I think it ſhould not be done preſently, leſt paſſion mingle with it; and ſo, tho' it exceed the juſt proportion, yet it loſe of its due weight: for even children diſcern when we do things in paſſion. But, as I ſaid before, that has moſt weight with them, that appears ſedately to come from their parents reaſon; and they are not without this diſtinction. Next, if you have any diſcreet ſervant capable of it, and has the place of governing your child (for if you have a tutor, there is no doubt) I think it is beſt the ſmart ſhould come more immediately from another's hand, tho' by the parent's order, who ſhould ſee it done; whereby the parent's authority will be preſerved, and the child's averſion, for the pain it ſuffers, rather be turn'd on the perſon that immediately inflicts it. For I would have a father ſeldom ſtrike his child, but upon very urgent neceſſity, and as the laſt remedy: and then perhaps it will be fit to do it ſo, that the child ſhould not quickly forget it.

§ 84. But, as I ſaid before, beating is the worſt, and therefore the laſt means to be uſed in the correction of children; and that only in caſes of extremity, after all gentler ways have been tried, and proved unſucceſsful: which, if well obſerv'd, there will be very ſeldom any need of blows. For, it not being to be imagin'd that a child will often, if ever, diſpute his father's preſent command in any particular inſtance; and the father not interpoſing his abſolute authority, in peremptory rules, concerning either childiſh or indifferent actions, wherein his ſon is to have his liberty; or concerning his learning or improvement, wherein there is no compulſion to be uſed; there remains only the prohibition of ſome vicious actions, wherein a child is capable of obſtinacy, and conſequently can deſerve beating: and ſo there will be but very few occaſions of that diſcipline to be uſed by any one, who conſiders well, and orders his child's education as it ſhould be. For the firſt ſeven years, what vices can a child be guilty of, but lying, or ſome ill-natur'd tricks; the repeated commiſſion whereof, after his father's direct command againſt it, ſhall bring him into the condemnation of obſtinacy, and the chaſtiſement of the rod? If any vicious inclination in him be, in the firſt appearances and inſtances of it, treated as it ſhould be, firſt, with your wonder; and then, if returning again a ſecond time, diſcountenanced with the ſevere brow of the father, tutor, and all about him, and a treatment ſuitable to the ſtate of diſcredit before-mentioned; and this continued till he be made ſenſible and aſhamed of his fault; I imagine there will be no need of any other correction, nor even any occaſion to come to blows. The neceſſity of ſuch chaſtiſement is uſually the conſequence only of former indulgencies or neglects. If vicious inclinations were watched from the beginning, and the firſt irregularities which they cauſed, corrected by thoſe gentler ways, we ſhould ſeldom have to do with more than one diſorder at once; which would be eaſily ſet right without any ſtir or noiſe, and not require ſo harſh a diſcipline as beating. Thus, one by one, as they appear'd, they might all be weeded out, without any ſigns or memory that ever they had been there. But we letting their faults (by indulging and humouring our little ones) grow up, till they are ſturdy and numerous, and the deformity of them makes us aſham'd and uneaſy; we are fain to come to the plough and the harrow; the ſpade and the pick-axe muſt go deep to come at the roots, and all the force, ſkill, and diligence we can uſe, is ſcarce enough to cleanſe the vitiated ſeed-plat, overgrown with weeds, and reſtore us the hopes of fruits to reward our pains in its ſeaſon.

Whipping.

§ 85. This courſe, if obſerv'd, will ſpare both father and child the trouble of repeated injunctions, and multiplied rules of doing and forbearing. For I am of opinion, that of thoſe actions, which tend to vicious habits, (which are thoſe alone that a father ſhould interpoſe his authority and commands in) none ſhould be forbidden children, till they are found guilty of them. For ſuch untimely prohibitions, if they do nothing worſe, do at leaſt ſo much towards teaching and allowing them, that they ſuppoſe that children may be guilty of them, who would poſſibly be ſafer in the ignorance of any ſuch faults. And the beſt remedy to ſtop them, is, as I have ſaid, to ſhew wonder and amazement at any ſuch action as hath a vicious tendency, when it is firſt taken notice of in a child. For example, when he is firſt found in a lye, or any ill-natur'd trick, the firſt remedy ſhould be, to talk to him of it as a ſtrange, monſtrous matter, that it could not be imagin'd he would have done, and ſo ſhame him out of it.

§ 86. It will be ('tis like) objected, That whatſoever I fanſy of the tractableneſs of children, and the prevalency of thoſe ſofter ways of ſhame and commendation; yet there are many, who will never apply themſelves to their books, and to what they ought to learn, unleſs they are ſcourged to it. This, I fear, is nothing but the language of ordinary ſchools and faſhion, which have never ſuffer'd the other to be tried as it ſhould be, in places where it could be taken notice of. Why, elſe, does the learning of Latin and Greek need the rod, when French and Italian need it not? Children learn to dance and fence, without whipping: nay, arithmetick, drawing, &c. they apply themſelves well enough to, without beating: which would make one ſuſpect, that there is ſomething ſtrange, unnatural, and diſagreeable to that age, in the things requir'd in grammar-ſchools, or in the methods uſed there, that children cannot be brought to, without the ſeverity of the laſh, and hardly with that too; or elſe, that it is a miſtake, that thoſe tongues could not be taught them without beating.

§ 87. But let us ſuppoſe ſome ſo negligent or idle, that they will not be brought to learn by the gentle ways propoſed (for we muſt grant, that there will be children found of all tempers); yet it does not thence follow, that the rough diſcipline of the cudgel is to be uſed to all. Nor can any one be concluded unmanageable by the milder methods of government, till they have been thoroughly tried upon him; and, if they will not prevail with him to uſe his endeavours, and do what is in his power to do, we make no excuſes for the obſtinate: blows are the proper remedies for thoſe; but blows laid on, in a way different from the ordinary. He that wilfully neglects his book, and ſtubbornly refuſes any thing he can do, required of him by his father, expreſſing himſelf in a poſitive ſerious command, ſhould not be corrected with two or three angry laſhes, for not performing his taſk, and the ſame puniſhment repeated again and again, upon every the like default: But, when it is brought to that paſs, that wilfulneſs evidently ſhews itſelf, and makes blows neceſſary; I think the chaſtiſement ſhould be a little more ſedate, and a little more ſevere, and the whipping (mingled with admonition between) ſo continued, till the impreſſions of it, on the mind, were found legible in the face, voice, and ſubmiſſion of the child, not ſo ſenſible of the ſmart, as of the fault he has been guilty of, and melting in true ſorrow under it. If ſuch a correction as this, tried ſome few times at fit diſtances, and carried to the utmoſt ſeverity, with the viſible diſpleaſure of the father all the while, will not work the effect, turn the mind, and produce a future compliance; what can be hoped from blows, and to what purpoſe ſhould they be any more uſed? Beating, when you can expect no good from it, will look more like the fury of an enraged enemy, than the good-will of a compaſſionate friend; and ſuch chaſtiſement carries with it only provocation, without any proſpect of amendment. If it be any father's misfortune, to have a ſon thus perverſe and untractable, I know not what more he can do but pray for him. But I imagine, if a right courſe be taken with children from the beginning, very few will be found to be ſuch; and when there are any ſuch in-

Whipping. ſtances, they are not to be the rule for the education of thoſe who are better natur'd, and may be managed with better uſage.

Tutor. § 88. If a tutor can be got, that, thinking himſelf in the father's place, charged with his care, and reliſhing theſe things, will at the beginning apply himſelf to put them in practice, he will afterwards find his work very eaſy: and you will, I gueſs, have your ſon in a little time, a greater proficient in both learning and breeding, than perhaps you imagine. But let him by no means beat him, at any time, without your conſent and direction; at leaſt till you have experience of his diſcretion and temper. But yet, to keep up his authority with his pupil, beſides concealing that he has not the power of the rod, you muſt be ſure to uſe him with great reſpect yourſelf, and cauſe all your family to do ſo too. For you cannot expect, your ſon ſhould have any regard for one, whom he ſees you, or his mother, or others ſlight. If you think him worthy of contempt, you have choſen amiſs; and if you ſhew any contempt of him, he will hardly ſcape it from your ſon: and whenever that happens, whatever worth he may have in himſelf, and abilities for this employment, they are all loſt to your child, and can afterwards never be made uſeful to him.

§ 89. As the father's example muſt teach the child reſpect for his tutor; ſo the tutor's example muſt lead the child into thoſe actions he would have him do. His practice muſt by no means croſs his precepts, unleſs he intend to ſet him wrong. It will be to no purpoſe for the tutor to talk of the reſtraint of the paſſions, whilſt any of his own are let looſe; and he will in vain endeavour to reform any vice or indecency in his pupil, which he allows in himſelf. Ill patterns are ſure to be followed more than good rules: and therefore he muſt alſo carefully preſerve him from the influence of ill precedents, eſpecially the moſt dangerous of all, the examples of the ſervants; from whoſe company he is to be kept, not by prohibitions, for that will but give him an itch after it, but by other ways I have mentioned.

Governor. § 90. In all the whole buſineſs of education, there is nothing like to be leſs hearken'd to, or harder to be well obſerv'd, than what I am now going to ſay; and that is, That children ſhould, from their firſt beginning to talk, have ſome diſcreet, ſober, nay wiſe perſon about them, whoſe care it ſhould be to faſhion them aright, and keep them from all ill, eſpecially the infection of bad company. I think this province requires great ſobriety, temperance, tenderneſs, diligence, and diſcretion; qualities hardly to be found united in perſons, that are to be had for ordinary ſalaries: nor eaſily to be found any-where. As to the charge of it, I think it will be the money beſt laid out that can be about our children; and therefore, tho' it may be expenſive more than is ordinary, yet it cannot be thought dear. He that at any rate procures his child a good mind, well principled, temper'd to virtue and uſefulneſs, and adorned with civility and good breeding, makes a better purchaſe for him, than if he laid out the money for an addition of more earth to his former acres. Spare it in toys and play-games, in ſilk and ribbons, laces and other uſeleſs expences, as much as you pleaſe; but be not ſparing in ſo neceſſary a part as this. 'Tis not good huſbandry to make his fortune rich, and his mind poor. I have often with great admiration ſeen people laviſh it profuſely in tricking up their children in fine cloaths, lodging, and feeding them ſumptuouſly, allowing them more than enough of uſeleſs ſervants; and yet at the ſame time ſtarve their minds, and not take ſufficient care to cover that, which is the moſt ſhameful nakedneſs, viz. their natural wrong inclinations and ignorance. This I can look on as no other than a ſacrificing to their own vanity; it ſhewing more their pride, than true care of the good of their children. Whatſoever you employ to the advantage of your ſon's mind, will ſhew your true kindneſs, tho' it be to the leſſening of his eſtate. A wiſe and good man can hardly want either the opinion or reality of being great and happy. But he that is fooliſh or vicious, can be neither great nor happy, what eſtate ſoever you leave him: and I aſk you, whether there be not men in the world, whom you had rather have your ſon be, with 500 l. per annum, than ſome other you know, with 5000 l.?

Governor.

§ 91. The conſideration of charge ought not, therefore, to deter thoſe who are able: the great difficulty will be, where to find a proper perſon. For thoſe of ſmall age, parts and virtue, are unfit for this employment: and thoſe that have greater, will hardly be got to undertake ſuch a charge. You muſt therefore look out early, and enquire every-where; for the world has people of all ſorts: and I remember, Montaigne ſays in one of his eſſays, That the learned Caſtalio was fain to make trenchers at Baſle, to keep himſelf from ſtarving, when his father would have given any money for ſuch a tutor for his ſon, and Caſtalio have willingly embraced ſuch an employment upon very reaſonable terms: but this was for want of intelligence.

§ 92. If you find it difficult to meet with ſuch a tutor as we deſire, you are not to wonder. I only can ſay, Spare no care nor coſt to get ſuch an one. All things are to be had that way: and I dare aſſure you, that, if you can get a good one, you will never repent the charge; but will always have the ſatisfaction to think it the money, of all other, the beſt laid out. But be ſure take no body upon friends, or charitable, no, nor bare great commendations. Nay, if you will do as you ought, the reputation of a ſober man, with a good ſtock of learning, (which is all uſually required in a tutor) will not be enough to ſerve your turn. In this choice be as curious, as you would be in that of a wife, for him: for you muſt not think of trial, or changing afterwards; that will cauſe great inconveniency to you, and greater to your ſon. When I conſider the ſcruples and cautions I here lay in your way, methinks it looks as if I adviſed you to ſomething, which I would have offer'd at, but in effect not done. But he that ſhall conſider, how much the buſineſs of a tutor, rightly employ'd, lies out of the road; and how remote it is from the thoughts of many, even of thoſe who propoſe to themſelves this employment; will perhaps be of my mind, that one, fit to educate and form the mind of a young gentleman, is not every-where to be found; and that more than ordinary care is to be taken in the choice of him, or elſe you may fail of your end.

Tutor.

§ 93. The character of a ſober man, and a ſcholar, is, as I have above obſerv'd, what every one expects in a tutor. This generally is thought enough, and is all that parents commonly look for. But when ſuch an one has emptied out, into his pupil, all the Latin and logick he has brought from the univerſity, will that furniture make him a fine gentleman? Or can it be expected, that he ſhould be better bred, better ſkill'd in the world, better principled in the grounds and foundations of true virtue and generoſity, than his young tutor is?

To form a young gentleman, as he ſhould be, 'tis fit his governor ſhould himſelf be well-bred, underſtand the ways of carriage, and meaſures of civility, in all the variety of perſons, times and places; and keep his pupil, as much as his age requires, conſtantly to the obſervation of them. This is an art not to be learnt, nor taught by books: nothing can give it, but good company, and obſervation join'd together. The taylor may make his cloaths modiſh, and the dancing maſter give faſhion to his motions; yet neither of theſe, tho' they ſet off well, make a well-bred gentleman: no, tho' he have learning to boot; which, if not well manag'd, makes him more impertinent and intolerable in converſation. Breeding is that, which ſets a gloſs upon all his other good qualities, and renders them uſeful to him, in procuring him the eſteem and good-will of all that he comes near. Without good breeding, his other accompliſhments make him paſs but for proud, conceited, vain, or fooliſh.

Courage, in an ill-bred man has the air, and eſcapes not the opinion, of brutality: learning becomes pedantry; wit, buffoonery; plainneſs, ruſticity; good-nature, fawning: and there cannot be a good quality in him, which want of breeding will not warp, and diſfigure to his diſadvantage. Nay, virtue and parts, tho' they are allow'd their due commendation, yet are not enough to procure a man a good reception, and make him welcome where-ever he comes. No body contents himſelf with rough diamonds, and wears them ſo, who would appear with advantage. When they are poliſh'd and ſet, then they give a luſtre. Good qualities are the ſubſtantial riches of the mind; but 'tis

Tutor. 'tis good breeding ſets them off: and he that will be acceptable, muſt give beauty, as well as ſtrength, to his actions. Solidity, or even uſefulneſs, is not enough: a graceful way and faſhion, in every thing, is that which gives the ornament and liking. And, in moſt caſes, the manner of doing is of more conſequence than the thing done; and upon that depends the ſatisfaction, or diſguſt, wherewith it is received. This therefore, which lies not in the putting off the hat, nor making of compliments, but in a due and free compoſure of language, looks, motion, poſture, place, &c. ſuited to perſons and occaſions, and can be learn'd only by habit and uſe, tho' it be above the capacity of children, and little ones ſhould not be perplex'd about it; yet it ought to be begun, and in a good meaſure learn'd, by a young gentleman, whilſt he is under a tutor, before he comes into the world upon his own legs; for then uſually it is too late to hope to reform ſeveral habitual indecencies, which lie in little things. For the carriage is not as it ſhould be, till it is become natural in every part; falling, as ſkilful muſicians fingers do, into harmonious order, without care, and without thought. If in converſation a man's mind be taken up with a ſolicitous watchfulneſs about any part of his behaviour, inſtead of being mended by it, it will be conſtrain'd, uneaſy, and ungraceful.

Besides, this part is moſt neceſſary to be form'd by the hands and care of a governor: becauſe, tho' the errors committed in breeding are the firſt that are taken notice of by others, yet they are the laſt that any one is told of. Not but that the malice of the world is forward enough to tattle of them; but it is always out of his hearing, who ſhould make profit of their judgment, and reform himſelf by their cenſure. And indeed this is ſo nice a point to be meddled with, that even thoſe who are friends, and wiſh it were mended, ſcarce ever dare mention it, and tell thoſe they love, that they are guilty in ſuch or ſuch caſes of ill breeding. Errors in other things, may often with civility be ſhewn another; and 'tis no breach of good manners, or friendſhip, to ſet him right in other miſtakes: but good breeding itſelf allows not a man to touch upon this; or to inſinuate to another, that he is guilty of want of breeding. Such information can come only from thoſe, who have authority over them: and from them too it comes very hardly and harſhly to a grown man; and, however ſoften'd, goes but ill down with any one, who has lived ever ſo little in the world. Wherefore it is neceſſary, that this part ſhould be the governor's principal care; that an habitual gracefulneſs, and politeneſs in all his carriage, may be ſettled in his charge, as much as may be, before he goes out of his hands: and that he may not need advice in this point, when he has neither time, nor diſpoſition to receive it, nor has any body left to give it him. The tutor therefore ought, in the firſt place, to be well bred: and a young gentleman, who gets this one qualification from his governor, ſets out with great advantage; and will find, that this one accompliſhment will more open his way to him, get him more friends, and carry him farther in the world, than all the hard words, or real knowledge, he has got from the liberal arts, or his tutor's learned encyclopaidia; not that thoſe ſhould be neglected, but by no means preferr'd, or ſuffer'd to thruſt out the other.

§ 94. Besides being well-bred, the tutor ſhould know the world well; the ways, the humours, the follies, the cheats, the faults of the age he is fallen into, and particularly of the country he lives in. Theſe he ſhould be able to ſhew to his pupil, as he finds him capable; teach him ſkill in men, and their manners; pull off the maſk, which their ſeveral callings and pretences cover them with; and make his pupil diſcern what lies at the bottom, under ſuch appearances; that he may not, as unexperienc'd young men are apt to do, if they are unwarn'd, take one thing for another, judge by the outſide, and give himſelf up to ſhew, and the inſinuation of a fair carriage, or an obliging application. A governor ſhould teach his ſcholar to gueſs at, and beware of, the deſigns of men he hath to do with, neither with too much ſuſpicion, nor too much confidence; but, as the young man is by nature moſt inclin'd to either ſide, rectify him, and bend him the other way. He ſhould accuſtom him to make, as much as is poſſible, a true judgment of men by thoſe marks, which ſerve beſt to ſhew

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what they are, and give a proſpect into their inſide; which often ſhews itſelf in little things, eſpecially when they are not in parade, and upon their guard. He ſhould acquaint him with the true ſtate of the world, and diſpoſe him to think no man better or worſe, wiſer or fooliſher, than he really is. Thus, by ſafe and inſenſible degrees, he will paſs from a boy to a man; which is the moſt hazardous ſtep in all the whole courſe of life. This therefore ſhould be carefully watch'd, and a young man with great diligence handed over it; and not, as now uſually is done, be taken from a governor's conduct, and all at once thrown into the world under his own, not without manifeſt danger of immediate ſpoiling; there being nothing more frequent, than inſtances of the great looſeneſs, extravagancy and debauchery, which young men have run into, as ſoon as they have been let looſe from a ſevere and ſtrict education: which, I think, may be chiefly imputed to their wrong way of breeding, eſpecially in this part; for, having been bred up in great ignorance of what the world truly is, and finding it quite another thing, when they come into it, than what they were taught it ſhould be, and ſo imagined it was, are eaſily perſuaded, by other kind of tutors, which they are ſure to meet with, that the diſcipline they were kept under, and the lectures that were read to them, were but the formalities of education, and the reſtraints of childhood; that the freedom belonging to men, is to take their ſwing in a full enjoyment of what was before forbidden them. They ſhew the young novice the world, full of faſhionable and glittering examples of this every-where, and he is preſently dazzled with them. My young maſter, failing not to be willing to ſhew himſelf a man, as much as any of the ſparks of his years, lets himſelf looſe to all the irregularities he finds in the moſt debauch'd; and thus courts credit and manlineſs, in the caſting off the modeſty and ſobriety he has till then been kept in; and thinks it brave, at his firſt ſetting out, to ſignalize himſelf in running counter to all the rules of virtue, which have been preach'd to him by his tutor.

The ſhewing him the world as really it is, before he comes wholly into it, is one of the beſt means, I think, to prevent this miſchief. He ſhould, by degrees, be inform'd of the vices in faſhion, and warn'd of the applications and deſigns of thoſe, who will make it their buſineſs to corrupt him. He ſhould be told the arts they uſe, and the trains they lay; and now and then have ſet before him the tragical or ridiculous examples of thoſe, who are ruining, or ruined, this way. The age is not like to want inſtances of this kind, which ſhould be made land-marks to him; that by the diſgraces, diſeaſes, beggary and ſhame of hopeful young men, thus brought to ruin, he may be precaution'd, and be made ſee, how thoſe join in the contempt and neglect of them that are undone, who, by pretences of friendſhip and reſpect, lead them into it, and help to prey upon them whilſt they were undoing; that he may ſee, before he buys it by a too dear experience, that thoſe who perſuade him not to follow the ſober advices he has receiv'd from his governors, and the counſel of his own reaſon, which they call being govern'd by others, do it only, that they may have the government of him themſelves; and make him believe, he goes like a man of himſelf, by his own conduct, and for his own pleaſure, when, in truth, he is wholly as a child, led by them into thoſe vices, which beſt ſerve their purpoſes. This is a knowledge, which, upon all occaſions, a tutor ſhould endeavour to inſtil, and by all methods try to make him comprehend, and throughly reliſh.

I know it is often ſaid, That to diſcover to a young man the vices of the age, is to teach them him. That, I confeſs, is a good deal ſo, according as it is done; and therefore requires a diſcreet man of parts, who knows the world, and can judge of the temper, inclination, and weak ſide of his pupil. This farther is to be remember'd, that it is not poſſible now (as perhaps formerly it was) to keep a young gentleman from vice, by a total ignorance of it; unleſs you will all his life mew him up in a cloſet, and never let him go into company. The longer he is kept thus hood-wink'd, the leſs he will ſee, when he comes abroad into open day-light, and be the more expoſed to be a prey to himſelf and others. And an old boy, at his firſt appearance, with all the gravity of his ivy-buſh about him, is ſure to draw on him the eyes and chirping of the whole town volery;

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volery; amongſt which, there will not be wanting ſome birds of prey, that will preſently be on the wing for him.

The only fence againſt the world, is a thorough knowledge of it: into which a young gentleman ſhould be enter'd by degrees, as he can bear it; and the earlier the better, ſo he be in ſafe and ſkilful hands to guide him. The ſcene ſhould be gently open'd, and his entrance made ſtep by ſtep, and the dangers pointed out that attend him, from the ſeveral degrees, tempers, deſigns, and clubs of men. He ſhould be prepared to be ſhock'd by ſome, and careſs'd by others; warn'd who are like to oppoſe, who to miſlead, who to undermine him, and who to ſerve him. He ſhould be inſtructed how to know and diſtinguiſh them; where he ſhould let them ſee, and when diſſemble the knowledge of them, and their aims and workings. And if he be too forward to venture upon his own ſtrength and ſkill, the perplexity and trouble of a miſadventure now and then, that reaches not his innocence, his health, or reputation, may not be an ill way to teach him more caution.

This, I confeſs, containing one great part of wiſdom, is not the product of ſome ſuperficial thoughts, or much reading; but the effect of experience and obſervation in a man, who has lived in the world with his eyes open, and converſ'd with men of all ſorts. And therefore I think it of moſt value to be inſtill'd into a young man, upon all occaſions which offer themſelves, that, when he comes to launch into the deep himſelf, he may not be like one at ſea without a line, compaſs, or ſea-chart; but may have ſome notice before-hand of the rocks and ſhoals, the currents and quickſands, and know a little how to ſteer, that he ſink not, before he get experience. He that thinks not this of more moment to his ſon, and for which he more needs a governor, than the languages and learned ſciences, forgets of how much more uſe it is to judge right of men, and manage his affairs wiſely with them, than to ſpeak Greek and Latin, or argue in mood and figure; or to have his head filled with the abſtruſe ſpeculations of natural philoſophy, and metaphyſicks; nay, than to be well verſ'd in Greek and Roman writers, tho' that be much better for a gentleman, than to be a good Peripatetick or Carteſian: becauſe thoſe antient authors obſerv'd and painted mankind well, and give the beſt light into that kind of knowledge. He that goes into the eaſtern parts of Aſia, will find able and acceptable men, without any of theſe: But without virtue, knowledge of the world, and civility, an accompliſhed and valuable man can be found no-where.

A great part of the learning now in faſhion in the ſchools of Europe, and that goes ordinarily into the round of education, a gentleman may, in a good meaſure, be unfurniſhed with, without any great diſparagement to himſelf, or prejudice to his affairs. But prudence and good breeding are, in all the ſtations and occurrences of life, neceſſary; and moſt young men ſuffer in the want of them; and come rawer, and more aukward, into the world, than they ſhould, for this very reaſon; becauſe theſe qualities, which are, of all other, the moſt neceſſary to be taught, and ſtand moſt in need of the aſſiſtance and help of a teacher, are generally neglected, and thought but a ſlight, or no part of a tutor's buſineſs. Latin and learning make all the noiſe: and the main ſtreſs is laid upon his proficiency in things, a great part whereof belongs not to a gentleman's calling; which is, to have the knowledge of a man of buſineſs, a carriage ſuitable to his rank, and to be eminent and uſeful in his country, according to his ſtation. Whenever either ſpare hours from that, or an inclination to perfect himſelf in ſome parts of knowledge, which his tutor did but juſt enter him in, ſet him upon any ſtudy; the firſt rudiments of it, which he learn'd before, will open the way enough for his own induſtry to carry him as far as his fanſy will prompt, or his parts enable him to go: or, if he thinks it may ſave his time and pains, to be help'd over ſome difficulties by the hand of a maſter, he may then take a man that is perfectly well ſkill'd in it, or chuſe ſuch an one, as he thinks fitteſt for his purpoſe. But to initiate his pupil in any part of learning, as far as is neceſſary for a young man in the ordinary courſe of his ſtudies, an ordinary ſkill in the governor is enough. Nor is it requiſite that he ſhould be a thorough ſcholar, or poſſeſs in perfection all thoſe ſciences, which 'tis convenient a young gentleman ſhould have a taſte of, in ſome general view, or ſhort ſyſtem. A gentleman, that would penetrate deeper, muſt do it by his own genius and induſtry afterwards: for no body ever went far in knowledge, or became eminent in any of the ſciences, by the diſcipline and conſtraint of a maſter. Tutor.

The great work of a governor is to faſhion the carriage, and form the mind; to ſettle in his pupil good habits, and the principles of virtue and wiſdom; to give him, by little and little, a view of mankind; and work him into a love and imitation of what is excellent and praiſe-worthy; and in the proſecution of it, to give him vigour, activity, and induſtry. The ſtudies which he ſets him upon, are but, as it were, the exerciſes of his faculties, and employment of his time, to keep him from ſauntering and idleneſs, to teach him application, and accuſtom him to take pains, and to give him ſome little taſte of what his own induſtry muſt perfect. For who expects, that under a tutor a young gentleman ſhould be an accompliſhed critick, orator, or logician; go to the bottom of metaphyſicks, natural philoſophy, or mathematicks; or be a maſter in hiſtory or chronology? Though ſomething of each of theſe is to be taught him: but it is only to open the door, that he may look in, and, as it were, begin an acquaintance, but not to dwell there: and a governor would be much to be blam'd, that ſhould keep his pupil too long, and lead him too far in moſt of them. But of good breeding, knowledge of the world, virtue, induſtry, and a love of reputation, he cannot have too much: and if he have theſe, he will not long want what he needs or deſires of the other.

And ſince it cannot be hoped, he ſhould have time and ſtrength to learn all things, moſt pains ſhould be taken about that which is moſt neceſſary; and that principally look'd after, which will be of moſt and frequenteſt uſe to him in the world.

Seneca complains of the contrary practice in his time: And yet the Burgerſdicius's and the Schieblers did not ſwarm in thoſe days, as they do now in theſe. What would he have thought, if he had lived now, when the tutors think it their great buſineſs to fill the ſtudies and heads of their pupils with ſuch authors as theſe? He would have had much more reaſon to ſay, as he does, "Non vitæ, ſed ſcholæ diſcimus," we learn not to live, but to diſpute; and our education fits us rather for the univerſity, than the world. But 'tis no wonder, if thoſe who make the faſhion, ſuit it to what they have, and not to what their pupils want. The faſhion being once eſtabliſhed, who can think it ſtrange, that in this, as well as in all other things, it ſhould prevail; and that the greateſt part of thoſe, who find their account in an eaſy ſubmiſſion to it, ſhould be ready to cry out hereſy, when any one departs from it? 'Tis nevertheleſs matter of aſtoniſhment, that men of quality and parts ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be ſo far miſled by cuſtom and implicit faith. Reaſon, if conſulted with, would adviſe, that their childrens time ſhould be ſpent in acquiring what might be uſeful to them, when they come to be men, rather than to have their heads ſtuffed with a deal of traſh, a great part whereof they uſually never do ('tis certain they never need to) think on again as long as they live; and ſo much of it, as does ſtick by them, they are only the worſe for. This is ſo well known, that I appeal to parents themſelves, who have been at coſt to have their young heirs taught it, whether it be not ridiculous for their ſons to have any tincture of that ſort of learning, when they come abroad into the world; whether any appearance of it would not leſſen and diſgrace them in company. And that certainly muſt be an admirable acquiſition, and deſerves well to make a part in education, which men are aſham'd of, where they are moſt concern'd to ſhew their parts and breeding.

There is yet another reaſon, why politeneſs of manners, and knowledge of the world, ſhould principally be look'd after in a tutor: and that is, becauſe a man of parts and years may enter a lad far enough in any of thoſe ſciences, which he has no deep inſight into himſelf. Books in theſe will be able to furniſh him, and give him light and precedency enough, to go before a young follower:

Tutor. follower: But he will never be able to ſet another right in the knowledge of the world, and above all, in breeding, who is a novice in them himſelf.

This is a knowledge he muſt have about him, worn into him by uſe and converſation, and a long forming himſelf by what he has obſerv'd to be practis'd and allow'd in the beſt company. This, if he has it not of his own, is no-where to be borrowed, for the uſe of his pupil: Or if he could find pertinent treatiſes of it in books, that would reach all the particulars of an Engliſh gentleman's behaviour; his own ill-faſhion'd example, if he be not well-bred himſelf, would ſpoil all his lectures; it being impoſſible, that any one ſhould come forth well-faſhioned, out of unpoliſh'd, ill-bred company.

I say this, not that I think ſuch a tutor is every day to be met with, or to be had at the ordinary rates; but that thoſe, who are able, may not be ſparing of inquiry or coſt, in what is of ſo great moment; and that other parents, whoſe eſtates will not reach to greater ſalaries, may yet remember, what they ſhould principally have an eye to, in the choice of one, to whom they would commit the education of their children; and what part they ſhould chiefly look after themſelves, whilſt they are under their care, and as often as they come within their obſervation; and not think, that all lies in Latin and French, or ſome dry ſyſtems of logick and philoſophy.

Familiarity. § 95. But to return to our method again. Tho' I have mention'd the ſeverity of the father's brow, and the awe ſettled thereby in the mind of children when young, as one main inſtrument, whereby their education is to be manag'd; yet I am far from being of an opinion, that it ſhould be continued all along to them: whilſt they are under the diſcipline and government of pupilage, I think it ſhould be relaxed, as faſt as their age, diſcretion, and good behaviour could allow it; even to that degree, that a father will do well, as his ſon grows up, and is capable of it, to talk familiarly with him; nay, aſk his advice, and conſult with him, about thoſe things wherein he has any knowledge or underſtanding. By this the father will gain two things, both of great moment. The one is, that it will put ſerious conſiderations into his ſon's thoughts, better than any rules or advices he can give him. The ſooner you treat him as a man, the ſooner he will begin to be one: and if you admit him into ſerious diſcourſes ſometimes with you, you will inſenſibly raiſe his mind above the uſual amuſements of youth, and thoſe trifling occupations which it is commonly waſted in. For it is eaſy to obſerve, that many young men continue longer in the thought and converſation of ſchool-boys, than otherwiſe they would, becauſe their parents keep them at that diſtance, and in that low rank, by all their carriage to them.

§ 96. Another thing of greater conſequence, which you will obtain by ſuch a way of treating him, will be his friendſhip. Many fathers, tho' they proportion to their ſons liberal allowances, according to their age and condition; yet they keep the knowledge of their eſtates and concerns from them with as much reſervedneſs, as if they were guarding a ſecret of ſtate from a ſpy or an enemy. This, if it looks not like jealouſy, yet it wants thoſe marks of kindneſs and intimacy, which a father ſhould ſhew to his ſon; and, no doubt, often hinders or abates that chearfulneſs and ſatisfaction, wherewith a ſon ſhould addreſs himſelf to, and rely upon, his father. And I cannot but often wonder to ſee fathers, who love their ſons very well, yet ſo order the matter, by a conſtant ſtiffneſs, and a mien of authority and diſtance to them all their lives, as if they were never to enjoy or have any comfort from thoſe they love beſt in the world, till they have loſt them by being removed into another. Nothing cements and eſtabliſhes friendſhip and good-will, ſo much as confident communication of concernments and affairs. Other kindneſſes, without this, leave ſtill ſome doubts: but when your ſon ſees you open your mind to him; when he finds, that you intereſt him in your affairs, as things you are willing ſhould, in their turn, come into his hands, he will be concern'd for them as for his own; wait his ſeaſon with patience, and love you in the mean time, who keep him not at the diſtance of a ſtranger. This will alſo make him ſee, that the enjoyment you have, is not without care; which the more he is ſenſible of, the leſs

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will he envy you the poſſeſſion, and the more think himſelf happy under the management of ſo favourable a friend, and ſo careful a father. There is ſcarce any young man of ſo little thought, or ſo void of ſenſe, that would not be glad of a ſure friend, that he might have recourſe to, and freely conſult on occaſion. The reſervedneſs and diſtance that fathers keep, often deprive their ſons of that refuge, which would be of more advantage to them, than an hundred rebukes and chidings. Would your ſon engage in ſome frolick, or take a vagary, were it not much better he ſhould do it with, than without your knowledge? For ſince allowances for ſuch things muſt be made to young men, the more you know of his intrigues and deſigns, the better will you be able to prevent great miſchiefs; and, by letting him ſee what is like to follow, take the right way of prevailing with him to avoid leſs inconveniencies. Would you have him open his heart to you, and aſk your advice? You muſt begin to do ſo with him firſt, and by your carriage beget that confidence.

§ 97. But whatever he conſults you about, unleſs it lead to ſome fatal and irremediable miſchief, be ſure you adviſe only as a friend of more experience; but with your advice mingle nothing of command or authority, nor more than you would to your equal, or a ſtranger. That would be to drive him for ever from any farther demanding, or receiving advantage from your counſel. You muſt conſider, that he is a young man, and has pleaſures and fancies, which you are paſs'd. You muſt not expect his inclinations ſhould be juſt as yours, nor that at twenty he ſhould have the ſame thoughts you have at fifty. All that you can wiſh is, That ſince youth muſt have ſome liberty, ſome out-leaps, they might be with the ingenuity of a ſon, and under the eye of a father, and then no very great harm can come of it. The way to obtain this, as I ſaid before, is (according as you find him capable) to talk with him about your affairs, propoſe matters to him familiarly, and aſk his advice; and when he ever lights on the right, follow it as his; and if it ſucceed well, let him have the commendation. This will not at all leſſen your authority, but increaſe his love and eſteem of you. Whilſt you keep your eſtate, the ſtaff will ſtill be in your own hands; and your authority the ſurer, the more it is ſtrengthened with confidence and kindneſs. For you have not that power you ought to have over him, till he come to be more afraid of offending ſo good a friend, than of loſing ſome part of his future expectation.

§ 98. Familiarity of diſcourſe, if it can become a father to his ſon, may much more be condeſcended to by a tutor to his pupil. All their time together ſhould not be ſpent in reading of lectures, and magiſterially dictating to him what he is to obſerve and follow; hearing him in his turn, and uſing him to reaſon about what is propoſed, will make the rules go down the eaſier, and ſink the deeper, and will give him a liking to ſtudy and inſtruction: and he will then begin to value knowledge, when he ſees that it enables him to diſcourſe; and he finds the pleaſure and credit of bearing a part in the converſation, and of having his reaſons ſometimes approv'd and hearken'd to. Particularly in morality, prudence and breeding, caſes ſhould be put to him, and his judgment aſk'd: this opens the underſtanding better than maxims, how well ſoever explain'd; and ſettles the rules better in the memory for practice. This ways lets things into the mind, which ſtick there, and retain their evidence with them; whereas words at beſt are faint repreſentations, being not ſo much as the true ſhadows of things, and are much ſooner forgotten. He will better comprehend the foundations and meaſures of decency and juſtice; and have livelier and more laſting impreſſions of what he ought to do, by giving his opinion on caſes propoſed, and reaſoning with his tutor on fit inſtances, than by giving a ſilent, negligent, ſleepy audience to his tutor's lectures; and much more than by captious logical diſputes, or ſet declamations of his own, upon any queſtion. The one ſets the thoughts upon wit, and falſe colours, and not upon truth: the other teaches fallacy, wrangling and opiniatry; and they are both of them things that ſpoil the judgment, and put a man out of the way of right and fair reaſoning, and therefore carefully to be avoided by one who would improve himſelf, and be acceptable to others.

Reverence. § 99. When, by making your ſon ſenſible that he depends on you, and is in your power, you have eſtabliſh'd your authority; and by being inflexibly ſevere in your carriage to him, when obſtinately perſiſting in any ill-natur'd trick which you have forbidden, eſpecially lying, you have imprinted on his mind that awe which is neceſſary; and on the other ſide, when (by permitting him the full liberty due to his age, and laying no reſtraint in your preſence to thoſe childiſh actions, and gaiety of carriage, which, whilſt he is very young, are as neceſſary to him as meat or ſleep) you have reconcil'd him to your company, and made him ſenſible of your care and love of him by indulgence and tenderneſs, eſpecially careſſing him on all occaſions wherein he does any thing well, and being kind to him, after a thouſand faſhions, ſuitable to his age, which nature teaches parents better than I can: when, I ſay, by theſe ways of tenderneſs and affection, which parents never want for their children, you have alſo planted in him a particular affection for you, he is then in the ſtate you could deſire, and you have form'd in his mind that true reverence, which is always afterwards carefully to be continued and maintained in both parts of it, love and fear, as the great principles whereby you will always have hold upon him to turn his mind to the ways of virtue and honour.

Temper. § 100. When this foundation is once well laid, and you find this reverence begin to work in him, the next thing to be done, is carefully to conſider his temper, and the particular conſtitution of his mind. Stubbornneſs, lying, and ill-natur'd actions, are not (as has been ſaid) to be permitted in him from the beginning, whatever his temper be: thoſe ſeeds of vices are not to be ſuffer'd to take any root, but muſt be carefully weeded out, as ſoon as ever they begin to ſhew themſelves in him; and your authority is to take place, and influence his mind from the very dawning of knowledge in him, that it may operate as a natural principle, whereof he never perceiv'd the beginning, never knew that it was, or could be otherwiſe. By this, if the reverence he owes you be eſtabliſhed early, it will always be ſacred to him; and it will be as hard for him to reſiſt it, as the principles of his nature.

§ 101. Having thus very early ſet up your authority, and, by the gentler applications of it, ſhamed him out of what leads towards an immoral habit; as ſoon as you have obſerv'd it in him, (for I would by no means have chiding uſed, much leſs blows, till obſtinacy and incorrigibleneſs make it abſolutely neceſſary) it will be fit to conſider which way the natural make of his mind inclines him. Some men, by the unalterable frame of their conſtitutions, are ſtout, others timorous; ſome confident, others modeſt, tractable or obſtinate, curious or careleſs, quick or ſlow. There are not more differences in men's faces, and the outward lineaments of their bodies, than there are in the makes and tempers of their minds; only there is this difference, that the diſtinguiſhing characters of the face, and the lineaments of the body, grow more plain and viſible with time and age, but the peculiar phyſiognomy of the mind is moſt diſcernible in children, before art and cunning have taught them to hide their deformities, and conceal their ill inclinations under a diſſembled outſide.

§ 102. Begin therefore betimes nicely to obſerve your ſon's temper; and that, when he is under the leaſt reſtraint, in his play, and, as he thinks, out of your ſight. See what are his predominant paſſions, and prevailing inclinations; whether he be fierce or mild, bold or baſhful, compaſſionate or cruel, open or reſerv'd, &c. For as theſe are different in him, ſo are your methods to be different, and your authority muſt hence take meaſures to apply itſelf different ways to him. Theſe native propenſities, theſe prevalencies of conſtitution, are not to be cured by rules, or a direct conteſt; eſpecially thoſe of them that are the humbler and meaner ſort, which proceeds from fear and lowneſs of ſpirit; tho' with art they may be much mended, and turn'd to good purpoſes. But this be ſure, after all is done, the byaſs will always hang on that ſide that nature firſt plac'd it: and, if you carefully obſerve the characters of his mind now in the firſt ſcenes of his life, you will ever after be able to judge which way his thoughts lean, and what he aims at even hereafter, when, as he grows up, the plot thickens, and he puts on ſeveral ſhapes to act it.

Dominion.

§ 103. I TOLD you before, that children love liberty; and therefore they ſhould be brought to do the things that are fit for them, without feeling any reſtraint laid upon them. I now tell you, they love ſomething more; and that is dominion; and this is the firſt original of moſt vicious habits, that are ordinary and natural. This love of power and dominion ſhews itſelf very early, and that in theſe two things.

§ 104. 1. WE ſee children (as ſoon almoſt as they are born, I am ſure long before they can ſpeak) cry, grow peeviſh, ſullen, and out of humour, for nothing but to have their wills. They would have their deſires ſubmitted to by others; they contend for a ready compliance from all about them, eſpecially from thoſe that ſtand near or beneath them in age or degree, as ſoon as they come to conſider others with thoſe diſtinctions.

§ 105. 2. ANOTHER thing, wherein they ſhew their love of dominion, is their deſire to have things to be theirs; they would have propriety and poſſeſſion, pleaſing themſelves with the power which that ſeems to give, and the right they thereby have to diſpoſe of them as they pleaſe. He that has not obſerv'd theſe two humours working very betimes in children, has taken little notice of their actions: and he who thinks that theſe two roots of almoſt all the injuſtice and contention that ſo diſturb human life, are not early to be weeded out, and contrary habits introduc'd, neglects the proper ſeaſon to lay the foundations of a good and worthy man. To do this, I imagine, theſe following things may ſomewhat conduce.

Craving.

§ 106. 1. THAT a child ſhould never be ſuffered to have what he craves, much leſs what he cries for, I had ſaid, or ſo much as ſpeaks for. But that being apt to be miſunderſtood, and interpreted as if I meant a child ſhould never ſpeak to his parents for any thing, which will perhaps be thought to lay too great a curb on the minds of children, to the prejudice of that love and affection which ſhould be between them and their parents; I ſhall explain myſelf a little more particularly. It is fit that they ſhould have liberty to declare their wants to their parents, and that with all tenderneſs they ſhould be hearken'd to, and ſupplied, at leaſt whilſt they are very little. But 'tis one thing to ſay, I am hungry; another to ſay, I would have roaſt-meat. Having declar'd their wants, their natural wants, the pain they feel from hunger, thirſt, cold, or any other neceſſity of nature; 'tis the duty of their parents, and thoſe about them, to relieve them: but children muſt leave it to the choice and ordering of their parents what they think propereſt for them, and how much; and muſt not be permitted to chooſe for themſelves; and ſay, I would have wine, or white-bread; the very naming of it ſhould make them loſe it.

§ 107. THAT which parents ſhould take care of here, is to diſtinguiſh between the wants of fancy and thoſe of nature, which Horace has well taught them to do in this verſe,

"Queis humana ſibi doleat natura negatis."

THOSE are truly natural wants, which reaſon alone, without ſome other help, is not able to fence againſt, nor keep from diſturbing us. The pains of ſickneſs and hurts, hunger, thirſt and cold, want of ſleep and reſt, or relaxation of the part wearied with labour, are what all men feel, and the beſt diſpoſed minds cannot but be ſenſible of their uneaſineſs; and therefore ought, by fit applications, to ſeek their removal, tho' not with impatience, or over-great haſte, upon the firſt approaches of them, where delay does not threaten ſome irreparable harm. The pains that come from the neceſſities of nature, are monitors to us to beware of greater miſchiefs, which they are the forerunners of; and therefore they muſt not be wholly neglected, nor ſtrained too far. But yet, the more children can be inur'd to hardſhips of this kind, by a wiſe care to make them ſtronger in body and mind, the better it will be for them. I need not here give any caution to keep within the bounds of doing them good, and to take care, that what children are made to ſuffer, ſhould neither break their ſpirits, Craving. not injure their health; parents being but too apt of themſelves to incline, more than they ſhould, to the ſofter ſide.

But whatever compliance the neceſſities of nature may require, the wants of fancy, children ſhould never be gratified in, nor ſuffered to mention. The very ſpeaking for any ſuch thing, ſhould make them loſe it. Cloaths, when they need, they muſt have; but if they ſpeak for this ſtuff, or that colour, they ſhould be ſure to go without it. Not that I would have parents purpoſely croſs the deſires of their children in matters of indifferency: on the contrary, where their carriage deſerves it, and one is ſure it will not corrupt or effeminate their minds, and make them fond of trifles, I think, all things ſhould be contriv'd, as much as could be, to their ſatisfaction, that they might find the eaſe and pleaſure of doing well. The beſt for children is, that they ſhould not place any pleaſure in ſuch things at all, nor regulate their delight by their fancies; but be indifferent to all that nature has made ſo. This is what their parents and teachers ſhould chiefly aim at: but till this be obtain'd, all that I oppoſe here, is the liberty of aſking; which, in theſe things of conceit, ought to be reſtrain'd by a conſtant forfeiture annex'd to it.

This may perhaps be thought a little too ſevere, by the natural indulgence of tender parents: but yet it is no more than neceſſary. For ſince the method I propoſe is to baniſh the rod, this reſtraint of their tongues will be of great uſe to ſettle that awe we have elſewhere ſpoken of, and to keep up in them the reſpect and reverence due to their parents. Next, it will teach them to keep in, and ſo maſter their inclinations. By this means they will be brought to learn the art of ſtifling their deſires, as ſoon as they riſe up in them, when they are eaſieſt to be ſubdued. For giving vent, gives life and ſtrength to our appetites; and he that has the confidence to turn his wiſhes into demands, will be but a little way from thinking he ought to obtain them. This I am ſure, every one can more eaſily bear a denial from himſelf, than from any body elſe. They ſhould therefore be accuſtomed betimes, to conſult and make uſe of their reaſon, before they give allowance to their inclinations. 'Tis a great ſtep towards the maſtery of our deſires, to give this ſtop to them, and ſhut them up in ſilence. This habit, got by children, of ſtaying the forwardneſs of their fancies, and deliberating whether it be fit or no before they ſpeak, will be of no ſmall advantage to them in matters of greater conſequence in the future courſe of their lives. For that which I cannot too often inculcate, is, that whatever the matter be, about which it is converſant, whether great or ſmall, the main (I had almoſt ſaid only) thing to be conſider'd, in every action of a child, is, what influence it will have upon his mind; what habit it tends to, and is like to ſettle in him; how it will become him when he is bigger; and, if it be encouraged, whither it will lead him when is grown up.

My meaning therefore is not, that children ſhould purpoſely be made uneaſy; this would reliſh too much of inhumanity and ill-nature, and be apt to infect them with it. They ſhould be brought to deny their appetites; and their minds, as well as bodies, be made vigorous, eaſy and ſtrong, by the cuſtom of having their inclinations in ſubjection, and their bodies exerciſed with hardſhips; but all this without giving them any mark or apprehenſion of ill-will towards them. The conſtant loſs of what they craved or carved to themſelves, ſhould teach them modeſty, ſubmiſſion, and a power to forbear: but the rewarding their modeſty and ſilence, by giving them what they liked, ſhould alſo aſſure them of the love of thoſe who rigorouſly exacted this obedience. The contenting themſelves now, in the want of what they wiſh'd for, is a virtue, that another time ſhould be rewarded with what is ſuited and acceptable to them; which ſhould be beſtow'd on them, as if it were a natural conſequence of their good behaviour, and not a bargain about it. But you will loſe your labour, and what is more, their love and reverence too, if they can receive from others what you deny them. This is to be kept very ſtanch, and carefully to be watched. And here the ſervants come again in my way.

Curioſity. § 108. If this be begun betimes, and they accuſtom themſelves early to ſilence their deſires, this uſeful habit will ſettle them; and, as they come to grow up in

Curioſity.

in age and diſcretion, they may be allow'd greater liberty; when reaſon comes to ſpeak in them, and not paſſion. For whenver reaſon would ſpeak, it ſhould be hearken'd to. But, as they ſhould never be heard, when they ſpeak for any particular thing they would have, unleſs it be firſt propos'd to them; ſo they ſhould always be heard, and fairly and kindly anſwer'd, when they aſk after any thing they would know, and deſire to be inform'd about. Curioſity ſhould be as carefully cheriſhed in children, as other appetites ſuppreſſed.

Recreation.

HOWEVER ſtrict a hand is to be kept upon all deſires of fancy, yet there is one caſe wherein fancy muſt be permitted to ſpeak, and be hearken'd to alſo. Recreation is as neceſſary as labour or food: but becauſe there can be no recreation without delight, which depends not always on reaſon, but oftner on fancy, it muſt be permitted children not only to divert themſelves, but to do it after their own faſhion, provided it be innocently, and without prejudice to their health; and therefore in this caſe they ſhould not be denied, if they propos'd any particular kind of recreation; tho' I think, in a well-order'd education, they will ſeldom be brought to the neceſſity of aſking any ſuch liberty. Care ſhould be taken, that what is of advantage to them, they ſhould always do with delight; and, before they are wearied with one, they ſhould be timely diverted to ſome other uſeful employment. But if they are not yet brought to that degree of perfection, that one way of improvement can be made a recreation to them, they muſt be let looſe to the childiſh play they fanſy; which they ſhould be weaned from, by being made ſurfeit of it: but from things of uſe, that they are employ'd in, they ſhould always be ſent away with an appetite; at leaſt be diſmiſſed before they are tired, and grow quite ſick of it; that ſo they may return to it again, as to a pleaſure that diverts them. For you muſt never think them ſet right, till they can find delight in the practice of laudable things; and the uſeful exerciſes of the body and mind, taking their turns, make their lives and improvement pleaſant in a continued train of recreations, wherein the wearied part is conſtantly relieved and refreſhed. Whether this can be done in every temper, or whether tutors and parents will be at the pains, and have the diſcretion and patience to bring them to this, I know not; but that it may be done in moſt children, if a right courſe be taken to raiſe in them the deſire of credit, eſteem and reputation, I do not at all doubt. And when they have ſo much true life put into them, they may freely be talked with, about what moſt delights them, and be directed, or let looſe to it; ſo that they may perceive that they are belov'd and cheriſh'd, and that thoſe under whoſe tuition they are, are not enemies to their ſatisfaction. Such a management will make them in love with the hand that directs them, and the virtue they are directed to.

THIS farther advantage may be made by a free liberty permitted them in their recreations, that it will diſcover their natural tempers, ſhew their inclinations and aptitudes; and thereby direct wiſe parents in the choice, both of the courſe of life and employment they ſhall deſign them for, and of fit remedies, in the mean time, to be applied to whatever bent of nature they may obſerve moſt likely to miſlead any of their children.

Complaints.

§ 109. 2. CHILDREN, who live together, often ſtrive for maſtery, whoſe wills ſhall carry it over the reſt: whoever begins the conteſt, ſhould be ſure to be croſſed in it. But not only that, but they ſhould be taught to have all the deference, complaiſance and civility one for the other imaginable. This, when they ſee it procures them reſpect, love, and eſteem, and that they loſe no ſuperiority by it, they will take more pleaſure in, than in inſolent domineering; for ſo plainly is the other.

THE accuſations of children one againſt another, which uſually are but the clamours of anger and revenge, deſiring aid, ſhould not be favourably receiv'd nor hearken'd to. It weakens and effeminates their minds to ſuffer them to complain: and if they endure ſometimes croſſing or pain from others, without being permitted to think it ſtrange or intolerable, it will do them no harm to learn ſufferance, and harden them early. But, tho' you give no countenance to the complaints of the querulous, yet take care to curb the inſolence and ill-nature of the injurious. When you obſerve it yourſelf, reprove it before the in-

Complaints. jured party: but if the complaint be of ſomething really worth your notice and prevention another time, then reprove the offender by himſelf alone, out of ſight of him that complained, and make him go and aſk pardon, and make reparation. Which coming thus, as it were, from himſelf, will be the more chearfully perform'd, and more kindly receiv'd, the love ſtrengthen'd between them, and a cuſtom of civility grow familiar amongſt your children.

Liberality. § 110. 3. As to having and poſſeſſing of things, teach them to part with what they have, eaſily and freely to their friends; and let them find by experience, that the moſt liberal has always moſt plenty, with eſteem and commendation to boot, and they will quickly learn to practiſe it. This, I imagine, will make brothers and ſiſters kinder and civiller to one another, and conſequently to others, than twenty rules about good manners, with which children are ordinarily perplex'd and cumber'd. Covetouſneſs, and the deſire of having in our poſſeſſion, and under our dominion, more than we have need of, being the root of all evil, ſhould be early and carefully weeded out, and the contrary quality, of a readineſs to impart to others, implanted. This ſhould be encouraged by great commendation and credit, and conſtantly taking care, that he loſes nothing by his liberality. Let all the inſtances he gives of ſuch freeneſs be always repaid, and with intereſt; and let him ſenſibly perceive, that the kindneſs he ſhews to others is no ill huſbandry for himſelf; but that it brings a return for kindneſs, both from thoſe that receive it, and thoſe who look on. Make this a conteſt among children, who ſhall out-do one another this way. And by this means, by a conſtant practice, children having made it eaſy to themſelves to part with what they have, good-nature may be ſettled in them into an habit, and they may take pleaſure, and pique themſelves in being kind, liberal, and civil to others.

Juſtice. If liberality ought to be encourag'd, certainly great care is to be taken that children trangreſs not the rules of juſtice: and whenever they do, they ſhould be ſet right; and if there be occaſion for it, ſeverely rebuk'd.

Our firſt actions being guided more by ſelf-love than reaſon or reflection, 'tis no wonder that in children they ſhould be very apt to deviate from the juſt meaſures of right and wrong, which are in the mind the reſult of improved reaſon, and ſerious meditation. This the more they are apt to miſtake, the more careful guard ought to be kept over them, and every the leaſt ſlip in this great ſocial virtue taken notice of and rectified; and that in things of the leaſt weight and moment, both to inſtruct their ignorance, and prevent ill habits, which, from ſmall beginnings, in pins and cherry-ſtones, will, if let alone, grow up to higher frauds, and be in danger to end at laſt in down-right harden'd diſhoneſty. The firſt tendency to any injuſtice that appears, muſt be ſuppreſſed with a ſhew of wonder and abhorrency in the parents and governors. But becauſe children cannot well comprehend what injuſtice is, till they underſtand property, and how particular perſons come by it, the ſafeſt way to ſecure honeſty, is to lay the foundations of it early in liberality, and an eaſineſs to part with to others whatever they have, or like, themſelves. This may be taught them early, before they have language and underſtanding enough to form diſtinct notions of property, and to know what is theirs by a peculiar right excluſive of others. And ſince children ſeldom have any thing but by gift, and that for the moſt part from their parents, they may be at firſt taught not to take or keep any thing, but what is given them by thoſe whom they take to have a power over it; and, as their capacities inlarge, other rules and caſes of juſtice, and rights concerning "meum" and "tuum," may be propoſed and inculcated. If any act of injuſtice in them appears to proceed, not from miſtake, but a perverſeneſs in their wills, when a gentle rebuke and ſhame will not reform this irregular and covetous inclination, rougher remedies muſt be applied: and 'tis but for the father or tutor to take and keep from them ſomething that they value, and think their own; or order ſome body elſe to do it, and by ſuch inſtances make them ſenſible, what little advantage they are like to make, by poſſeſſing themſelves unjuſtly of what is another's, whilſt there are in the world ſtronger and more men than they. But if an ingenuous deteſtation of this ſhameful vice be but carefully and early inſtill'd into them, as I think it may, that is the true and genuine method to ob-

Juſtice.

vate this crime; and will be a better guard againſt diſhoneſty, than any conſiderations drawn from intereſt; habits working more conſtantly, and with greater facility, than reaſon: which, when we have moſt need of it, is ſeldom fairly conſulted, and more rarely obeyed.

Crying.

§. 111. CRYING is a fault that ſhould not be tolerated in children; not only for the unpleaſant and unbecoming noiſe it fills the houſe with, but for more conſiderable reaſons, in reference to the children themſelves; which is to be our aim in education.

THEIR crying is of two ſorts; either ſtubborn and domineering, or querulous and whining.

1. THEIR crying is very often a ſtriving for maſtery, and an open declaration of their inſolence or obſtinacy: when they have not the power to obtain their deſire, they will, by their clamour and ſobbing, maintain their title and right to it. This is an avow'd continuing of their claim, and a ſort of remonſtrance againſt the oppreſſion and injuſtice of thoſe who deny them what they have a mind to.

§ 112. SOMETIMES their crying is the effect of pain or true ſorrow, and a bemoaning themſelves under it.

THESE two, if carefully obſerv'd, may, by the mien, looks and actions, and particularly by the tone of their crying, be eaſily diſtinguiſh'd; but neither of them muſt be ſuffer'd, much leſs encourag'd.

1. THE obſtinate or ſtomachful crying ſhould by no means be permitted; becauſe it is but another way of flattering their deſires, and encouraging thoſe paſſions, which 'tis our main buſineſs to ſubdue: and if it be, as often it is, upon the receiving any correction, it quite defeats all the good effects of it; for any chaſtiſement, which leaves them in this declar'd oppoſition, only ſerves to make them worſe. The reſtraints and puniſhments laid on children are all miſapplied and loſt, as far as they do not prevail over their wills, teach them to ſubmit their paſſions, and make their minds ſupple and pliant to what their parents reaſon adviſes them now, and ſo prepare them to obey what their own reaſon ſhall adviſe hereafter. But if, in any thing wherein they are croſſed, they may be ſuffered to go away crying, they confirm themſelves in their deſires, and cheriſh the ill humour, with a declaration of their right, and a reſolution to ſatisfy their inclination the firſt opportunity. This therefore is another argument againſt the frequent uſe of blows: for, whenever you come to that extremity, 'tis not enough to whip or beat them; you muſt do it, till you find you have ſubdued their minds; till with ſubmiſſion and patience they yield to the correction; which you ſhall beſt diſcover by their crying, and their ceaſing from it upon your bidding. Without this, the beating of children is but a paſſionate tyranny over them: and it is mere cruelty, and not correction, to put their bodies in pain, without doing their minds any good. As this gives us a reaſon why children ſhould ſeldom be corrected, ſo it alſo prevents their being ſo. For if, whenever they are chaſtiſed, it were done thus without paſſion, ſoberly and yet effectually too, laying on the blows and ſmart, not furiouſly and all at once, but ſlowly, with reaſoning between, and with obſervation how it wrought, ſtopping when it had made them pliant, penitent and yielding; they would ſeldom need the like puniſhment again, being made careful to avoid the fault that deſerv'd it. Beſides, by this means, as the puniſhment will not be loſt, for being too little, and not effectual, ſo it would be kept from being too much, if we gave off as ſoon as we perceiv'd that it reach'd the mind, and that was better'd. For ſince the chiding or beating of children ſhould be always the leaſt that poſſibly may be, that which is laid on in the heat of anger, ſeldom obſerves that meaſure; but is commonly more than it ſhould be, tho' it prove leſs than enough.

§. 113. 2. MANY children are apt to cry, upon any little pain they ſuffer; and the leaſt harm that befals them, puts them into complaints and bawling. This few children avoid: for it being the firſt and natural way to declare their ſufferings or wants, before they can ſpeak, the compaſſion that is thought due to their tender age, fooliſhly encourages, and continues it in them long after

Crying.

they can ſpeak. 'Tis the duty, I confeſs, of thoſe about children, to compaſſionate them, whenever they ſuffer any hurt; but not to ſhew it in pitying them. Help and eaſe them the beſt you can, but by no means bemoan them. This ſoftens their minds, and makes them yield to the little harms that happen to them; whereby they ſink deeper into that part which alone feels, and make larger wounds there, than otherwiſe they would. They ſhould be harden'd againſt all ſufferings, eſpecially of the body, and have no tenderneſs but what riſes from an ingenuous ſhame, and a quick ſenſe of reputation. The many inconveniences this life is expoſed to, require we ſhould not be too ſenſible of every little hurt. What our minds yield not to, makes but a ſlight impreſſion, and does us but very little harm: 'tis the ſuffering of our ſpirits that gives and continues the pain. This brawnineſs and inſenſibility of mind, is the beſt armour we can have againſt the common evils and accidents of life; and being a temper, that is to be got by exerciſe and cuſtom, more than any other way, the practice of it ſhould be begun betimes, and happy is he that is taught it early. That effeminacy of ſpirit, which is to be prevented or cured, as nothing, that I know, ſo much increaſes in children as crying; ſo nothing, on the other ſide, ſo much checks and reſtrains, as their being hinder'd from that ſort of complaining. In the little harms they ſuffer, from knocks and falls, they ſhould not be pitied for falling, but bid do ſo again; which, beſides that it ſtops their crying, is a better way to cure their heedleſneſs, and prevent their tumbling another time, than either chiding or bemoaning them. But, let the hurts they receive be what they will, ſtop their crying, and that will give them more quiet and eaſe at preſent, and harden them for the future.

§. 114. The former ſort of crying requires ſeverity to ſilence it; and where a look, or a poſitive command, will not do it, blows muſt: for it proceeding from pride, obſtinacy and ſtomach, the will, where the fault lies, muſt be bent, and made to comply, by a rigour ſufficient to maſter it: but this latter, being ordinarily from ſoftneſs of mind, a quite contrary cauſe, ought to be treated with a gentler hand. Perſuaſion, or diverting the thoughts another way, or laughing at their whining, may perhaps be at firſt the proper method. But for this, the circumſtances of the thing, and the particular temper of the child, muſt be conſider'd: no certain unvariable rules can be given about it; but it muſt be left to the prudence of the parents or tutor. But this I think I may ſay in general, that there ſhould be a conſtant diſcountenancing of this ſort of crying alſo; and that the father, by his authority, ſhould always ſtop it, mixing a greater degree of roughneſs in his looks or words, proportionably as the child is of a greater age, or a ſturdier temper; but always let it be enough to ſilence their whimpering, and put an end to the diſorder.

Fool-hardineſs.

§. 115. Cowardice and courage are ſo nearly related to the fore-mention'd tempers, that it may not be amiſs here to take notice of them. Fear is a paſſion, that, if rightly govern'd, has its uſe. And tho' ſelf-love ſeldom fails to keep it watchful and high enough in us, yet there may be an exceſs on the daring ſide; fool-hardineſs and inſenſibility of danger being as little reaſonable, as trembling and ſhrinking at the approach of every little evil. Fear was given as a monitor to quicken our induſtry, and keep us upon our guard againſt the approaches of evil: and therefore to have no apprehenſion of miſchief at hand, not to make a juſt eſtimate of the danger, but heedleſly to run into it, be the hazard what it will, without conſidering of what uſe or conſequence it may be, is not the reſolution of a rational creature, but brutiſh fury. Thoſe who have children of this temper, have nothing to do, but a little to awaken their reaſon, which ſelf-preſervation will quickly diſpoſe them to hearken to; unleſs (which is uſually the caſe) ſome other paſſion hurries them on headlong, without ſenſe, and without conſideration. A diſlike of evil is ſo natural to mankind, that no body, I think, can be without fear of it; fear being nothing but an uneaſineſs under the apprehenſion of that coming upon us which we diſlike. And therefore, when any one runs into danger, we may ſay 'tis under the conduct of ignorance, or the command of ſome more imperious paſſion, no body being ſo much an enemy to himſelf, as to come within the reach of evil out of

Fool-hardineſs.

free choice, and court danger for danger's ſake. If it be therefore pride, vain-glory, or rage, that ſilences a child's fear, or makes him not hearken to its advice, thoſe are by fit means to be abated, that a little conſideration may allay his heat, and make him bethink himſelf whether this attempt be worth the venture. But this being a fault that children are not ſo often guilty of, I ſhall not be more particular in its cure. Weakneſs of ſpirit is the more common defect, and therefore will require the greater care.

FORTITUDE is the guard and ſupport of the other virtues; and without courage a man will ſcarce keep ſteady to his duty, and fill up the character of a truly worthy man.

Courage.

COURAGE, that makes us bear up againſt dangers that we fear, and evils that we feel, is of great uſe in an eſtate, as ours is in this life, expoſed to aſſaults on all hands: and therefore it is very adviſeable to get children into this armour as early as we can. Natural temper, I confeſs, does here a great deal: but even where that is defective, and the heart is in itſelf weak and timorous, it may, by a right management, be brought to a better reſolution. What is to be done to prevent breaking children's ſpirits by frightful apprehenſions inſtill'd into them when young, or bemoaning themſelves under every little ſuffering, I have already taken notice. How to harden their tempers, and raiſe their courage, if we find them too much ſubject to fear, is farther to be conſider'd.

TRUE fortitude I take to be the quiet poſſeſſion of a man's ſelf, and an undiſturb'd doing his duty, whatever evil beſets, or danger lies in his way. This there are ſo few men attain to, that we are not to expect it from children. But yet ſomething may be done; and a wiſe conduct, by inſenſible degrees, may carry them farther than one expects.

THE neglect of this great care of them, whilſt they are young, is the reaſon, perhaps, why there are ſo few that have this virtue, in its full latitude, when they are men. I ſhould not ſay this in a nation ſo naturally brave as ours is, did I think, that true fortitude required nothing but courage in the field, and a contempt of life in the face of an enemy. This, I confeſs, is not the leaſt part of it, nor can be denied the laurels and honours always juſtly due to the valour of thoſe who venture their lives for their country. But yet this is not all: dangers attack us in other places beſides the field of battle; and tho' death be the king of terrors, yet pain, diſgrace and poverty, have frightful looks, able to diſcompoſe moſt men, whom they ſeem ready to ſeize on: and there are thoſe who contemn ſome of theſe, and yet are heartily frighted with the other. True fortitude is prepared for dangers of all kinds, and unmoved, whatſoever evil it be that threatens: I do not mean unmov'd with any fear at all. Where danger ſhews itſelf, apprehenſion cannot, without ſtupidity, be wanting. Where danger is, ſenſe of danger ſhould be; and ſo much fear as ſhould keep us awake, and excite our attention, induſtry and vigour; but not diſturb the calm uſe of our reaſon, nor hinder the execution of what that dictates.

THE firſt ſtep to get this noble and manly ſteadineſs, is, what I have above mention'd, carefully to keep children from frights of all kinds, when they are young. Let not any fearful apprehenſions be talk'd into them, nor terrible objects ſurprize them. This often ſo ſhatters and diſcompoſes the ſpirits, that they never recover it again; but, during their whole life, upon the firſt ſuggeſtion, or appearance of any terrifying idea, are ſcatter'd and confounded; the body is enervated, and the mind diſturb'd, and the man ſcarce himſelf, or capable of any compoſed or rational action. Whether this be from an habitual motion of the animal ſpirits, introduc'd by the firſt ſtrong impreſſion, or from the alteration of the conſtitution, by ſome more unaccountable way, this is certain, that ſo it is. Inſtances of ſuch, who in a weak, timorous mind have borne, all their whole lives through, the effects of a fright when they were young, are every where to be ſeen; and therefore, as much as may be, to be prevented.

Cowardice.

THE next thing is, by gentle degrees, to accuſtom children to thoſe things they are too much afraid of. But here great caution is to be uſed, that you do not make too much haſte, nor attempt this cure too early, for fear leſt you increaſe the miſchief inſtead of remedying it. Little ones in arms may be eaſily

Cowardice.

kept out of the way of terrifying objects, and, till they can talk and underſtand what is ſaid to them, are ſcarce capable of that reaſoning and diſcourſe, which ſhould be uſed to let them know there is no harm in thoſe frightful objects, which we would make them familiar with, and do, to that purpoſe, by gentle degrees, bring nearer and nearer to them. And therefore 'tis ſeldom there is need of any application to them of this kind, till after they can run about and talk. But yet, if it ſhould happen, that infants ſhould have taken offence at any thing which cannot be eaſily kept out of their way; and that they ſhew marks of terror, as often as it comes in ſight; all the allays of fright, by diverting their thoughts, or mixing pleaſant and agreeable appearances with it, muſt be uſed, till it be grown familiar and inoffenſive to them.

I THINK we may obſerve, that when children are firſt born, all objects of ſight, that do not hurt the eyes, are indifferent to them; and they are no more afraid of a blackamore, or a lion, than of their nurſe, or a cat. What is it then, that afterwards, in certain mixtures of ſhape and colour, comes to affright them? Nothing but the apprehenſions of harm, that accompanies thoſe things. Did a child ſuck every day a new nurſe, I make account it would be no more affrighted with the change of faces at ſix months old, than at ſixty. The reaſon then, why it will not come to a ſtranger, is, becauſe, having been accuſtomed to receive its food and kind uſage only from one or two that are about it, the child apprehends, by coming into the arms of a ſtranger, the being taken from what delights and feeds it, and every moment ſupplies its wants, which it often feels, and therefore fears when the nurſe is away.

Timorouſneſs.

THE only thing we naturally are afraid of, is pain, or loſs of pleaſure. And becauſe theſe are not annex'd to any ſhape, colour, or ſize of viſible objects, we are frighted with none of them, till either we have felt pain from them, or have notions put into us, that they will do us harm. The pleaſant brightneſs and luſtre of flame and fire ſo delights children, that at firſt they always deſire to be handling of it: but when conſtant experience has convinced them, by the exquiſite pain it has put them to, how cruel and unmerciful it is, they are afraid to touch it, and carefully avoid it. This being the ground of fear, 'tis not hard to find whence it ariſes, and how it is to be cured in all miſtaken objects of terror: and when the mind is confirm'd againſt them, and has got a maſtery over itſelf, and its uſual fears, in lighter occaſions, it is in good preparation to meet more real dangers. Your child ſhrieks, and runs away at the ſight of a frog, let another catch it, and lay it down at a good diſtance from him: at firſt accuſtom him to look upon it; when he can do that, then to come nearer to it, and ſee it leap without emotion; then to touch it lightly, when it is held faſt in another's hand; and ſo on, till he can come to handle it as confidently as a butterfly, or a ſparrow. By the ſame way any other vain terrors may be removed, if care be taken that you go not too faſt, and puſh not the child on to a new degree of aſſurance, till he be thoroughly confirm'd in the former. And thus the young ſoldier is to be train'd on to the warfare of life; wherein care is to be taken, that more things be not repreſented as dangerous, than really are ſo; and then, that whatever you obſerve him to be more frighted at than he ſhould, you be ſure to tole him on to, by inſenſible degrees, till at laſt, quitting his fears, he maſters the difficulty, and comes off with applauſe. Succeſſes of this kind, often repeated, will make him find, that evils are not always ſo certain, or ſo great, as our fears repreſent them; and that the way to avoid them, is not to run away, or be diſcompoſed, dejected, and deterr'd by fear, where either our credit, or duty, requires us to go on.

Hardineſs.

BUT, ſince the great foundation of fear in children is pain, the way to harden and fortify children againſt fear and danger, is to accuſtom them to ſuffer pain. This, 'tis poſſible, will be thought, by kind parents, a very unnatural thing towards their children; and by moſt, unreaſonable, to endeavour to reconcile any one to the ſenſe of pain, by bringing it upon him. 'Twill be ſaid, it may perhaps give the child an averſion for him that makes him ſuffer; but can never recommend to him ſuffering itſelf. This is a ſtrange method. You will not have children whipped and puniſhed for their faults; but you would have them

Hardineſs

tormented for doing well, or for tormenting's ſake. I doubt not but ſuch objections as theſe will be made, and I ſhall be thought inconſiſtent with myſelf, or phantaſtical, in propoſing it. I confeſs, it is a thing to be managed with great diſcretion; and therefore it falls not out amiſs, that it will not be received and reliſhed, but by thoſe who conſider well, and look into the reaſon of things. I would not have children much beaten for their faults, becauſe I would not have them think bodily pain the greateſt puniſhment; and I would have them, when they do well, be ſometimes put in pain, for the ſame reaſon, that they may be accuſtomed to bear it without looking on it as the greateſt evil. How much education may reconcile young people to pain and ſufferance, the examples of Sparta do ſufficiently ſhew: and they who have once brought themſelves not to think bodily pain the greateſt of evils, or that which they ought to ſtand moſt in fear of, have made no ſmall advance towards virtue. But I am not ſo fooliſh to propoſe the Lacedæmonian diſcipline in our age or conſtitution: but yet I do ſay, that inuring children gently to ſuffer ſome degrees of pain without ſhrinking, is a way to gain firmneſs to their minds, and lay a foundation for courage and reſolution in the future part of their lives.

Not to bemoan them, or permit them to bemoan themſelves, on every little pain they ſuffer, is the firſt ſtep to be made. But of this I have ſpoken elſewhere.

The next thing is, ſometimes deſignedly to put them in pain: but care muſt be taken that this be done when the child is in good humour, and ſatisfied of the good-will and kindneſs of him that hurts him, at the time that he does it. There muſt no marks of anger or diſpleaſure on the one ſide, nor compaſſion or repenting on the other, go along with it; and it muſt be ſure to be no more than the child can bear, without repining or taking it amiſs, or for a puniſhment. Managed by theſe degrees, and with ſuch circumſtances, I have ſeen a child run away laughing, with good ſmart blows of a wand on his back, who would have cried for an unkind word, and have been very ſenſible of the chaſtiſement of a cold look, from the ſame perſon. Satisfy a child, by a conſtant courſe of your care and kindneſs, that you perfectly love him; and he may by degrees be accuſtomed to bear very painful and rough uſage from you, without flinching or complaining: and this we ſee children do every day in play one with another. The ſofter you find your child is, the more you are to ſeek occaſions at fit times thus to harden him. The great art is in this to begin with what is but very little painful, and to proceed by inſenſible degrees, when you are playing, and in good humour with him, and ſpeaking well of him: and when you have once got him to think himſelf made amends for his ſuffering, by the praiſe is given him for his courage; when he can take a pride in giving ſuch marks of his manlineſs, and can prefer the reputation of being brave and ſtout, to the avoiding a little pain, or the ſhrinking under it; you need not deſpair in time, and, by the aſſiſtance of his growing reaſon, to maſter his timorouſneſs, and mend the weakneſs of his conſtitution. As he grows bigger, he is to be ſet upon bolder attempts, than his natural temper carries him to; and whenever he is obſerv'd to flinch, from what one has reaſon to think he would come off well in, if he had but courage to undertake, that he ſhould be aſſiſted in at firſt, and by degrees ſhamed to, till at laſt practice has given more aſſurance, and with it a maſtery, which muſt be rewarded with great praiſe, and the good opinion of others, for his performance. When by theſe ſteps he has got reſolution enough, not to be deterr'd from what he ought to do, by the apprehenſion of danger; when fear does not, in ſudden or hazardous occurrences, diſcompoſe his mind, ſet his body a trembling, and make him unfit for action, or run away from it, he has then the courage of a rational creature; and ſuch an hardineſs we ſhould endeavour by cuſtom and uſe to bring children to, as proper occaſions come in our way.

Cruelty.

§ 116. One thing I have frequently obſerv'd in children, that when they have got poſſeſſion of any poor creature, they are apt to uſe it ill; they often torment and treat very roughly young birds, butterflies, and ſuch other poor animals, which fall into their hands, and that with a ſeeming kind of pleaſure.

This,

Cruelty. This, I think, ſhould be watch'd in them; and if they incline to any ſuch cruelty, they ſhould be taught the contrary uſage; for the cuſtom of tormenting and killing of beaſts will, by degrees, harden their minds even towards men; and they who delight in the ſuffering and deſtruction of inferior creatures, will not be apt to be very compaſſionate or benign to thoſe of their own kind. Our practice takes notice of this, in the excluſion of butchers from juries of life and death. Children ſhould from the beginning be bred up in an abhorrence of killing or tormenting any living creature, and be taught not to ſpoil or deſtroy any thing, unleſs it be for the preſervation or advantage of ſome other that is nobler. And truly, if the preſervation of all mankind, as much as in him lies, were every one's perſuaſion, as indeed it is every one's duty, and the true principle to regulate our religion, politicks, and morality by, the world would be much quieter, and better natur'd, than it is. But to return to our preſent buſineſs; I cannot but commend both the kindneſs and prudence of a mother I knew, who was wont always to indulge her daughters, when any of them deſired dogs, ſquirrels, birds, or any ſuch things, as young girls uſe to be delighted with: but then, when they had them, they muſt be ſure to keep them well, and look diligently after them, that they wanted nothing, or were not ill uſed; for, if they were negligent in their care of them, it was counted a great fault, which often forfeited their poſſeſſion; or at leaſt they failed not to be rebuked for it, whereby they were early taught dilgence and good-nature. And indeed, I think people ſhould be accuſtomed from their cradles, to be tender of all ſenſible creatures, and to ſpoil or waſte nothing at all.

This delight they take in doing of miſchief, whereby I mean ſpoiling of any thing to no purpoſe, but more eſpecially the pleaſure they take to put any thing in pain that is capable of it, I cannot perſuade myſelf to be any other than a foreign and introduc'd diſpoſition, an habit borrowed from cuſtom and converſation. People teach children to ſtrike, and laugh when they hurt, or ſee harm come to others; and they have the examples of moſt about them to confirm them in it. All the entertainment of talk and hiſtory is of nothing almoſt but fighting and killing; and the honour and renown that is beſtow'd on conquerors, (who for the moſt part are but the great butchers of mankind) farther miſlead growing youths, who by this means come to think ſlaughter the laudable buſineſs of mankind, and the moſt heroic of virtues. By theſe ſteps unnatural cruelty is planted in us; and what humanity abhors, cuſtom reconciles and recommends to us; by laying it in the way to honour. Thus, by faſhion and opinion, that comes to be a pleaſure, which in itſelf neither is, nor can be any. This ought carefully to be watch'd, and early remedied, ſo as to ſettle and cheriſh the contrary and more natural temper of benignity and compaſſion in the room of it; but ſtill by the ſame gentle methods, which are to be applied to the other two faults before-mentioned. It may not perhaps be unreaſonable here to add this farther caution, viz. that the miſchiefs or harms that come by play, inadvertency, or ignorance, and were not known to be harms, or deſign'd for miſchief's ſake, tho' they may perhaps be ſometimes of conſiderable damage, yet are not at all, or but very gently, to be taken notice of. For this, I think, I cannot too often inculcate, that whatever miſcarriage a child is guilty of, and whatever be the conſequence of it, the thing to be regarded in taking notice of it, is only what root it ſprings from, and what habit it is like to eſtabliſh; and to that the correction ought to be directed, and the child not to ſuffer any puniſhment for any harm which may have come by his play or inadvertency. The faults to be amended lie in the mind; and if they are ſuch as either age will cure, or no ill habits will follow from, the preſent action, whatever diſpleaſing circumſtances it may have, is to be paſſed by without any animadverſion.

§117. Another way to inſtil ſentiments of humanity, and to keep them lively in young folks, will be, to accuſtom them to civility, in their language and deportment towards their inferiors, and the meaner ſort of people, particularly ſervants. It is not unuſual to obſerve the children, in gentlemen's families, treat the ſervants of the houſe with domineering words, names of contempt, and imperious carriage; as if they were of another race, and ſpecies beneath them. Whether ill example, the advantage of fortune, or their natural vanity, inſpire this haughtineſs, it ſhould be prevented, or weeded out; and a gentle, courteous, affable carriage towards the lower ranks of men, placed in the room of it. No part of their ſuperiority will be hereby loſt, but the diſtinction increaſed, and their authority ſtrengthen'd, when love in inferiors is join'd to outward reſpect, and an eſteem of the perſon has a ſhare in their ſubmiſſion; and domeſticks will pay a more ready and chearful ſervice, when they find themſelves not ſpurned, becauſe fortune has laid them below the level of others, at their maſter's feet. Children ſhould not be ſuffered to loſe the conſideration of human nature in the ſhufflings of outward conditions: the more they have, the better humour'd they ſhould be taught to be, and the more compaſſionate and gentle to thoſe of their brethren, who are placed lower, and have ſcantier portions. If they are ſuffered from their cradles to treat men ill and rudely, becauſe, by their father's title, they think they have a little power over them, at beſt it is ill-bred, and if care be not taken, will, by degrees, nurſe up their natural pride into an habitual contempt of thoſe beneath them: and where will that probably end, but in oppreſſion and cruelty? Cruelty.

Curioſity. § 118. Curiosity in children (which I had occaſion juſt to mention, § 108.) is but an appetite after knowledge, and therefore ought to be encouraged in them, not only as a good ſign, but as the great inſtrument nature has provided, to remove that ignorance they were born with, and which without this buſy inquiſitiveneſs, will make them dull and uſeleſs creatures. The ways to encourage it, and keep it active and buſy, are, I ſuppoſe, theſe following:

1. Not to check or diſcountenance any inquiries he ſhall make, nor ſuffer them to be laughed at; but to anſwer all his queſtions, and explain the matters he deſires to know, ſo as to make them as much intelligible to him, as ſuits the capacity of his age and knowledge. But confound not his underſtanding with explications or notions that are above it, or with the variety or number of things that are not to his preſent purpoſe. Mark what it is his mind aims at in the queſtion, and not what words he expreſſes it in: and, when you have informed and ſatisfied him in that, you ſhall ſee how his thoughts will inlarge themſelves, and how by fit anſwers he may be led on farther than perhaps you could imagine. For knowledge is grateful to the underſtanding, as light to the eyes: children are pleaſed and delighted with it exceedingly, eſpecially if they ſee that their inquiries are regarded, and that their deſire of knowing is encouraged and commended. And I doubt not, but one great reaſon, why many children abandon themſelves wholly to ſilly ſports, and trifle away all their time inſipidly, is, becauſe they have found their curioſity balked, and their inquiries neglected. But had they been treated with more kindneſs and reſpect, and their queſtions anſwered, as they ſhould, to their ſatisfaction, I doubt not but they would have taken more pleaſure in learning, and improving their knowledge, wherein there would be ſtill newneſs and variety, which is what they are delighted with, than in returning over and over to the ſame play and play-things.

§ 119. 2. To this ſerious anſwering their queſtions, and informing their underſtandings in what they deſire, as if it were a matter that needed it, ſhould be added ſome peculiar ways of commendation. Let others, whom they eſteem, be told before their faces of the knowledge they have in ſuch and ſuch things; and ſince we are all, even from our cradles, vain and proud creatures, let their vanity be flattered with things that will do them good; and let their pride ſet them on work on ſomething which may turn to their advantage. Upon this ground you ſhall find, that there cannot be a greater ſpur to the attaining what you would have the eldeſt learn and know himſelf, than to ſet him upon teaching it his younger brothers and ſiſters.

§ 120. 3. As children's inquiries are not to be ſlighted, ſo alſo great care is to be taken, that they never receive deceitful and illuding anſwers. They eaſily perceive when they are ſlighted or deceived, and quickly learn the trick of neglect, diſſimulation and falſhood, which they obſerve others to make uſe of. We are not to intrench upon truth in any converſation, but leaſt of all with children; ſince, if we play falſe with them, we not only deceive their expecta-

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tion, and hinder their knowledge, but corrupt their innocence, and teach them the worſt of vices. They are travellers newly arriv'd in a ſtrange country, of which they know nothing: we ſhould therefore make conſcience not to miſlead them. And tho' their queſtions ſeem ſometimes not very material, yet they ſhould be ſeriouſly anſwer'd; for however they may appear to us (to whom they are long ſince known) inquiries not worth the making, they are of moment to thoſe who are wholly ignorant. Children are ſtrangers to all we are acquainted with; and all the things they meet with, are at firſt unknown to them, as they once were to us: and happy are they who meet with civil people, that will comply with their ignorance, and help them to get out of it.

If you or I now ſhould be ſet down in Japan, with all our prudence and knowledge about us, a conceit whereof makes us perhaps ſo apt to ſlight the thoughts and inquiries of children; ſhould we, I ſay, be ſet down in Japan, we ſhould, no doubt, (if we would inform ourſelves of what is there to be known) aſk a thouſand queſtions, which, to a ſupercilious or inconſiderate Japaneſe, would ſeem very idle and impertinent; tho' to us they would be very material, and of importance to be reſolv'd; and we ſhould be glad to find a man ſo complaiſant and courteous, as to ſatisfy our demands, and inſtruct our ignorance.

When any new thing comes in their way, children uſually aſk the common queſtion of a ſtranger, What is it? whereby they ordinarily mean nothing but the name; and therefore to tell them how it is call'd, is uſually the proper anſwer to that demand. The next queſtion uſually is, What is it for? And to this it ſhould be anſwer'd truly and directly: the uſe of the thing ſhould be told, and the way explain'd, how it ſerves to ſuch a purpoſe, as far as their capacities can comprehend it; and ſo of any other circumſtances they ſhall aſk about it; not turning them going, till you have given them all the ſatisfaction they are capable of, and ſo leading them by your anſwers into farther queſtions. And perhaps to a grown man, ſuch converſation will not be altogether ſo idle and inſignificant, as we are apt to imagine. The native and untaught ſuggeſtions of inquiſitive children do often offer things that may ſet a conſidering man's thoughts on work. And I think there is frequently more to be learn'd from the unexpected queſtions of a child, than the diſcourſes of men, who talk in a road, according to the notions they have borrowed, and the prejudices of their education.

§ 121. 4. Perhaps it may not ſometimes be amiſs to excite their curioſity, by bringing ſtrange and new things in their way, on purpoſe to engage their inquiry, and give them occaſion to inform themſelves about them; and if by chance their curioſity leads them to aſk what they ſhould not know, it is a great deal better to tell them plainly, that it is a thing that belongs not to them to know, than to pop them off with a falſhood, or a frivolous anſwer.

§ 122. Pertness, that appears ſometimes ſo early, proceeds from a principle that ſeldom accompanies a ſtrong conſtitution of body, or ripens into a ſtrong judgment of mind. If it were deſirable to have a child a more briſk talker, I believe there might be ways found to make him ſo; but, I ſuppoſe, a wiſe father had rather that his ſon ſhould be able and uſeful, when a man, than pretty company, and a diverſion to others, whilſt a child; tho', if that too were to be conſidered, I think I may ſay, there is not ſo much pleaſure to have a child prattle agreeably, as to reaſon well. Encourage therefore his inquiſitiveneſs all you can, by ſatisfying his demands, and informing his judgment, as far as it is capable. When his reaſons are any way tolerable, let him find the credit and commendation of them; and when they are quite out of the way, let him, without being laughed at for his miſtake, be gently put into the right; and, if he ſhew a forwardneſs to be reaſoning about things that come in his way, take care, as much as you can, that no body check this inclination in him, or miſlead it by captious or fallacious ways of talking with him: for, when all is done, this, as the higheſt and moſt important faculty of our minds, deſerves the greateſt care and attention in cultivating it, the right improvement and exerciſe of our reaſon being the higheſt perfection that a man can attain to in this life.

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§. 123. Contrary to this buſy inquiſitive temper, there is ſometimes obſervable in children a liſtleſs careleſſneſs, a want of regard to any thing, and a ſort of trifling, even at their buſineſs. This ſauntring humour I look on, as one of the worſt qualities can appear in a child, as well as one of the hardeſt to be cured, where it is natural. But, it being liable to be miſtaken in ſome caſes, care muſt be taken to make a right judgment concerning that trifling at their books or buſineſs, which may ſometimes be complained of in a child. Upon the firſt ſuſpicion a father has, that his ſon is of a ſauntring temper, he muſt carefully obſerve him, whether he be liſtleſs and indifferent in all his actions, or whether in ſome things alone he be ſlow and ſluggiſh, but in others vigorous and eager: for tho' he find that he does loiter at his book, and let a good deal of the time he ſpends in his chamber or ſtudy run idly away, he muſt not preſently conclude, that this is from a ſauntring humour in his temper; it may be childiſhneſs, and a preferring ſomething to his ſtudy, which his thoughts run on; and he diſlikes his book, as is natural, becauſe it is forced upon him as a taſk. To know this perfectly, you muſt watch him at play, when he is out of his place and time of ſtudy, following his own inclinations; and ſee there, whether he be ſtirring and active; whether he deſigns any thing, and with labour and eagerneſs purſues it, till he has accompliſh'd what he aimed at; or whether he lazily and liſtleſly dreams away his time. If this ſloth be only when he is about his book, I think it may be eaſily cured; if it be in his temper, it will require a little more pains and attention to remedy it.

§. 124. If you are ſatisfied, by his earneſtneſs at play, or any thing elſe he ſets his mind on, in the intervals between his hours of buſineſs, that he is not of himſelf inclin'd to lazineſs, but that only want of reliſh of his book makes him negligent, and ſluggiſh in his application to it; the firſt ſtep is to try, by talking to him kindly of the folly and inconvenience of it, whereby he loſes a good part of his time, which he might have for his diverſion: but be ſure to talk calmly and kindly, and not much at firſt, but only theſe plain reaſons in ſhort. If this prevails, you have gain'd the point in the moſt deſirable way, which is that of reaſon and kindneſs. If this ſofter application prevails not, try to ſhame him out of it, by laughing at him for it, aſking every day, when he comes to table, if there be no ſtrangers there, "how long he was that day about his buſineſs?" And if he has not done it, in the time he might be well ſuppoſed to have diſpatch'd it, expoſe and turn him into ridicule for it; but mix no chiding, only put on a pretty cold brow towards him, and keep it till he reform; and let his mother, tutor, and all about him, do ſo too. If this work not the effect you deſire, then tell him, "he ſhall be no longer troubled with a tutor to take care "of his education: you will not be at the charge to have him ſpend his time "idly with him; but ſince he prefers this or that [whatever play he delights in] "to his book, that only he ſhall do;" and ſo in earneſt ſet him to work on his beloved play, and keep him ſteadily, and in earneſt, to it, morning and afternoon, till he be fully ſurfeited, and would, at any rate, change it for ſome hours at his book again: but when you thus ſet him his taſk of play, you muſt be ſure to look after him yourſelf, or ſet ſomebody elſe to do it, that may conſtantly ſee him employed in it, and that he be not permitted to be idle at that too. I ſay, yourſelf look after him; for it is worth the father's while, whatever buſineſs he has, to beſtow two or three days upon his ſon, to cure ſo great a miſchief as his ſauntring at his buſineſs.

§ 125. This is what I propoſe, if it be idleneſs, not from his general temper, but a peculiar or acquir'd averſion to learning, which you muſt be careful to examine and diſtinguiſh. But, tho' you have your eyes upon him, to watch what he does with the time which he has at his own diſpoſal, yet you muſt not let him perceive that you, or any body elſe do ſo; for that may hinder him from following his own inclination, which he being full of, and not daring, for fear of you, to proſecute what his head and heart are ſet upon, he may neglect all other things, which then he reliſhes not, and ſo may ſeem to be idle and liſtleſs; when in truth, it is nothing but being intent on that, which the fear of your eye or knowledge keeps him from executing. To be clear in this point, the

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obſervation muſt be made when you are out of the way, and he not ſo much as under the reſtraint of a ſuſpicion that any body has an eye upon him. In thoſe ſeaſons of perfect freedom, let ſomebody, you can truſt, mark how he ſpends his time, whether he unactively loiters it away, when, without any check, he is left to his own inclination. Thus, by his employing of ſuch times of liberty, you will eaſily diſcern whether it be liſtleſsneſs in his temper, or averſion to his book, that makes him ſaunter away his time of ſtudy.

§ 126. If ſome defect in his conſtitution has caſt a damp on his mind, and he be naturally liſtleſs and dreaming, this unpromiſing diſpoſition is none of the eaſieſt to be dealt with; becauſe, generally carrying with it an unconcernedneſs for the future, it wants the two great ſprings of action, foreſight and deſire; which, how to plant and increaſe, where nature has given a cold and contrary temper, will be the queſtion. As ſoon as you are ſatisfied that this is the caſe, you muſt carefully inquire whether there be nothing he delights in; inform yourſelf, what it is he is moſt pleaſed with; and if you can find any particular tendency his mind hath, increaſe it all you can, and make uſe of that to ſet him on work, and to excite his induſtry. If he loves praiſe, or play, or fine cloaths, *&c.* or, on the other ſide, dreads pain, diſgrace, or your diſpleaſure, *&c.* whatever it be that he loves moſt, except it be ſloth, (for that will never ſet him on work) let that be made uſe of to quicken him, and make him beſtir himſelf: for in this liſtleſs temper you are not to fear an exceſs of appetite (as in all other caſes) by cheriſhing it. 'Tis that which you want, and therefore muſt labour to raiſe and increaſe; for where there is no deſire, there will be no induſtry.

§ 127. If you have not hold enough upon him this way, to ſtir up vigour and activity in him, you muſt employ him in ſome conſtant bodily labour, whereby he may get an habit of doing ſomething: the keeping him hard to ſome ſtudy, were the better way to get him an habit of exerciſing and applying his mind. But, becauſe this is an inviſible attention, and no body can tell when he is, or is not idle at it, you muſt find bodily employments for him, which he muſt be conſtantly buſied in, and kept to; and, if they have ſome little hardſhip and ſhame in them, it may not be the worſe, that they may the ſooner weary him, and make him deſire to return to his book: but be ſure, when you exchange his book for his other labour, ſet him ſuch a taſk, to be done in ſuch a time, as may allow him no opportunity to be idle. Only, after you have by this way brought him to be attentive and induſtrious at his book, you may, upon his diſpatching his ſtudy within the time ſet him, give him, as a reward, ſome reſpite from his other labour; which you may diminiſh, as you find him grow more and more ſteady in his application; and, at laſt, wholly take off, when his ſauntering at his book is cured.

Compulſion.

§ 128. We formerly obſerv'd, that variety and freedom was that which delighted children, and recommended their plays to them; and that therefore their book, or any thing we would have them learn, ſhould not be injoined them as buſineſs. This their parents, tutors and teachers, are apt to forget; and their impatience to have them buſied in what is fit for them to do, ſuffers them not to deceive them into it: but, by the repeated injunctions they meet with, children quickly diſtinguiſh between what is required of them, and what not. When this miſtake has once made his book uneaſy to him, the cure is to be applied at the other end. And ſince it will be then too late to endeavour to make it a play to him, you muſt take the contrary courſe; obſerve what play he is moſt delighted with; injoin that, and make him play ſo many hours every day, not as a puniſhment for playing, but as if it were the buſineſs required of him. This, if I miſtake not, will, in a few days, make him ſo weary of his moſt beloved ſport, that he will prefer his book, or any thing, to it, eſpecially if it may redeem him from any part of the taſk of play is ſet him; and he may be ſuffer'd to employ ſome part of the time deſtined to his taſk of play in his book, or ſuch other exerciſe as is really uſeful to him. This I at leaſt think a better cure than that forbidding (which uſually increaſes the deſire) or any other puniſhment ſhould be made uſe of to remedy it; for, when you have once glutted his appetite, (which may ſafely be done in all things but eating and drink-

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ing) and made him ſurfeit of what you would have him avoid, you have put into him a principle of averſion, and you need not ſo much fear afterwards, his longing for the ſame thing again.

§ 129. This, I think, is ſufficiently evident, that children generally hate to be idle: all the care then is, that their buſy humour ſhould be conſtantly employ'd in ſomething of uſe to them; which if you will attain, you muſt make what you would have them do, a recreation to them, and not a buſineſs. The way to do this, ſo that they may not perceive you have any hand in it, is this propoſed here, viz. to make them weary of that which you would not have them do, by injoining and making them, under ſome pretence or other, do it till they are ſurfeited. For example; Does your ſon play at top, and ſcourge too much? Injoin him to play ſo many hours every day, and look that he do it; and you ſhall ſee he will quickly be ſick of it, and willing to leave it. By this means, making the recreations you diſlike, a buſineſs to him, he will of himſelf, with delight, betake himſelf to thoſe things you would have him do, eſpecially if they be propoſed as rewards for having perform'd his taſk in that play which is commanded him. For, if he be order'd every day to whip his top, ſo long as to make him ſufficiently weary, do you not think he will apply himſelf with eagerneſs to his book, and wiſh for it, if you promiſe it him as a reward of having whipped his top luſtily, quite out all the time that is ſet him? Children, in the things they do, if they comport with their age, find little difference, ſo they may be doing: the eſteem they have for one thing above another, they borrow from others; ſo that what thoſe about them make to be a reward to them, will really be ſo. By this art, it is in their governor's choice, whether ſcotch-hoppers ſhall reward their dancing, or dancing their ſcotch-hoppers; whether peg-top, or reading, playing at trap, or ſtudying the globes, ſhall be more acceptable and pleaſing to them; all that they deſire being to be buſy, and buſy, as they imagine, in things of their own choice, and which they receive as favours from their parents, or others for whom they have a reſpect, and with whom they would be in credit. A ſet of children thus ordered, and kept from the ill example of others, would, all of them, I ſuppoſe, with as much earneſtneſs and delight, learn to read, write, and what elſe one would have them, as others do their ordinary plays: and the eldeſt being thus enter'd, and this made the faſhion of the place, it would be as impoſſible to hinder them from learning the one, as it is ordinarily to keep them from the other.

Play-games.

§ 130. Play-things, I think, children ſhould have, and of divers ſorts; but ſtill to be in the cuſtody of their tutors, or ſomebody elſe, whereof the child ſhould have in his power but one at once, and ſhould not be ſuffered to have another, but when he reſtored that: this teaches them, betimes, to be careful of not loſing or ſpoiling the things they have; whereas plenty and variety in their own keeping, makes them wanton and careleſs, and teaches them from the beginning, to be ſquanderers and waſters. Theſe, I confeſs, are little things, and ſuch as will ſeem beneath the care of a governor; but nothing that may form childrens minds is to be overlook'd and neglected, and whatſoever introduces habits, and ſettles cuſtoms in them, deſerves the care and attention of their governors, and is not a ſmall thing in its conſequences.

One thing more about children's play-things may be worth their parents care: tho' it be agreed they ſhould have of ſeveral ſorts, yet, I think, they ſhould have none bought for them. This will hinder that great variety they are often overcharged with, which ſerves only to teach the mind to wander after change and ſuperfluity, to be unquiet, and perpetually ſtretching itſelf after ſomething more ſtill, tho' it knows not what, and never to be ſatisfied with what it hath. The court that is made to people of condition in ſuch kind of preſents to their children, does the little ones great harm; by it they are taught pride, vanity, and covetouſneſs, almoſt before they can ſpeak; and I have known a young child ſo diſtracted with the number and variety of his play-games, that he tired his maid every day to look them over; and was ſo accuſtomed to abundance, that he never thought he had enough, but was always aſking, What more? What more? What new thing ſhall I have? A good intro-

Play-games. introduction to moderate deſires, and the ready way to make a contented happy man!

How then ſhall they have the play-games you allow them, if none muſt be bought for them? I anſwer, they ſhould make them themſelves, or at leaſt endeavour it, and ſet themſelves about it; till then they ſhould have none, and till then, they will want none of any great artifice. A ſmooth pebble, a piece of paper, the mother's bunch of keys, or any thing they cannot hurt themſelves with, ſerves as much to divert little children, as thoſe more chargeable and curious toys from the ſhops, which are preſently put out of order and broken. Children are never dull or out of humour for want of ſuch play-things, unleſs they have been uſed to them: when they are little, whatever occurs ſerves the turn; and as they grow bigger, if they are not ſtored by the expenſive folly of others, they will make them themſelves. Indeed, when they once begin to ſet themſelves to work about any of their inventions, they ſhould be taught and aſſiſted; but ſhould have nothing whilſt they lazily ſit ſtill, expecting to be furniſh'd from other hands without employing their own: and if you help them where they are at a ſtand, it will more endear you to them, than any chargeable toys you ſhall buy for them. Play-things which are above their ſkill to make, as tops, gigs, battledoors, and the like, which are to be uſed with labour, ſhould, indeed, be procured them: theſe, 'tis convenient, they ſhould have, not for variety, but exerciſe; but theſe, too, ſhould be given them as bare as might be. If they had a top, the ſcourge-ſtick and leather-ſtrap ſhould be left to their own making and fitting. If they ſit gaping to have ſuch things drop into their mouths, they ſhould go without them. This will accuſtom them to ſeek for what they want in themſelves, and in their own endeavours; whereby they will be taught moderation in their deſires, application, induſtry, thought, contrivance, and good huſbandry; qualities that will be uſeful to them when they are men, and therefore cannot be learn'd too ſoon, nor fix'd too deep. All the plays and diverſions of children ſhould be directed towards good and uſeful habits, or elſe they will introduce ill ones. Whatever they do, leaves ſome impreſſion on that tender age, and from thence they receive a tendency to good or evil: and whatever hath ſuch an influence, ought not to be neglected.

Lying. § 131. Lying is ſo ready and cheap a cover for any miſcarriage, and ſo much in faſhion amongſt all ſorts of people, that a child can hardly avoid obſerving the uſe is made of it on all occaſions, and ſo can ſcarce be kept, without great care, from getting into it. But it is ſo ill a quality, and the mother of ſo many ill ones, that ſpawn from it, and take ſhelter under it, that a child ſhould be brought up in the greateſt abhorrence of it imaginable: it ſhould be always (when occaſionally it comes to be mentioned) ſpoke of before him with the utmoſt deteſtation, as a quality ſo wholly inconſiſtent with the name and character of a gentleman, that no body of any credit can bear the imputation of a lye; a mark that is judg'd the utmoſt diſgrace, which debaſes a man to the loweſt degree of a ſhameful meanneſs, and ranks him with the moſt contemptible part of mankind, and the abhorred raſcality; and is not to be endured in any one, who would converſe with people of condition, or have any eſteem or reputation in the world. The firſt time he is found in a lye, it ſhould rather be wonder'd at, as a monſtrous thing in him, than reproved as an ordinary fault. If that keeps him not from relapſing, the next time he muſt be ſharply rebuked, and fall into the ſtate of great diſpleaſure of his father and mother, and all about him, who take notice of it. And if this way work not the cure, you muſt come to blows; for, after he has been thus warned, a premeditated lye muſt always be looked upon as obſtinacy, and never be permitted to eſcape unpuniſhed.

Excuſes. § 132. Children, afraid to have their faults ſeen in their naked colours, will, like the reſt of the ſons of Adam, be apt to make excuſes. This is a fault uſually bordering upon, and leading to untruth, and is not to be indulged in them; but yet, it ought to be cured rather with ſhame than roughneſs. If therefore, when a child is queſtioned for any thing, his firſt anſwer be an excuſe,

warn

Excuſes.

warn him ſobenly to tell the truth; and then, if he perſiſt to ſhuffle it off with a falſhood, he muſt be chaſtiſed; but if he directly confeſs, you muſt commend his ingenuity, and pardon the fault, be it what it will; and pardon it ſo, that you never ſo much as reproach him with it, or mention it to him again: for, if you would have him in love with ingenuity, and by a conſtant practice make it habitual to him, you muſt take care that it never procure him the leaſt inconvenience; but, on the contrary, his own confeſſion bringing always with it perfect impunity, ſhould be, beſides, encouraged by ſome marks of approbation. If his excuſe be ſuch at any time, that you cannot prove it to have any falſhood in it, let it paſs for true, and be ſure not to ſhew any ſuſpicion of it. Let him keep up his reputation with you as high as is poſſible; for, when once he finds he has loſt that, you have loſt a great and your beſt hold upon him. Therefore let him not think he has the character of a lyar with you, as long as you can avoid it without flattering him in it. Thus ſome ſlips in truth may be overlook'd. But, after he has once been corrected for a lye, you muſt be ſure never after to pardon it in him, whenever you find, and take notice to him, that he is guilty of it: for it being a fault, which he has been forbid, and may, unleſs he be wilful, avoid, the repeating of it is perfect perverſeneſs, and muſt have the chaſtiſement due to that offence.

§ 133. This is what I have thought, concerning the general method of educating a young gentleman; which, tho' I am apt to ſuppoſe may have ſome influence on the whole courſe of his education, yet I am far from imagining it contains all thoſe particulars which his growing years, or peculiar temper, may require. But this being premiſed in general, we ſhall, in the next place, deſcend to a more particular conſideration of the ſeveral parts of his education.

§ 134. That which every gentleman (that takes any care of his education) deſires for his ſon, beſides the eſtate he leaves him, is contain'd (I ſuppoſe) in theſe four things, Virtue, Wiſdom, Breeding, and Learning. I will not trouble myſelf whether theſe names do not ſome of them ſometimes ſtand for the ſame thing, or really include one another. It ſerves my turn here to follow the popular uſe of theſe words, which, I preſume, is clear enough to make me be underſtood, and I hope there will be no difficulty to comprehend my meaning.

§ 135. I place Virtue as the firſt and moſt neceſſary of thoſe endowments that belong to a man or a gentleman, as abſolutely requiſite to make him valu'd and belov'd by others, acceptable or tolerable to himſelf. Without that, I think, he will be happy neither in this, nor the other world.

God.

§ 136. As the foundation of this, there ought very early to be imprinted on his mind a true notion of God, as of the independent ſupreme Being, Author and maker of all things, from whom we receive all our good, who loves us, and gives us all things: and, conſequent to this, inſtil into him a love and reverence of this ſupreme Being. This is enough to begin with, without going to explain this matter any farther, for fear, leſt by talking too early to him of ſpirits, and being unſeaſonably forward to make him underſtand the incomprehenſible nature of that infinite being, his head be either filled with falſe, or perplexed with unintelligible notions of him. Let him only be told upon occaſion, that God made and governs all things, hears and ſees every thing, and does all manner of good to thoſe that love and obey him. You will find, that being told of ſuch a God, other thoughts will be apt to riſe up faſt enough in his mind about him; which, as you obſerve them to have any miſtakes, you muſt ſet right. And I think it would be better, if men generally reſted in ſuch an idea of God, without being too curious in their notions about a Being, which all muſt acknowledge incomprehenſible; whereby many, who have not ſtrength and clearneſs of thought to diſtinguiſh between what they can, and what they cannot know, run themſelves into ſuperſtition or atheiſm, making God like themſelves, or (becauſe they cannot comprehend any thing elſe) none at all. And I am apt to think, the keeping children conſtantly morning and evening to acts of devotion to God, as to their Maker, Preſerver and Benefactor, in ſome plain and ſhort form of prayer, ſuitable to their age and capacity, will be of much

much more uſe to them in religion, knowledge, and virtue, than to diſtract their thoughts with curious inquiries into his inſcrutable eſſence and being.

Spirits. § 137. HAVING by gentle degrees, as you find him capable of it, ſettled ſuch an idea of God in his mind, and taught him to pray to him, and praiſe him as the author of his being, and of all the good he does or can enjoy, forbear any diſcourſe of other ſpirits, till the mention of them coming in his way, upon occaſion hereafter to be ſet down, and his reading the ſcripture-hiſtory, put him upon that inquiry.

Goblins. § 138. But even then, and always whilſt he is young, be ſure to preſerve his tender mind from all impreſſions and notions of ſpirits and goblins, or any fearful apprehenſions in the dark. This he will be in danger of from the indiſcretion of ſervants, whoſe uſual method is to awe children, and keep them in ſubjection, by telling them of raw-head and blood-bones, and ſuch other names, as carry with them the ideas of ſomething terrible and hurtful, which they have reaſon to be afraid of, when alone, eſpecially in the dark. This muſt be carefully prevented, for tho' by this fooliſh way they may keep them from little faults, yet the remedy is much worſe than the diſeaſe; and there are ſtamped upon their imaginations, ideas that follow them with terror and affrightment. Such bug-bear thoughts, once got into the tender minds of children, and being ſet on with a ſtrong impreſſion from the dread that accompanies ſuch apprehenſions, ſink deep, and faſten themſelves ſo, as not eaſily, if ever, to be got out again; and whilſt they are there, frequently haunt them with ſtrange viſions, making children daſtards when alone, and afraid of their ſhadows and darkneſs all their lives after. I have had thoſe complain to me, when men, who had been thus uſed when young; that, tho' their reaſon corrected the wrong ideas they had taken in, and they were ſatisfied, that there was no cauſe to fear inviſible beings more in the dark, than in the light; yet that theſe notions were apt ſtill, upon any occaſion, to ſtart up firſt in their prepoſſeſſed fancies, and not to be removed without ſome pains. And, to let you ſee how laſting frightful images are, that take place in the mind early, I ſhall here tell you a pretty remarkable, but true ſtory: There was in a town in the Weſt a man of a diſturb'd brain, whom the boys uſed to teize, when he came in their way: this fellow one day, ſeeing in the ſtreet one of thoſe lads that uſed to vex him, ſtepped into a cutler's ſhop he was near, and, there ſeizing on a naked ſword, made after the boy, who ſeeing him coming ſo armed, betook himſelf to his feet, and ran for his life, and by good luck, had ſtrength and heels enough to reach his father's houſe, before the madman could get up to him: the door was only latch'd; and when he had the latch in his hand, he turned about his head to ſee how near his purſuer was, who was at the entrance of the porch, with his ſword up ready to ſtrike; and he had juſt time to get in and clap-to the door, to avoid the blow, which, tho' his body eſcaped, his mind did not. This frightning idea made ſo deep an impreſſion there, that it laſted many years, if not all his life after; for telling this ſtory when he was a man, he ſaid, that after that time till then, he never went in at that door (that he could remember) at any time, without looking back, whatever buſineſs he had in his head, or how little ſoever, before he came thither, he thought of this madman.

IF children were let alone, they would be no more afraid in the dark, than in broad ſun-ſhine; they would in their turns as much welcome the one for ſleep, as the other to play in: there ſhould be no diſtinction made to them, by any diſcourſe, of more danger, or terrible things in the one than the other. But, if the folly of any one about them ſhould do them this harm, and make them think there is any difference between being in the dark and winking, you muſt get it out of their minds as ſoon as you can; and let them know, that God, who made all things good for them, made the night, that they might ſleep the better and the quieter; and that they being under his protection, there is nothing in the dark to hurt them. What is to be known more of God and good ſpirits, is to be deferr'd till the time we ſhall hereafter mention; and of evil ſpirits, 'twill be well if you can keep him from wrong fancies about them, till he is ripe for that ſort of knowledge.

Truth.

Good-nature.

§ 139. Having laid the foundations of virtue in a true notion of a God, ſuch as the creed wiſely teaches, as far as his age is capable, and by accuſtoming him to pray to him; the next thing to be taken care of, is to keep him exactly to ſpeaking of truth, and by all the ways imaginable inclining him to be good-natured. Let him know, that twenty faults are ſooner to be forgiven, than the ſtraining of truth, to cover any one by an excuſe: and to teach him betimes to love and be good-natur'd to others, is to lay early the true foundation of an honeſt man; all injuſtice in general ſpringing from too great love of ourſelves, and too little of others.

This is all I ſhall ſay of this matter in general, and is enough for laying the firſt foundations of virtue in a child. As he grows up, the tendency of his natural inclination muſt be obſerv'd; which, as it inclines him, more than is convenient, on one or t'other ſide, from the right path of virtue, ought to have proper remedies applied; for few of Adam's children are ſo happy, as not to be born with ſome biaſs in their natural temper, which it is the buſineſs of education either to take off, or counterbalance: but to enter into particulars of this, would be beyond the deſign of this ſhort treatiſe of education. I intend not a diſcourſe of all the virtues and vices, and how each virtue is to be attain'd and every particular vice by its peculiar remedies cured; tho' I have mention'd ſome of the moſt ordinary faults, and the ways to be uſed in correcting them.

Wiſdom.

§ 140. Wisdom I take, in the popular acceptation, for a man's managing his buſineſs ably, and with fore-ſight, in this world. This is the product of a good natural temper, application of mind and experience together, and ſo above the reach of children. The greateſt thing that in them can be done towards it, is to hinder them, as much as may be, from being cunning; which, being the ape of wiſdom, is the moſt diſtant from it that can be: and, as an ape, for the likeneſs it has to a man, wanting what really ſhould make him ſo, is by ſo much the uglier; cunning is only the want of underſtanding; which, becauſe it cannot compaſs its ends by direct ways, would do it by a trick and circumvention; and the miſchief of it is, a cunning trick helps but once, but hinders ever after. No cover was ever made either ſo big, or ſo fine, as to hide itſelf. No body was ever ſo cunning, as to conceal their being ſo: and when they are once diſcovered, every body is ſhy, every body diſtruſtful of crafty men; and all the world forwardly join to oppoſe and defeat them: whilſt the open, fair, wiſe man has every body to make way for him, and goes directly to his buſineſs. To accuſtom a child to have true notions of things, and not to be ſatisfied till he has them; to raiſe his mind to great and worthy thoughts; and to keep him at a diſtance from falſhood, and cunning which has always a broad mixture of falſhood in it, is the fitteſt preparation of a child for wiſdom. The reſt, which is to be learnt from time, experience, and obſervation, and an acquaintance with men, their tempers and deſigns, is not to be expected in the ignorance and inadvertency of childhood, or the inconſiderate heat and unwarineſs of youth: all that can be done towards it, during this unripe age, is, as I have ſaid, to accuſtom them to truth and ſincerity; to a ſubmiſſion to reaſon; and, as much as may be, to reflection on their own actions.

Breeding.

§ 141. The next good quality belonging to a gentleman, is good breeding. There are two ſorts of ill breeding; the one, a ſheepiſh baſhfulneſs; and the other, a miſbecoming negligence and diſreſpect in our carriage; both which are avoided, by duly obſerving this one rule, "Not to think meanly of ourſelves, and not to think meanly of others."

§ 142. The firſt part of this rule muſt not be underſtood in oppoſition to humility, but to aſſurance. We ought not to think ſo well of ourſelves, as to ſtand upon our own value; and aſſume to ourſelves a preference before others, becauſe of any advantage we may imagine we have over them; but modeſtly to take what is offered, when it is our due. But yet we ought to think ſo well of ourſelves, as to perform thoſe actions which are incumbent on, and expected of us, without diſcompoſure or diſorder, in whoſe preſence ſoever we are, keeping that reſpect and diſtance which is due to every one's rank and quality. There is often in people, eſpecially children, a clowniſh ſhamefacedneſs,

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Breeding.

neſs, before ſtrangers, or thoſe above them; they are confounded in their thoughts, words and looks, and ſo loſe themſelves in that confuſion, as not to be able to do any thing, or at leaſt not to do it with that freedom and gracefulneſs which pleaſes and makes them acceptable. The only cure for this, as for any other miſcarriage, is by uſe to introduce the contrary habit. But ſince we cannot accuſtom ourſelves to converſe with ſtrangers, and perſons of quality, without being in their company, nothing can cure this part of ill breeding, but change and variety of company, and that of perſons above us.

§ 143. As the before-mention'd conſiſts in too great a concern how to behave ourſelves towards others, ſo the other part of ill breeding lies in the appearance of too little care of pleaſing or ſhewing reſpect to thoſe we have to do with. To avoid this theſe two things are requiſite: firſt, a diſpoſition of the mind not to offend others; and, ſecondly, the moſt acceptable and agreeable way of expreſſing that diſpoſition. From the one, men are called civil; from the other, well-faſhioned. The latter of theſe is that decency and gracefulneſs of looks, voice, words, motions, geſtures, and of all the whole outward demeanour, which takes, in company, and makes thoſe with whom we may converſe, eaſy and well-pleaſed. This is, as it were, the language, whereby that internal civility of the mind is expreſſed; which, as other languages are, being very much governed by the faſhion and cuſtom of every country, muſt, in the rules and practice of it, be learn'd chiefly from obſervation, and the carriage of thoſe who are allow'd to be exactly well-bred. The other part, which lies deeper than the out-ſide, is that general good-will and regard for all people, which makes any one have a care not to ſhew, in his carriage, any contempt, diſreſpect, or neglect of them; but to expreſs, according to the faſhion and way of that country, a reſpect and value for them, according to their rank and condition. It is a diſpoſition of the mind that ſhews itſelf in the carriage, whereby a man avoids making any one uneaſy in converſation.

I SHALL take notice of four qualities, that are moſt directly oppoſite to this firſt, and moſt taking of all the ſocial virtues. And from ſome one of theſe four it is, that incivility commonly has its riſe. I ſhall ſet them down, that children may be preſerv'd or recover'd from their ill influence.

Roughneſs.

1. THE firſt is, a natural roughneſs, which makes a man uncomplaiſant to others, ſo that he has no deference for their inclinations, tempers, or conditions. 'Tis the ſure badge of a clown, not to mind what pleaſes or diſpleaſes thoſe he is with; and yet one may often find a man, in faſhionable cloaths, give an unbounded ſwing to his own humour, and ſuffer it to juſtle or over-run any one that ſtands in its way, with a perfect indifferency how they take it. This is a brutality that every one ſees and abhors, and no body can be eaſy with: and therefore this finds no place in any one, who would be thought to have the leaſt tincture of good-breeding. For the very end and buſineſs of good-breeding is to ſupple the natural ſtiffneſs, and ſo ſoften men's tempers, that they may bend to a compliance, and accommodate themſelves to thoſe they have to do with.

Contempt.

2. CONTEMPT, or want of due reſpect, diſcovered either in looks, words, or geſture: this, from whomſoever it comes, brings always uneaſineſs with it; for no body can contentedly bear being ſlighted.

Cenſoriouſneſs.

3. CENSORIOUSNESS, and finding fault with others, has a direct oppoſition to civility. Men, whatever they are, or are not guilty of, would not have their faults diſplay'd, and ſet in open view and broad day-light, before their own, or other people's eyes. Blemiſhes affixed to any one, always carry ſhame with them: and the diſcovery, or even bare imputation of any defect, is not borne without ſome uneaſineſs. Raillery is the moſt refined way of expoſing the faults of others; but, becauſe it is uſually done with wit and good language, and gives entertainment to the company, people are led into miſtake, that where it keeps within fair bounds, there is no incivility in it: and ſo the pleaſantry of this ſort of converſation often introduces it amongſt people of the better rank; and ſuch talkers are favourably heard, and generally applauded by the laughter of the by-ſtanders on their ſide: but they ought to conſider, that the entertainment of the reſt of the company is at the coſt of that one, who is ſet

Raillery.

out

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out in their burleſque colours, who therefore is not without uneaſineſs, unleſs the ſubject, for which he is rallied, be really in itſelf matter of commendation; for then the pleaſant images and repreſentations, which make the raillery, carrying praiſe as well as ſport with them, the rallied perſon alſo finds his account, and takes part in the diverſion. But, becauſe the right management of ſo nice, and tickliſh a buſineſs, wherein a little ſlip may ſpoil all, is not every body's talent, I think thoſe, who would ſecure themſelves from provoking others, eſpecially all young people, ſhould carefully abſtain from raillery; which, by a ſmall miſtake, or any wrong turn, may leave upon the mind of thoſe, who are made uneaſy by it, the laſting memory of having been piquantly, tho' wittily, taunted for ſomething cenſurable in them. Raillery.

BESIDES raillery, contradiction is a ſort of cenſoriouſneſs, wherein ill-breeding often ſhews itſelf. Complaiſance does not require that we ſhould always admit all the reaſonings or relations that the company is entertain'd with; no, nor ſilently to let paſs all that is vented in our hearing. The oppoſing the opinions, and rectifying the miſtakes of others, is what truth and charity ſometimes require of us, and civility does not oppoſe, if it be done with due caution and care of circumſtances. But there are ſome people, that one may obſerve poſſeſſed, as it were, with the ſpirit of contradiction, that ſteadily, and without regard to right or wrong, oppoſe ſome one, or perhaps, every one of the company, whatever they ſay. This is ſo viſible and outrageous a way of cenſuring, that no body can avoid thinking himſelf injured by it. All oppoſition to what another man has ſaid, is ſo apt to be ſuſpected of cenſoriouſneſs, and is ſo ſeldom received without ſome ſort of humiliation, that it ought to be made in the gentleſt manner, and ſofteſt words can be found; and ſuch as, with the whole deportment, may expreſs no forwardneſs to contradict. All marks of reſpect and good-will ought to accompany it, that, whilſt we gain the argument, we may not loſe the eſteem of thoſe that hear us. Contradiction.

4. CAPTIOUSNESS is another fault oppoſite to civility, not only becauſe it often produces miſbecoming and provoking expreſſions and carriage, but becauſe it is a tacit accuſation and reproach of ſome incivility, taken notice of in thoſe whom we are angry with. Such a ſuſpicion, or intimation, cannot be borne by any one without uneaſineſs. Beſides, one angry body diſcompoſes the whole company, and the harmony ceaſes upon any ſuch jarring. Captiouſneſs.

THE happineſs, that all men ſo ſteadily purſue, conſiſting in pleaſure, it is eaſy to ſee why the civil are more acceptable than the uſeful. The ability, ſincerity, and good intention, of a man of weight and worth, or a real friend, ſeldom atones for the uneaſineſs, that is produced by his grave and ſolid repreſentations. Power and riches, nay virtue itſelf, are valued only as conducing to our happineſs; and therefore he recommends himſelf ill to another, as aiming at his happineſs, who, in the ſervices he does him, makes him uneaſy in the manner of doing them. He that knows how to make thoſe he converſes with eaſy, without debaſing himſelf to low and ſervile flattery, has found the true art of living in the world, and being both welcome and valued every-where. Civility therefore is what, in the firſt place, ſhould with great care be made habitual to children and young people.

§ 144. There is another fault in good manners, and that is, exceſs of ceremony, and an obſtinate perſiſting to force upon another what is not his due, and what he cannot take without folly or ſhame. This ſeems rather a deſign to expoſe, than oblige; or, at leaſt, looks like a conteſt for maſtery; and, at beſt, is but troubleſome, and ſo can be no part of good breeding, which has no other uſe or end, but to make people eaſy and ſatisfied in their converſation with us. This is a fault few young people are apt to fall into; but yet, if they are ever guilty of it, or are ſuſpected to incline that way, they ſhould be told of it, and warned of this miſtaken civility. The thing they ſhould endeavour and aim at in converſation, ſhould be to ſhew reſpect, eſteem, and good-will, by paying to every one that common ceremony and regard, which is in civility due to them. To do this, without a ſuſpicion of flattery, diſſimulation, or meanneſs, is a great Breeding.

Breeding.

ſkill, which good ſenſe, reaſon, and good company, can only teach; but is of ſo much uſe in civil life, that it is well worth the ſtudying.

§ 145. THO' the managing ourſelves well in this part of our behaviour has the name of good breeding, as if peculiarly the effect of education; yet, as I have ſaid, young children ſhould not be much perplex'd about it; I mean, about putting off their hats, and making legs modiſhly. Teach them humility, and to be good-natur'd, if you can, and this ſort of manners will not be wanting: civility being, in truth, nothing but a care not to ſhew any ſlighting, or contempt, of any one in converſation. What are the moſt allow'd and eſteem'd ways of expreſſing this, we have above obſerv'd. It is as peculiar and different, in ſeveral countries of the world, as their language; and therefore, if it be rightly conſider'd, rules and diſcourſes, made to children about it, are as uſeleſs and impertinent, as it would be, now and then, to give a rule or two of the Spaniſh tongue, to one that converſes only with Engliſhmen. Be as buſy as you pleaſe with diſcourſes of civility to your ſon; ſuch as is his company, ſuch will be his manners. A ploughman of your neighbourhood, that has never been out of his pariſh, read what lectures you pleaſe to him, will be as ſoon in his language, as his carriage, a courtier; that is, in neither will be more polite, than thoſe he uſes to converſe with: and therefore of this no other care can be taken, till he be of an age to have a tutor put to him, who muſt not fail to be a well-bred man. And, in good earneſt, if I were to ſpeak my mind freely, ſo children do nothing out of obſtinacy, pride, and ill-nature, 'tis no great matter how they put off their hats, or make legs. If you can teach them to love and reſpect other people, they will, as their age requires it, find ways to expreſs it acceptably to every one, according to the faſhions they have been uſed to: and, as to their motions, and carriage of their bodies, a dancing-maſter, as has been ſaid, when it is fit, will teach them what is moſt becoming. In the mean time, when they are young, people expect not that children ſhould be over-mindful of theſe ceremonies; careleſneſs is allow'd to that age, and becomes them, as well as compliments do grown people: or, at leaſt, if ſome very nice people will think it a fault, I am ſure it is a fault that ſhould be over-look'd, and left to time, a tutor, and converſation, to cure: and therefore I think it not worth your while to have your ſon (as I often ſee children are) moleſted or chid about it; but where there is pride, or ill-nature, appearing in his carriage, there he muſt be perſuaded, or ſhamed, out of it.

Interruption.

THO' children, when little, ſhould not be much perplex'd with rules and ceremonious parts of breeding; yet there is a ſort of unmannerlineſs very apt to grow up with young people, if not early reſtrain'd; and that is a forwardneſs to interrupt others that are ſpeaking, and to ſtop them with ſome contradiction. Whether the cuſtom of diſputing, and the reputation of parts and learning uſually given to it, as if it were the only ſtandard and evidence of knowledge, make young men ſo forward to watch occaſions to correct others in their diſcourſe, and not to ſlip any opportunity of ſhewing their talents; ſo it is, that I have found ſcholars moſt blam'd in this point. There cannot be a greater rudeneſs, than to interrupt another in the current of his diſcourſe; for, if there be not impertinent folly in anſwering a man before we know what he will ſay, yet it is a plain declaration, that we are weary to hear him talk any longer; and have a diſeſteem of what he ſays; which we, judging not fit to entertain the company, deſire them to give audience to us, who have ſomething to produce worth their attention. This ſhews a very great diſreſpect, and cannot but be offenſive; and yet, this is what almoſt all interruption conſtantly carries with it. To which, if there be added, as is uſual, a correcting of any miſtake, or a contradiction of what has been ſaid, 'tis a mark of yet greater pride and ſelf-conceitedneſs, when we thus intrude ourſelves for teachers, and take upon us, either to ſet another right in his ſtory, or ſhew the miſtakes of his judgment.

I DO not ſay this, that I think there ſhould be no difference of opinions in converſation, nor oppoſition in men's diſcourſes: this would be to take away the greateſt advantage of ſociety, and the improvements that are to be made by ingenious company; where the light is to be got from the oppoſite arguings of

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Interruption.

men of parts, ſhewing the different ſides of things, and their various aſpects and probabilities, would be quite loſt, if every one were obliged to aſſent to, and ſay after, the firſt ſpeaker. 'Tis not the owning one's diſſent from another that I ſpeak againſt, but the manner of doing it. Young men ſhould be taught not to be forward to interpoſe their opinions, unleſs aſked, or when others have done, and are ſilent; and then only by way of inquiry, not inſtruction. The poſitive aſſerting, and the magiſterial air, ſhould be avoided; and when a general pauſe of the whole company affords an opportunity, they may modeſtly put in their queſtion as learners.

This becoming decency will not cloud their parts, nor weaken the ſtrength of their reaſon; but beſpeak the more favourable attention, and give what they ſay the greater advantage. An ill argument, or ordinary obſervation, thus introduced, with ſome civil preface of deference and reſpect to the opinions of others, will procure them more credit and eſteem, than the ſharpeſt wit, or profoundeſt ſcience, with a rough, inſolent, or noiſy management; which always ſhocks the hearers, and leaves an ill opinion of the man, tho' he get the better of it in the argument.

Diſpute.

This therefore ſhould be carefully watched in young people, ſtopped in the beginning, and the contrary habit introduced in all their converſation: and the rather, becauſe forwardneſs to talk, frequent interruptions in arguing, and loud wrangling, are too often obſervable amongſt grown people, even of rank amongſt us. The Indians, whom we call barbarous, obſerve much more decency and civility in their diſcourſes and converſation, giving one another a fair ſilent hearing, till they have quite done; and then anſwering them calmly, and without noiſe or paſſion. And if it be not ſo in this civilized part of the world, we muſt impute it to a neglect in education, which has not yet reform'd this antient piece of barbarity amongſt us. Was it not, think you, an entertaining ſpectacle, to ſee two ladies of quality accidentally ſeated on the oppoſite ſides of a room, ſet round with company, fall into a diſpute, and grow ſo eager in it, that in the heat of their controverſy, edging by degrees their chairs forwards, they were in a little time got up cloſe to one another in the middle of the room; where for a good while they managed the diſpute as fiercely, as two gamecocks in the pit, without minding or taking any notice of the circle, which could not all the while forbear ſmiling? This I was told by a perſon of quality, who was preſent at the combat, and did not omit to reflect upon the indecencies, that warmth in diſpute often runs people into; which, ſince cuſtom makes too frequent, education ſhould take the more care of. There is no body but condemns this in others, tho' they overlook it in themſelves: and many, who are ſenſible of it in themſelves, and reſolve againſt it, cannot yet get rid of an ill cuſtom, which neglect in their education has ſuffered to ſettle into an habit.

Company.

§ 146. What has been above ſaid concerning company, would, perhaps, if it were well reflected on, give us a larger proſpect, and let us ſee how much farther its influence reaches. 'Tis not the modes of civility alone, that are imprinted by converſation; the tincture of company ſinks deeper than the outſide; and poſſibly, if a true eſtimate were made of the morality and religions of the world, we ſhould find, that the far greater part of mankind receiv'd even thoſe opinions and ceremonies they would die for, rather from the faſhions of their countries, and the conſtant practice of thoſe about them, than from any conviction of their reaſons. I mention this only to let you ſee of what moment I think company is to your ſon in all the parts of his life, and therefore how much that one part is to be weighed and provided for, it being of greater force to work upon him, than all you can do beſides.

Learning.

§ 147. You will wonder, perhaps, that I put learning laſt, eſpecially if I tell you I think it the leaſt part. This may ſeem ſtrange in the mouth of a bookiſh man: and this making uſually the chief, if not only buſtle and ſtir about children, this being almoſt that alone, which is thought on, when people talk of education, makes it the greater paradox. When I conſider what a-do is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many years are ſpent in it, and

Learning. what a noiſe and buſineſs it makes to no purpoſe, I can hardly forbear thinking, that the parents of children ſtill live in fear of the ſchoolmaſter's rod, which they look on as the only inſtrument of education; as if a language or two were its whole buſineſs. How elſe is it poſſible, that a child ſhould be chain'd to the oar ſeven, eight, or ten of the beſt years of his life, to get a language or two, which I think might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of pains and time, and be learn'd almoſt in playing?

Forgive me therefore, If I ſay, I cannot with patience think, that a young gentleman ſhould be put into the herd, and be driven with a whip and ſcourges, as if he were to run the gantlet thro' the ſeveral claſſes, “ad capiendum ingenii cultum.” “What then, ſay you, would you not have him write and read? Shall he be more ignorant than the clerk of our pariſh, who takes Hopkins and Sternhold for the beſt poets in the world, whom yet he makes worſe than they are, by his ill reading?” Not ſo, not ſo faſt, I beſeech you. Reading, and writing, and learning, I allow to be neceſſary, but yet not the chief buſineſs. I imagine you would think him a very fooliſh fellow, that ſhould not value a virtuous, or a wiſe man, infinitely before a great ſcholar. Not but that I think learning a great help to both, in well-diſpoſed minds; but yet it muſt be confeſs'd alſo, that in others not ſo diſpoſed, it helps them only to be the more fooliſh, or worſe men. I ſay this, that, when you conſider of the breeding of your ſon, and are looking out for a ſchool-maſter, or a tutor, you would not have (as is uſual) Latin and logick only in your thoughts. Learning muſt be had, but in the ſecond place, as ſubſervient only to greater qualities. Seek out ſome body, that may know how diſcreetly to frame his manners: place him in hands, where you may, as much as poſſible, ſecure his innocence, cheriſh and nurſe up the good, and gently correct and weed out any bad inclinations, and ſettle in him good habits. This is the main point; and this being provided for, learning may be had into the bargain, and that, as I think, at a very eaſy rate, by methods that may be thought on.

Reading. § 148. When he can talk, 'tis time he ſhould begin to learn to read. But as to this, give me leave here to inculcate again what is very apt to be forgotten, viz. that a great care is to be taken, that it be never made as a buſineſs to him, nor he look on it as a taſk. We naturally, as I ſaid, even from our cradles, love liberty, and have therefore an averſion to many things, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they are injoin'd us. I have always had a fancy, that learning might be made a play and recreation to children; and that they might be brought to deſire to be taught, if it were propoſed to them as a thing of honour, credit, delight, and recreation, or as a reward for doing ſomething elſe, and if they were never chid or corrected for the neglect of it. That which confirms me in this opinion, is, that amongſt the Portugueſe, 'tis ſo much a faſhion and emulation amongſt their children, to learn to read and write, that they cannot hinder them from it: they will learn it one from another, and are as intent on it, as if it were forbid them. I remember, that being at a friend's houſe, whoſe younger ſon, a child in coats, was not eaſily brought to his book (being taught to read at home by his mother); I adviſed to try another way, than requiring it of him as his duty. We therefore, in a diſcourſe on purpoſe amongſt ourſelves, in his hearing, but without taking any notice of him, declared, that it was the privilege and advantage of heirs and elder brothers, to be ſcholars; that this made them fine gentlemen, and beloved by every body: and that for younger brothers, 'twas a favour to admit them to breeding; to be taught to read and write, was more than came to their ſhare; they might be ignorant bumpkins and clowns, if they pleaſed. This ſo wrought upon the child, that afterwards he deſired to be taught; would come himſelf to his mother to learn; and would not let his maid be quiet, till ſhe heard him his leſſon. I doubt not but ſome way like this might be taken with other children; and, when their tempers are found, ſome thoughts be inſtilled into them, that might ſet them upon deſiring of learning themſelves, and make them ſeek it, as another ſort of play or recreation. But then, as I ſaid before, it muſt never be impoſed as a taſk, nor made a trouble to them. There may

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be dice, and play-things, with the letters on them, to teach children the alphabet by playing; and twenty other ways may be found, ſuitable to their particular tempers, to make this kind of learning a ſport to them.

§ 149. Thus children may be cozen'd into a knowledge of the letters; be taught to read, without perceiving it to be any thing but a ſport, and play themſelves into that which others are whipp'd for. Children ſhould not have any-thing like work, or ſerious, laid on them; neither their minds nor bodies will bear it. It injures their healths; and their being forced and tied down to their books, in an age at enmity with all ſuch reſtraint, has, I doubt not, been the reaſon why a great many have hated books and learning all their lives after: 'tis like a ſurfeit, that leaves an averſion behind not to be remov'd.

§ 150. I have therefore thought, that if play-things were fitted to this purpoſe, as they are uſually to none, contrivances might be made to teach children to read, whilſt they thought they were only playing. For example; What if an ivory-ball were made like that of the royal-oak lottery, with thirty-two ſides, or one rather of twenty-four or twenty-five ſides; and upon ſeveral of thoſe ſides paſted on an A, upon ſeveral others B, on others C, and on others D? I would have you begin with but theſe four letters, or perhaps only two at firſt; and when he is perfect in them then add another; and ſo on, till each ſide having one letter, there be on it the whole alphabet. This I would have others play with before him, it being as good a ſort of play to lay a ſtake who ſhall firſt throw an A or B, as who upon dice ſhall throw ſix or ſeven. This being a play amongſt you, tempt him not to it, leſt you make it buſineſs; for I would not have him underſtand 'tis any thing but a play of older people, and I doubt not but he will take to it of himſelf. And that he may have the more reaſon to think it is a play, that he is ſometimes in favour admitted to; when the play is done, the ball ſhould be laid up ſafe out of his reach, that ſo it may not, by his having it in his keeping at any time, grow ſtale to him.

§ 151. To keep up his eagerneſs to it, let him think it a game belonging to thoſe above him: and when by this means he knows the letters, by changing them into ſyllables, he may learn to read, without knowing how he did ſo, and never have any chiding or trouble about it, nor fall out with books, becauſe of the hard uſage and vexation they have cauſed him. Children, if you obſerve them, take abundance of pains to learn ſeveral games, which, if they ſhould be injoin'd them, they would abhor as a taſk, and buſineſs. I know a perſon of great quality (more yet to be honoured for his learning and virtue, than for his rank and high place) who, by paſting on the ſix vowels (for in our language Y is one) on the ſix ſides of a die, and the remaining eighteen conſonants on the ſides of three other dice, has made this a play for his children, that he ſhall win, who, at one caſt, throws moſt words on theſe four dice; whereby his eldeſt ſon, yet in coats, has play'd himſelf into ſpelling, with great eagerneſs, and without once having been chid for it, or forced to it.

§ 152. I have ſeen little girls exerciſe whole hours together, and take abundance of pains to be expert at dibſtones, as they call it. Whilſt I have been looking on, I have thought it wanted only ſome good contrivance to make them employ all that induſtry about ſomething that might be more uſeful to them; and methinks 'tis only the fault and negligence of elder people, that it is not ſo. Children are much leſs apt to be idle than men; and men are to be blamed, if ſome part of that buſy humour be not turned to uſeful things; which might be made uſually as delightful to them as thoſe they are employ'd in, if men would be but half ſo forward to lead the way, as theſe little apes would be to follow. I imagine ſome wiſe Portugueſe heretofore began this faſhion amongſt the children of his country, where I have been told, as I ſaid, it is impoſſible to hinder the children from learning to read and write: and in ſome parts of France they teach one another to ſing and dance from the cradle.

§ 153. The letters paſted upon the ſides of the dice, or polygon, were beſt to be of the ſize of thoſe of the folio bible to begin with, and none of them capital letters; when once he can read what is printed in ſuch letters, he will not long be ignorant of the great ones: and in the beginning he ſhould not be perplex'd

Reading.

plex'd with variety. With this die alſo, you might have a play juſt like the royal-oak, which would be another variety; and play for cherries, or apples, &c.

§ 154. Besides theſe, twenty other plays might be invented, depending on letters, which thoſe, who like this way, may eaſily contrive, and get made to this uſe, if they will. But the four dice above-mention'd I think ſo eaſy and uſeful, that it will be hard to find any better, and there will be ſcarce need of any other.

§ 155. Thus much for learning to read, which let him never be driven to, nor chid for; cheat him into it if you can, but make it not a buſineſs for him. 'Tis better it be a year later before he can read, than that he ſhould this way get an averſion to learning. If you have any conteſts with him, let it be in matters of moment, of truth, and good-nature; but lay no taſk on him about A B C. Uſe your ſkill to make his will ſupple and pliant to reaſon: teach him to love credit and commendation; to abhor being thought ill or meanly of, eſpecially by you and his mother; and then the reſt will come all eaſily. But, I think, if you will do that, you muſt not ſhackle and tie him up with rules about indifferent matters, nor rebuke him for every little fault, or perhaps ſome, that to others would ſeem great ones. But of this I have ſaid enough already.

§ 156. When by theſe gentle ways he begins to be able to read, ſome eaſy pleaſant book, ſuited to his capacity, ſhould be put into his hands, wherein the entertainment, that he finds, might draw him on, and reward his pains in reading; and yet not ſuch as ſhould fill his head with perfectly uſeleſs trumpery, or lay the principles of vice and folly. To this purpoſe I think Æſop's fables the beſt, which being ſtories apt to delight and entertain a child, may yet afford uſeful reflections to a grown man; and if his memory retain them all his life after, he will not repent to find them there, amongſt his manly thoughts, and ſerious buſineſs. If his Æſop has pictures in it, it will entertain him much the better, and encourage him to read, when it carries the increaſe of knowledge with it: for ſuch viſible objects children hear talked of in vain, and without any ſatisfaction, whilſt they have no ideas of them; thoſe ideas being not to be had from ſounds, but from the things themſelves, or their pictures. And therefore, I think, as ſoon as he begins to ſpell, as many pictures of animals ſhould be got him as can be found, with the printed names to them, which at the ſame time will invite him to read, and afford him matter of inquiry and knowledge. Reynard the fox is another book, I think, may be made uſe of to the ſame purpoſe. And if thoſe about him will talk to him often about the ſtories he has read, and hear him tell them, it will, beſides other advantages, add encouragement and delight to his reading, when he finds there is ſome uſe and pleaſure in it. Theſe baits ſeem wholly neglected in the ordinary method; and 'tis uſually long before learners find any uſe or pleaſure in reading, which may tempt them to it, and ſo take books only for faſhionable amuſements, or impertinent troubles, good for nothing.

§ 157. The Lord's prayer, the creed, and ten commandments, 'tis neceſſary he ſhould learn perfectly by heart; but, I think, not by reading them himſelf in his primer, but by ſomebody's repeating them to him, even before he can read. But learning by heart, and learning to read, ſhould not, I think, be mixed, and ſo one made to clog the other. But his learning to read ſhould be made as little trouble or buſineſs to him as might be.

What other books there are in Engliſh of the kind of thoſe above-mentioned, fit to engage the liking of children, and tempt them to read, I do not know; but am apt to think, that children, being generally delivered over to the method of ſchools, where the fear of the rod is to inforce, and not any pleaſure of the employment to invite, them to learn, this ſort of uſeful books, amongſt the number of ſilly ones that are of all ſorts, have yet had the fate to be neglected; and nothing that I know has been conſidered of this kind out of the ordinary road of the horn-book, primer, pſalter, teſtament, and bible.

§ 158. As for the bible, which children are uſually employed in, to exerciſe and improve their talent in reading, I think, the promiſcuous reading of it, tho' by chapters as they lie in order, is ſo far from being of any advantage to children,

Reading.

either for the perfecting their reading, or principling their religion, that perhaps a worſe could not be found. For what pleaſure or encouragement can it be to a child, to exerciſe himſelf in reading thoſe parts of a book where he underſtands nothing? And how little are the law of Moſes, the ſong of Solomon, the prophecies in the old, and the epiſtles and apocalypſe in the new teſtament, ſuited to a child's capacity? And tho' the hiſtory of the evangeliſts, and the acts, have ſomething eaſier; yet, taken all together, it is very diſproportional to the underſtanding of children. I grant, that the principles of religion are to be drawn from thence, and in the words of the ſcripture; yet none ſhould be propoſed to a child, but ſuch as are ſuited to a child's capacity and notions. But 'tis far from this to read thro' the whole bible, and that for reading's ſake. And what an odd jumble of thoughts muſt a child have in his head, if he have any at all, ſuch as he ſhould have concerning religion, who in his tender age reads all the parts of the bible indifferently, as the word of God, without any other diſtinction! I am apt to think, that this, in ſome men, has been the very reaſon why they never had clear and diſtinct thoughts of it all their life-time.

§ 159. And now I am by chance fallen on this ſubject, give me leave to ſay, that there are ſome parts of the ſcripture, which may be proper to be put into the hands of a child to engage him to read; ſuch as are the ſtory of Joſeph and his brethren, of David and Goliah, of David and Jonathan, &c. and others, that he ſhould be made to read for his inſtruction; as that, "What you would have "others do unto you, do you the ſame unto them;" and ſuch other eaſy and plain moral rules, which, being fitly choſen, might often be made uſe of, both for reading and inſtruction together; and ſo often read, till they are thoroughly fixed in the memory; and then afterwards, as he grows ripe for them, may in their turns, on fit occaſions, be inculcated as the ſtanding and ſacred rules of his life and actions. But the reading of the whole ſcripture indifferently, is what I think very inconvenient for children, till, after having been made acquainted with the plaineſt fundamental parts of it, they have got ſome kind of general view of what they ought principally to believe and practiſe, which yet, I think, they ought to receive in the very words of the ſcripture, and not in ſuch, as men prepoſſeſſed by ſyſtems and analogies, are apt in this caſe to make uſe of, and force upon them. Dr. Worthington, to avoid this, has made a catechiſm, which has all its anſwers in the preciſe words of the ſcripture, a thing of good example, and ſuch a ſound form of words, as no chriſtian can except againſt, as not fit for his child to learn. Of this, as ſoon as he can ſay the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments by heart, it may be fit for him to learn a queſtion every day, or every week, as his underſtanding is able to receive, and his memory to retain them. And, when he has this catechiſm perfectly by heart, ſo as readily and roundly to anſwer to any queſtion in the whole book, it may be convenient to lodge in his mind the remaining moral rules, ſcattered up and down in the bible, as the beſt exerciſe of his memory, and that which may be always a rule to him, ready at hand, in the whole conduct of his life.

Writing.

§ 160. When he can read Engliſh well, it will be ſeaſonable to enter him in writing. And here the firſt thing ſhould be taught him, is to hold his pen right; and this he ſhould be perfect in, before he ſhould be ſuffered to put it to paper: for not only children, but any body elſe, that would do any thing well, ſhould never be put upon too much of it at once, or be ſet to perfect themſelves in two parts of an action at the ſame time, if they can poſſibly be ſeparated. I think the Italian way of holding the pen between the thumb and the forefinger alone, may be beſt; but in this you ſhould conſult ſome good writing-maſter, or any other perſon who writes well, and quick. When he has learn'd to hold his pen right, in the next place he ſhould learn how to lay his paper, and place his arm and body to it. Theſe practices being got over, the way to teach him to write without much trouble, is to get a plate graved with the characters of ſuch a hand as you like beſt: but you muſt remember to have them a pretty deal bigger than he ſhould ordinarily write; for every one naturally comes by degrees to write a leſs hand than he at firſt was taught, but never a bigger. Such a plate being graved, let ſeveral ſheets of good writing-paper

Writing. be printed off with red ink, which he has nothing to do but to go over with a good pen fill'd with black ink, which will quickly bring his hand to the formation of thoſe characters, being at firſt ſhewed where to begin, and how to form every letter. And when he can do that well, he muſt then exerciſe on fair paper; and ſo may eaſily be brought to write the hand you deſire.

Drawing. § 161. When he can write well, and quick, I think it may be convenient, not only to continue the exerciſe of his hand in writing, but alſo to improve the uſe of it farther in drawing, a thing very uſeful to a gentleman on ſeveral occaſions, but eſpecially if he travel, as that which helps a man often to expreſs, in a few lines well put together, what a whole ſheet of paper in writing would not be able to repreſent and make intelligible. How many buildings may a man ſee, how many machines and habits meet with, the ideas whereof would be eaſily retained and communicated by a little ſkill in drawing; which being committed to words, are in danger to be loſt, or at beſt but ill retained in the moſt exact deſcriptions? I do not mean that I would have your ſon a perfect painter; to be that to any tolerable degree, will require more time than a young gentleman can ſpare from his other improvements of greater moment; but ſo much inſight into perſpective, and ſkill in drawing, as will enable him to repreſent tolerably on paper any thing he ſees, except faces, may, I think, be got in a little time, eſpecially if he has a genius to it: but where that is wanting, unleſs it be in the things abſolutely neceſſary, it is better to let him paſs them by quietly, than to vex him about them to no purpoſe: and therefore in this, as in all other things not abſolutely neceſſary, the rule holds, "Nihil invitâ Minervâ."

Short-hand. ¶ 1. Short-hand, an art, as I have been told, known only in England, may perhaps be thought worth the learning, both for diſpatch in what men write for their own memory, and concealment of what they would not have lie open to every eye. For he that has once learn'd any ſort of character, may eaſily vary it to his own private uſe or fancy, and with more contraction ſuit it to the buſineſs he would employ it in. Mr. Rich's, the beſt contriv'd of any I have ſeen, may, as I think, by one who knows and conſiders grammar well, be made much eaſier and ſhorter. But, for the learning this compendious way of writing, there will be no need haſtily to look out a maſter; it will be early enough, when any convenient opportunity offers itſelf, at any time after his hand is well ſettled in fair and quick writing. For boys have but little uſe of ſhort-hand, and ſhould by no means practiſe it, till they write perfectly well, and have throughly fix'd the habit of doing ſo.

French. § 162. As ſoon as he can ſpeak Engliſh, 'tis time for him to learn ſome other language: this no body doubts of, when French is propos'd. And the reaſon is, becauſe people are accuſtomed to the right way of teaching that language, which is by talking it into children in conſtant converſation, and not by grammatical rules. The Latin tongue would eaſily be taught the ſame way, if his tutor, being conſtantly with him, would talk nothing elſe to him, and make him anſwer ſtill in the ſame language. But becauſe French is a living language, and to be uſed more in ſpeaking, that ſhould be firſt learn'd, that the yet pliant organs of ſpeech might be accuſtomed to a due formation of thoſe ſounds, and he get the habit of pronouncing French well, which is the harder to be done, the longer it is delayed.

Latin. § 163. When he can ſpeak and read French well, which in this method is uſually in a year or two, he ſhould proceed to Latin, which 'tis a wonder parents, when they have had the experiment in French, ſhould not think ought to be learn'd the ſame way, by talking and reading. Only care is to be taken, whilſt he is learning theſe foreign languages, by ſpeaking and reading nothing elſe with his tutor, that he do not forget to read Engliſh, which may be preſerved by his mother, or ſome body elſe, hearing him read ſome choſen parts of the ſcripture, or other Engliſh book, every day.

§ 164. Latin I look upon as abſolutely neceſſary to a gentleman; and indeed cuſtom, which prevails over every thing, has made it ſo much a part of education, that even thoſe children are whipp'd to it, and made ſpend many hours of their precious time uneaſily in Latin, who, after they are once gone from

from ſchool, are never to have more to do with it, as long as they live. Can Latin. there be any thing more ridiculous, than that a father ſhould waſte his own money, and his ſon's time, in ſetting him to learn the Roman language, when, at the ſame time, he deſigns him for a trade, wherein he, having no uſe of Latin, fails not to forget that little which he brought from ſchool, and which 'tis ten to one he abhors for the ill uſage it procur'd him? Could it be believ'd, unleſs we had every-where amongſt us examples of it, that a child ſhould be forced to learn the rudiments of a language, which he is never to uſe in the courſe of life that he is deſign'd to, and neglect all the while the writing a good hand, and caſting accounts, which are of great advantage in all conditions of life, and to moſt trades indiſpenſably neceſſary? But tho' theſe qualifications, requiſite to trade and commerce, and the buſineſs of the world, are ſeldom or never to be had at grammar-ſchools; yet thither not only gentlemen ſend their younger ſons, intended for trades, but even tradeſmen and farmers fail not to ſend their children, tho' they have neither intention nor ability to make them ſcholars. If you aſk them, why they do this? they think it as ſtrange a queſtion, as if you ſhould aſk them why they go to church? Cuſtom ſerves for reaſon, and has, to thoſe that take it for reaſon, ſo conſecrated this method, that it is almoſt religiouſly obſerved by them; and they ſtick to it, as if their children had ſcarce an orthodox education, unleſs they learned Lilly's grammar.

§ 165. BUT how neceſſary ſoever Latin be to ſome, and is thought to be to others, to whom it is of no manner of uſe or ſervice, yet the ordinary way of learning it in a grammar-ſchool, is that, which having had thoughts about, I cannot be forward to encourage. The reaſons againſt it are ſo evident and cogent, that they have prevailed with ſome intelligent perſons to quit the ordinary road, not without ſucceſs, tho' the method, made uſe of, was not exactly that which I imagine the eaſieſt, and in ſhort is this: to trouble the child with no grammar at all, but to have Latin, as Engliſh has been, without the perplexity of rules talked into him; for, if you will conſider it, Latin is no more unknown to a child, when he comes into the world, than Engliſh: and yet he learns Engliſh without maſter, rule, or grammar; and ſo might he Latin too, as Tully did, if he had ſome body always to talk to him in this language. And when we ſo often ſee a Frenchwoman teach an Engliſh girl to ſpeak and read French perfectly, in a year or two, without any rule of grammar, or any thing elſe, but prattling to her; I cannot but wonder, how gentlemen have been overſeen this way for their ſons, and thought them more dull or incapable than their daughters.

§ 166. IF therefore a man could be got, who, himſelf ſpeaking good Latin, would always be about your ſon, talk conſtantly to him, and ſuffer him to ſpeak or read nothing elſe, this would be the true and genuine way, and that which I would propoſe, not only as the eaſieſt and beſt, wherein a child might, without pains or chiding, get a language, which others are wont to be whipp'd for at ſchool, ſix or ſeven years together; but alſo as that, wherein at the ſame time he might have his mind and manners formed, and he be inſtructed to boot in ſeveral ſciences, ſuch as are a good part of geography, aſtronomy, chronology, anatomy, beſides ſome parts of hiſtory, and all other parts of knowledge of things, that fall under the ſenſes, and require little more than memory. For there, if we would take the true way, our knowledge ſhould begin, and in thoſe things be laid the foundation; and not in the abſtract notions of logick and metaphyſicks, which are fitter to amuſe, than inform the underſtanding, in its firſt ſetting out towards knowledge. When young men have had their heads employ'd a while in thoſe abſtract ſpeculations, without finding the ſucceſs and improvement, or that uſe of them which they expected, they are apt to have mean thoughts, either of learning, or themſelves; they are tempted to quit their ſtudies, and throw away their books, as containing nothing but hard words, and empty ſounds; or elſe to conclude, that if there be any real knowledge in them, they themſelves have not underſtandings capable of it. That this is ſo, perhaps I could aſſure you upon my own experience. Amongſt

Latin.

other things to be learn'd by a young gentleman in this method, whilſt others of his age are wholly taken up with Latin and languages, I may alſo ſet down geometry for one, having known a young gentleman, bred ſomething after this way, able to demonſtrate ſeveral propoſitions in Euclid, before he was thirteen.

§ 167. BUT if ſuch a man cannot be got, who ſpeaks good Latin, and being able to inſtruct your ſon in all theſe parts of knowledge, will undertake it by this method; the next beſt is to have him taught as near this way as may be, which is by taking ſome eaſy and pleaſant book, ſuch as Æſop's fables, and writing the Engliſh tranſlation (made as literal as it can be) in one line, and the Latin words, which anſwer each of them, juſt over it in another. Theſe let him read every day over and over again, till he perfectly underſtands the Latin; and then go on to another fable, till he be alſo perfect in that, not omitting what he is already perfect in, but ſometimes reviewing that, to keep it in his memory. And when he comes to write, let theſe be ſet him for copies; which, with the exerciſe of his hand, will alſo advance him in Latin. This being a more imperfect way than by talking Latin unto him; the formation of the verbs firſt, and afterwards the declenſions of the nouns and pro-nouns perfectly learn'd by heart, may facilitate his acquaintance with the genius and manner of the Latin tongue, which varies the ſignification of verbs and nouns, not as the modern languages do, by particles prefix'd, but by changing the laſt ſyllables. More than this of grammar I think he need not have, till he can read himſelf "Sanctii Minerva" with Scioppius and Perizonius's notes.

IN teaching of children this too, I think, it is to be obſerv'd, that in moſt caſes, where they ſtick, they are not to be farther puzzled, by putting them upon finding it out themſelves; as by aſking ſuch queſtions as theſe, viz. Which is the nominative caſe in the ſentence they are to conſtrue? or demanding what "auſero" ſignifies, to lead them to the knowledge what "abſtulere" ſignifies, &c. when they cannot readily tell. This waſtes time only in diſturbing them; for whilſt they are learning, and apply themſelves with attention, they are to be kept in good humour, and every thing made eaſy to them, and as pleaſant as poſſible. Therefore, where-ever they are at a ſtand, and are willing to go forwards, help them preſently over the difficulty, without any rebuke or chiding: remembring, that where harſher ways are taken, they are the effect only of pride and peeviſhneſs in the teacher, who expects children ſhould inſtantly be maſters of as much as he knows: whereas he ſhould rather conſider, that his buſineſs is to ſettle in them habits, not angrily to inculcate rules, which ſerve for little in the conduct of our lives; at leaſt are of no uſe to children, who forget them as ſoon as given. In ſciences where their reaſon is to be exerciſed, I will not deny, but this method may ſometimes be varied, and difficulties propoſed on purpoſe to excite induſtry, and accuſtom the mind to employ its own ſtrength and ſagacity in reaſoning. But yet, I gueſs, this is not to be done to children whilſt very young; nor at their entrance upon any ſort of knowledge: then every thing of itſelf is difficult, and the great uſe and ſkill of a teacher is to make all as eaſy as he can. But particularly in learning of languages there is leaſt occaſion for poſing of children. For languages being to be learn'd by rote, cuſtom, and memory, are then ſpoken in greateſt perfection, when all rules of grammar are utterly forgotten. I grant the grammar of a language is ſometimes very carefully to be ſtudied: but it is only to be ſtudied by a grown man, when he applies himſelf to the underſtanding of any language critically, which is ſeldom the buſineſs of any but profeſs'd ſcholars. This, I think, will be agreed to, that if a gentleman be to ſtudy any language, it ought to be that of his own country, that he may underſtand the language, which he has conſtant uſe of, with the utmoſt accuracy.

THERE is yet a farther reaſon, why maſters and teachers ſhould raiſe no difficulties to their ſcholars; but on the contrary ſhould ſmooth their way, and readily help them forwards, where they find them ſtop. Children's minds are narrow and weak, and uſually ſuſceptible but of one thought at once. Whatever is in a child's head, fills it for the time, eſpecially if ſet on with any paſſion. It

ſhould

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ſhould therefore be the ſkill and art of the teacher, to clear their heads of all other thoughts, whilſt they are learning of any thing, the better to make room for what he would inſtil into them, that it may be receiv'd with attention and application, without which it leaves no impreſſion. The natural temper of children diſpoſes their minds to wander. Novelty alone takes them; whatever that preſents, they are preſently eager to have a taſte of, and are as ſoon ſatiated with it. They quickly grow weary of the ſame thing, and ſo have almoſt their whole delight in change and variety. It is a contradiction to the natural ſtate of childhood, for them to fix their fleeting thoughts. Whether this be owing to the temper of their brains, or the quickneſs or inſtability of their animal ſpirits, over which the mind has not yet got a full command; this is viſible, that it is a pain to children to keep their thoughts ſteady to any thing. A laſting continued attention is one of the hardeſt taſks can be impos'd on them: and therefore, he that requires their application, ſhould endeavour to make what he propoſes as grateful and agreeable as poſſible; at leaſt, he ought to take care not to join any diſpleaſing or frightful idea with it. If they come not to their books with ſome kind of liking and reliſh, 'tis no wonder their thoughts ſhould be perpetually ſhifting from what diſguſts them, and ſeek better entertainment in more pleaſing objects, after which they will unavoidably be gadding.

'Tis, I know, the uſual method of tutors, to endeavour to procure attention in their ſcholars, and to fix their minds to the buſineſs in hand, by rebukes and corrections, if they find them ever ſo little wandering. But ſuch treatment is ſure to produce the quite contrary effect. Paſſionate words or blows from the tutor, fill the child's mind with terror and affrightment, which immediately takes it wholly up, and leaves no room for other impreſſions. I believe there is no body, that reads this, but may recollect, what diſorder haſty or imperious words from his parents or teachers have cauſed in his thoughts; how for the time it has turn'd his brains, ſo that he ſcarce knew what was ſaid by, or to him: he preſently loſt the ſight of what he was upon; his mind was filled with diſorder and confuſion, and in that ſtate was no longer capable of attention to any thing elſe.

'Tis true, parents and governors ought to ſettle and eſtabliſh their authority, by an awe over the minds of thoſe under their tuition; and to rule them by that: but when they have got an aſcendant over them, they ſhould uſe it with great moderation, and not make themſelves ſuch ſcarecrows, that their ſcholars ſhould always tremble in their ſight. Such an auſterity may make their government eaſy to themſelves, but of very little uſe to their pupils. 'Tis impoſſible children ſhould learn any thing, whilſt their thoughts are poſſeſs'd and diſturb'd with any paſſion, eſpecially fear, which makes the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on their yet tender and weak ſpirits. Keep the mind in an eaſy calm temper, when you would have it receive your inſtructions, or any increaſe of knowledge. 'Tis as impoſſible to draw fair and regular characters on a trembling mind, as on a ſhaking paper.

The great ſkill of a teacher is to get and keep the attention of his ſcholar: whilſt he has that, he is ſure to advance as faſt as the learner's abilities will carry him; and without that, all his buſtle and pother will be to little or no purpoſe. To attain this, he ſhould make the child comprehend (as much as may be) the uſefulneſs of what he teaches him; and let him ſee, by what he has learnt, that he can do ſomething which he could not do before; ſomething, which gives him ſome power and real advantage above others, who are ignorant of it. To this he ſhould add ſweetneſs in all his inſtructions; and by a certain tenderneſs in his whole carriage, make the child ſenſible that he loves him, and deſigns nothing but his good; the only way to beget love in the child, which will make him hearken to his leſſons, and reliſh what he teaches him.

Nothing but obſtinacy ſhould meet with any imperiouſneſs or rough uſage. All other faults ſhould be corrected with a gentle hand; and kind encouraging words will work better and more effectually upon a willing mind, and even prevent a good deal of that perverſeneſs, which rough and imperious uſage often produces in well-diſpoſed and generous minds. 'Tis true, obſtinacy and wilful neglects muſt be maſter'd, even though it coſt blows to do it: but I am apt to think perverſeneſs in the pupils is often the effect of frowardneſs in the tutor;

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and that moſt children would ſeldom have deſerved blows, if needleſs and miſapplied roughneſs had not taught them ill-nature, and given them an averſion to their teacher, and all that comes from him.

Inadvertency, forgetfulneſs, unſteadineſs, and wandering of thought, are the natural faults of childhood: and therefore, when they are not obſerved to be wilful, are to be mentioned ſoftly, and gained upon by time. If every ſlip of this kind produces anger and rating, the occaſions of rebuke and corrections will return ſo often, that the tutor will be a conſtant terror and uneaſineſs to his pupils; which one thing is enough to hinder their profiting by his leſſons, and to defeat all his methods of inſtructions.

Let the awe he has got upon their minds be ſo tempered with the conſtant marks of tenderneſs and good-will, that affection may ſpur them to their duty, and make them find a pleaſure in complying with his dictates. This will bring them with ſatisfaction to their tutor; make them hearken to him, as to one who is their friend, that cheriſhes them, and takes pains for their good: this will keep their thoughts eaſy and free, whilſt they are with him, the only temper wherein the mind is capable of receiving new informations, and of admitting into itſelf thoſe impreſſions, which if not taken and retained, all that they and their teacher do together, is loſt labour; there is much uneaſineſs, and little learning.

§ 168. When, by this way of interlining Latin and Engliſh one with another, he has got a moderate knowledge of the Latin tongue, he may then be advanced a little farther to the reading of ſome other eaſy Latin book, ſuch as Juſtin, or Eutropius; and to make the reading and underſtanding of it the leſs tedious, and difficult to him, let him help himſelf, if he pleaſe, with the Engliſh tranſlation. Nor let the objection, that he will then know it only by rote, fright any one. This, when well conſidered, is not of any moment againſt, but plainly for this way of learning a language; for languages are only to be learn'd by rote; and a man, who does not ſpeak Engliſh or Latin perfectly by rote, ſo that having thought of the thing he would ſpeak of, his tongue of courſe, without thought of rule of grammar, falls into the proper expreſſion and idiom of that language, does not ſpeak it well, nor is maſter of it. And I would fain have any one name to me that tongue, that any one can learn or ſpeak as he ſhould do, by the rules of grammar. Languages were made not by rules or art, but by accident, and the common uſe of the people. And he that will ſpeak them well, has no other rule but that; nor any thing to truſt to but his memory, and the habit of ſpeaking after the faſhion learned from thoſe that are allowed to ſpeak properly, which, in other words, is only to ſpeak by rote.

Grammar.

It will poſſibly be aſked here, Is grammar then of no uſe? And have thoſe who have taken ſo much pains in reducing ſeveral languages to rules and obſervations, who have writ ſo much about declenſions and conjugations, about concords and ſyntaxis, loſt their labour, and been learned to no purpoſe? I ſay not ſo; grammar has its place too. But this I think I may ſay, There is more ſtir a great deal made with it than there needs, and thoſe are tormented about it, to whom it does not at all belong; I mean children, at the age wherein they are uſually perplexed with it in grammar ſchools.

There is nothing more evident, than that languages learned by rote ſerve well enough for the common affairs of life, and ordinary commerce. Nay, perſons of quality of the ſofter ſex, and ſuch of them as have ſpent their time in well-bred company, ſhew us, that this plain natural way, without the leaſt ſtudy or knowledge of grammar, can carry them to a great degree of elegancy and politeneſs in their language: and there are ladies who, without knowing what tenſes and participles, adverbs and prepoſitions are, ſpeak as properly, and as correctly, (they might take it for an ill compliment, if I ſaid as any country ſchool-maſter) as moſt gentlemen who have been bred up in the ordinary method of grammar ſchools. Grammar therefore we ſee may be ſpared in ſome caſes. The queſtion then will be, To whom ſhould it be taught, and when? To this I anſwer:

Grammar.

1. Men learn languages for the ordinary intercourſe of ſociety, and communication of thoughts in common life, without any farther deſign in their uſe of them. And for this purpoſe the original way of learning a language by converſation, not only ſerves well enough, but is to be preferred, as the moſt expedite, proper and natural. Therefore to this uſe of language one may anſwer, That grammar is not neceſſary. This ſo many of my readers muſt be forced to allow, as underſtand what I here ſay, and who, converſing with others, underſtand them without having ever been taught the grammar of the English tongue: which I ſuppoſe is the caſe of incomparably the greateſt part of Engliſhmen; of whom I have never yet known any one who learned his mother-tongue by rules.

2. Others there are, the greateſt part of whoſe buſineſs in this world is to be done with their tongues, and with their pens; and to thoſe it is convenient, if not neceſſary, that they ſhould ſpeak properly and correctly, whereby they may let their thoughts into other men's minds, the more eaſily, and with the greater impreſſion. Upon this account it is, that any ſort of ſpeaking, ſo as will make him be underſtood, is not thought enough for a gentleman. He ought to ſtudy grammar, amongſt the other helps of ſpeaking well; but it muſt be the grammar of his own tongue, of the language he uſes, that he may underſtand his own country ſpeech nicely, and ſpeak it properly, without ſhocking the ears of thoſe it is addreſſed to, with ſoleciſms, and offenſive irregularities. And to this purpoſe grammar is neceſſary: but it is the grammar only of their own proper tongues, and to thoſe only who would take pains in cultivating their language, and in perfecting their ſtyles. Whether all gentlemen ſhould not do this, I leave to be conſidered, ſince the want of propriety, and grammatical exactneſs, is thought very miſbecoming one of that rank, and uſually draws on one guilty of ſuch faults, the cenſure of having had a lower breeding, and worſe company, than ſuits with his quality. If this be ſo, (as I ſuppoſe it is) it will be matter of wonder, why young gentlemen are forced to learn the grammars of foreign and dead languages, and are never once told of the grammar of their own tongues: they do not ſo much as know there is any ſuch thing, much leſs is it made their buſineſs to be inſtructed in it. Nor is their own language ever propoſed to them as worthy their care and cultivating, tho' they have daily uſe of it, and are not ſeldom in the future courſe of their lives judged of, by their handſome or aukward way of expreſſing themſelves in it. Whereas the languages, whoſe grammars they have been ſo much employed in, are ſuch as probably they ſhall ſcarce ever ſpeak or write; or, if upon occaſion this ſhould happen, they ſhall be excuſed for the miſtakes and faults they make in it. Would not a Chineſe, who took notice of this way of breeding, be apt to imagine, that all our young gentlemen were deſign'd to be teachers and profeſſors of the dead languages of foreign countries, and not to be men of buſineſs in their own?

3. There is a third ſort of men, who apply themſelves to two or three foreign, dead (and which amongſt us are called the learned) languages, make them their ſtudy, and pique themſelves upon their ſkill in them. No doubt thoſe who propoſe to themſelves the learning of any language with this view, and would be critically exact in it, ought carefully to ſtudy the grammar of it. I would not be miſtaken here, as if this were to undervalue Greek and Latin: I grant theſe are languages of great uſe and excellency; and a man can have no place amongſt the learned, in this part of the world, who is a ſtranger to them. But the knowledge a gentleman would ordinarily draw for his uſe, out of the Roman and Greek writers, I think he may attain without ſtudying the grammars of thoſe tongues, and, by bare reading, may come to underſtand them ſufficiently for all his purpoſes. How much farther he ſhall at any time be concerned to look into the grammar and critical niceties of either of theſe tongues, he himſelf will be able to determine, when he comes to propoſe to himſelf the ſtudy of any thing that ſhall require it. Which brings me to the other part of the inquiry, viz.

"When grammar ſhould be taught?"

To which, upon the premiſed grounds, the anſwer is obvious, viz.

Grammar.

THAT if grammar ought to be taught at any time, it muſt be to one that can ſpeak the language already: how elſe can he be taught the grammar of it? This, at leaſt, is evident from the practice of the wiſe and learned nations amongſt the ancients. They made it a part of education to cultivate their own, not foreign tongues. The Greeks counted all other nations barbarous, and had a contempt for their languages. And, though the Greek learning grew in credit amongſt the Romans, towards the end of their commonwealth, yet it was the Roman tongue that was made the ſtudy of their youth: their own language they were to make uſe of, and therefore it was their own language they were inſtructed and exerciſed in.

BUT more particularly to determine the proper ſeaſon for grammar; I do not ſee how it can reaſonably be made any one's ſtudy, but as an introduction to rhetorick: when it is thought time to put any one upon the care of poliſhing his tongue, and of ſpeaking better than the illiterate, then is the time for him to be inſtructed in the rules of grammar, and not before. For grammar being to teach men not to ſpeak, but to ſpeak correctly, and according to the exact rules of the tongue, which is one part of elegancy, there is little uſe of the one to him that has no need of the other; where rhetorick is not neceſſary, grammar may be ſpared. I know not why any one ſhould waſte his time, and beat his head about the Latin grammar, who does not intend to be a critick, or make ſpeeches, and write diſpatches in it. When any one finds in himſelf a neceſſity or diſpoſition to ſtudy any foreign language to the bottom, and to be nicely exact in the knowledge of it, it will be time enough to take a grammatical ſurvey of it. If his uſe of it be only to underſtand ſome books writ in it, without a critical knowledge of the tongue itſelf, reading alone, as I have ſaid, will attain this end, without charging the mind with the multiplied rules and intricacies of grammar.

§ 169. FOR the exerciſe of his writing, let him ſometimes tranſlate Latin into Engliſh: but the learning of Latin being nothing but the learning of words, a very unpleaſant buſineſs both to young and old, join as much other real knowledge with it as you can, beginning ſtill with that which lies moſt obvious to the ſenſes; ſuch as is the knowledge of minerals, plants, and animals, and particularly timber and fruit-trees, their parts and ways of propagation, wherein a great deal may be taught a child, which will not be uſeleſs to the man. But more eſpecially geography, aſtronomy, and anatomy. But whatever you are teaching him, have a care ſtill, that you do not clog him with too much at once; or make any thing his buſineſs but down-right virtue, or reprove him for any thing but vice, or ſome apparent tendency to it.

Themes.

§ 170. But if, after all, his fate be to go to ſchool to get the Latin tongue, 'twill be in vain to talk to you concerning the method I think beſt to be obſerv'd in ſchools. You muſt ſubmit to that you find there, not expect to have it chang'd for your ſon; but yet by all means obtain, if you can, that he be not employ'd in making Latin themes and declamations, and, leaſt of all, verſes of any kind. You may inſiſt on it, if it will do any good, that you have no deſign to make him either a Latin orator or poet, but barely would have him underſtand perfectly a Latin author; and that you obſerve thoſe who teach any of the modern languages, and that with ſucceſs, never amuſe their ſcholars to make ſpeeches or verſes either in French or Italian, their buſineſs being languages barely, and not invention.

§ 171. BUT to tell you, a little more fully, why I would not have him exerciſed in making of themes and verſes: 1. As to themes, they have, I confeſs, the pretence of ſomething uſeful, which is to teach people to ſpeak handſomely and well on any ſubject; which, if it could be attained this way, I own, would be a great advantage, there being nothing more becoming a gentleman, nor more uſeful in all the occurrences of life, than to be able, on any occaſion, to ſpeak well, and to the purpoſe. But this I ſay, that the making of themes, as is uſual in ſchools, helps not one jot towards it: for do but conſider what 'tis in making a theme, that a young lad is employed about; 'tis to make a ſpeech on ſome Latin ſaying, as "Omnia vincit amor," or "Non licet in bello bis

Themes.

“ peccare,” &c. And here the poor lad, who wants knowledge of thoſe things he is to ſpeak of, which is to be had only from time and obſervation, muſt ſet his invention on the rack, to ſay ſomething where he knows nothing, which is a ſort of Ægyptian tyranny, to bid them make bricks who have not yet any of the materials. And therefore it is uſual, in ſuch caſes, for the poor children to go to thoſe of higher forms with this petition, “ Pray give me a “ little ſenſe;” which, whether it be more reaſonable or more ridiculous, is not eaſy to determine. Before a man can be in any capacity to ſpeak on any ſubject, 'tis neceſſary he be acquainted with it; or elſe 'tis as fooliſh to ſet him to diſcourſe of it, as to ſet a blind man to talk of colours, or a deaf man of muſick. And would you not think him a little crack'd who would require another to make an argument on a moot-point, who underſtands nothing of our laws? And what, I pray, do ſchool-boys underſtand concerning thoſe matters, which are uſed to be propoſed to them in their themes, as ſubjects to diſcourſe on, to whet and exerciſe their fancies?

§ 172. In the next place conſider the language that their themes are made in: 'Tis Latin, a language foreign in their country, and long ſince dead every-where; a language which your ſon, 'tis a thouſand to one, ſhall never have an occaſion once to make a ſpeech in as long as he lives, after he comes to be a man; and a language, wherein the manner of expreſſing one's ſelf is ſo far different from our's, that to be perfect in that, would very little improve the purity and facility of his Engliſh ſtyle. Beſides that, there is now ſo little room or uſe for ſet ſpeeches in our own language in any part of our Engliſh buſineſs, that I can ſee no pretence for this ſort of exerciſe in our ſchools, unleſs it can be ſuppoſed, that the making of ſet Latin ſpeeches ſhould be the way to teach men to ſpeak well in Engliſh extempore. The way to that I ſhould think rather to be this: that there ſhould be propoſed to young gentlemen rational and uſeful queſtions, ſuited to their age and capacities, and on ſubjects not wholly unknown to them, nor out of their way: ſuch as theſe, when they are ripe for exerciſes of this nature, they ſhould, extempore or after a little meditation upon the ſpot, ſpeak to, without penning of any thing. For I aſk, if we will examine the effects of this way of learning to ſpeak well, who ſpeak beſt in any buſineſs, when occaſion calls them to it upon any debate; either thoſe who have accuſtomed themſelves to compoſe and write down before-hand what they would ſay; or thoſe, who thinking only of the matter, to underſtand that as well as they can, uſe themſelves only to ſpeak extempore? And he that ſhall judge by this, will be little apt to think, that the accuſtoming him to ſtudied ſpeeches, and ſet compoſitions, is the way to fit a young gentleman for buſineſs.

§ 173. But perhaps we ſhall be told, 'Tis to improve and perfect them in the Latin tongue. 'Tis true, that is their proper buſineſs at ſchool; but the making of themes is not the way to it: that perplexes their brains, about invention of things to be ſaid, not about the ſignification of words to be learnt; and when they are making a theme, 'tis thoughts they ſearch and ſweat for, and not language. But the learning and maſtery of a tongue being uneaſy and unpleaſant enough in itſelf, ſhould not be cumber'd with any other difficulties, as is done in this way of proceeding. In fine, if boys invention be to be quicken'd by ſuch exerciſe, let them make themes in Engliſh, where they have facility, and a command of words, and will better ſee what kind of thoughts they have, when put into their own language: and if the Latin tongue be to be learned, let it be done the eaſieſt way, without toiling and diſguſting the mind by ſo uneaſy an employment as that of making ſpeeches joined to it.

Verſes.

§ 174. If theſe may be any reaſons againſt children's making Latin themes at ſchool, I have much more to ſay, and of more weight, againſt their making verſes; verſes of any ſort: for if he has no genius to poetry, 'tis the moſt unreaſonable thing in the world to torment a child, and waſte his time about that which can never ſucceed; and if he have a poetick vein, 'tis to me the ſtrangeſt thing in the world, that the father ſhould deſire or ſuffer it to be cheriſhed or improved. Methinks the parents ſhould labour to have it ſtifled and

Verſes.

ſuppreſſed as much as may be; and I know not what reaſon a father can have to wiſh his ſon a poet, who does not deſire to have him bid defiance to all other callings and buſineſs: which is not yet the worſt of the caſe; for if he proves a ſucceſsful rhymer, and gets once the reputation of a wit, I deſire it may be conſidered, what company and places he is like to ſpend his time in, nay, and eſtate too: for it is very ſeldom ſeen, that any one diſcovers mines of gold or ſilver in Parnaſſus. 'Tis a pleaſant air, but a barren ſoil; and there are very few inſtances of thoſe who have added to their patrimony by any thing they have reaped from thence. Poetry and gaming, which uſually go together, are alike in this too, that they ſeldom bring any advantage, but to thoſe who have nothing elſe to live on. Men of eſtates almoſt conſtantly go away loſers; and 'tis well if they eſcape at a cheaper rate than their whole eſtates, or the greateſt part of them. If therefore you would not have your ſon the fiddle to every jovial company, without whom the ſparks could not reliſh their wine, nor know how to paſs an afternoon idly; if you would not have him waſte his time and eſtate to divert others, and condemn the dirty acres left him by his anceſtors; I do not think you will much care he ſhould be a poet, or that his ſchool-maſter ſhould enter him in verſifying. But yet, if any one will think poetry a deſirable quality in his ſon, and that the ſtudy of it would raiſe his fanſy and parts, he muſt needs yet confeſs, that, to that end, reading the excellent Greek and Roman poets is of more uſe than making bad verſes of his own, in a language that is not his own. And he, whoſe deſign it is to excel in Engliſh poetry, would not, I gueſs, think the way to it were to make his firſt eſſays in Latin verſes.

Memoriter.

§ 175. ANOTHER thing, very ordinary in the vulgar method of grammar-ſchools, there is, of which I ſee no uſe at all, unleſs it be to balk young lads in the way to learning languages, which, in my opinion, ſhould be made as eaſy and pleaſant as may be; and that which was painful in it, as much as poſſible, quite removed. That which I mean, and here complain of, is, their being forced to learn by heart great parcels of the authors which are taught them; wherein I can diſcover no advantage at all, eſpecially to the buſineſs they are upon. Languages are to be learnt only by reading and talking, and not by ſcraps of authors got by heart; which when a man's head is ſtuffed with, he has got the juſt furniture of a pedant, and 'tis the ready way to make him one, than which there is nothing leſs becoming a gentleman. For what can be more ridiculous, than to mix the rich and handſome thoughts and ſayings of others with a deal of poor ſtuff of his own; which is thereby the more expoſed, and has no other grace in it, nor will otherwiſe recommend the ſpeaker, than a thread-bare ruſſet-coat would, that was ſet off with large patches of ſcarlet, and glittering brocade? Indeed, where a paſſage comes in the way, whoſe matter is worth remembrance, and the expreſſion of it very cloſe and excellent, (as there are many ſuch in the antient authors) it may not be amiſs to lodge it in the minds of young ſcholars, and with ſuch admirable ſtrokes of thoſe great maſters ſometimes exerciſe the memories of ſchool-boys: but their learning of their leſſons by heart, as they happen to fall out in their books without choice or diſtinction, I know not what it ſerves for, but to miſpend their time and pains, and give them a diſguſt and averſion to their books, wherein they find nothing but uſeleſs trouble.

§ 176. I HEAR 'tis ſaid, That children ſhould be employ'd in getting things by heart, to exerciſe and improve their memories. I could wiſh this were ſaid with as much authority of reaſon, as it is with forwardneſs of aſſurance; and that this practice were eſtabliſhed upon good obſervation, more than old cuſtom; for it is evident, that ſtrength of memory is owing to an happy conſtitution, and not to any habitual improvement got by exerciſe. 'Tis true, what the mind is intent upon, and for fear of letting it ſlip, often imprints afreſh on itſelf by frequent reflection, that it is apt to retain, but ſtill according to its own natural ſtrength of retention. An impreſſion made on bees-wax or lead, will not laſt ſo long as on braſs or ſteel. Indeed, if it be renew'd often, it may laſt the longer; but every new reflecting on it is a new impreſſion, and 'tis from thence one is to reckon, if one would know how long the mind retains it. But the learning pages of Latin by heart, no more fits the memory for retention of any thing elſe, than the graving of one ſentence in lead, makes it the more capable of retaining firmly any other characters. If ſuch a ſort of exerciſe of the memory were able to give it ſtrength, and improve our parts, players of all other people muſt needs have the beſt memories, and be the beſt company: but whether the ſcraps they have got into their heads this way, make them remember other things the better; and whether their parts be improved proportionably to the pains they have taken in getting by heart others ſayings, experience will ſhew. Memory is ſo neceſſary to all parts and conditions of life, and ſo little is to be done without it, that we are not to fear it ſhould grow dull and uſeleſs for want of exerciſe, if exerciſe would make it grow ſtronger. But I fear this faculty of the mind is not capable of much help and amendment in general, by any exerciſe or endeavour of ours, at leaſt not by that uſed upon this pretence in grammar ſchools. And if Xerxes was able to call every common ſoldier by his name, in his army, that conſiſted of no leſs than an hundred thouſand men, I think it may be gueſſed, he got not this wonderful ability by learning his leſſons by heart, when he was a boy. This method of exerciſing and improving the memory by toilſome repetitions, without-book, of what they read, is, I think, little uſed in the education of princes, which, if it had that advantage is talked of, ſhould be as little neglected in them, as in the meaneſt ſchool-boys: princes having as much need of good memories as any men living, and have generally an equal ſhare in this faculty with other men: tho' it has never been taken care of this way. What the mind is intent upon, and careful of, that it remembers beſt, and for the reaſon above-mentioned: to which if method and order be join'd, all is done, I think, that can be, for the help of a weak memory; and he that will take any other way to do it, eſpecially that of charging it with a train of other people's words, which he that learns cares not for, will, I gueſs, ſcarce find the profit anſwer half the time and pains employ'd in it.

Memoriter.

I do not mean hereby, that there ſhould be no exerciſe given to children's memories. I think their memories ſhould be employ'd, but not in learning by rote whole pages out of books, which, the leſſon being once ſaid, and that taſk over, are deliver'd up again to oblivion, and neglected for ever. This mends neither the memory, nor the mind. What they ſhould learn by heart out of authors, I have above-mentioned: and ſuch wiſe and uſeful ſentences being once given in charge to their memories, they ſhould never be ſuffer'd to forget again, but be often call'd to account for them: whereby, beſides the uſe thoſe ſayings may be to them in their future life, as ſo many good rules and obſervations, they will be taught to reflect often, and bethink themſelves what they have to remember, which is the only way to make the memory quick and uſeful. The cuſtom of frequent reflection will keep their minds from running adrift, and call their thoughts home from uſeleſs unattentive roving: and therefore, I think, it may do well, to give them ſomething every day to remember; but ſomething ſtill, that is in itſelf worth the remembring, and what you would never have out of mind, whenever you call, or they themſelves ſearch for it. This will oblige them often to turn their thoughts inwards, than which you cannot wiſh them a better intellectual habit.

Latin.

§ 177. But under whoſe care ſoever a child is put to be taught, during the tender and flexible years of his life, this is certain, it ſhould be one who thinks Latin and language the leaſt part of education; one, who knowing how much virtue, and a well-temper'd ſoul, is to be preferr'd to any ſort of learning or language, makes it his chief buſineſs to form the mind of his ſcholars, and give that a right diſpoſition: which, if once got, tho' all the reſt ſhould be neglected, would, in due time, produce all the reſt; and which if it be not got, and ſettled, ſo as to keep out ill and vicious habits, languages and ſciences, and all the other accompliſhments of education, will be to no purpoſe, but to make the worſe or more dangerous man. And indeed, whatever ſtir there is made about getting of Latin, as the great and difficult buſineſs, his mother may teach it him herſelf, if ſhe will but ſpend two or three hours in a day with him, and make him read

Latin. the evangeliſts in Latin to her: for ſhe need but buy a Latin teſtament, and having got ſomebody to mark the laſt ſyllable but one, where it is long, in words above two ſyllables, (which is enough to regulate her pronunciation, and accenting the words) read daily in the goſpels, and then let her avoid underſtanding them in Latin, if ſhe can. And when ſhe underſtands the evangeliſts in Latin, let her, in the ſame manner, read Æſop's fables, and ſo proceed on to Eutropius, Juſtin, and other ſuch books. I do not mention this, as an imagination of what I fanſy may be, but as of a thing I have known done, and the Latin tongue, with eaſe, got this way.

BUT to return to what I was ſaying: he that takes on him the charge of bringing up young men, eſpecially young gentlemen, ſhould have ſomething more in him than Latin, more than even a knowledge in the liberal ſciences; he ſhould be a perſon of eminent virtue and prudence, and with good ſenſe, have good humour, and the ſkill to carry himſelf with gravity, eaſe, and kindneſs, in a conſtant converſation with his pupils. But of this I have ſpoken at large in another place.

Geography. § 178. AT the ſame time that he is learning French and Latin, a child, as has been ſaid, may alſo be enter'd in arithmetick, geography, chronology, hiſtory, and geometry too. For if theſe be taught him in French or Latin, when he begins once to underſtand either of theſe tongues, he will get a knowledge in theſe ſciences, and the language to-boot.

GEOGRAPHY, I think, ſhould be begun with; for the learning of the figure of the globe, the ſituation and boundaries of the four parts of the world, and that of particular kingdoms and countries, being only an exerciſe of the eyes and memory, a child with pleaſure will learn and retain them: and this is ſo certain, that I now live in the houſe with a child, whom his mother has ſo well inſtructed this way in geography, that he knew the limits of the four parts of the world, could readily point, being aſked, to any country upon the globe, or any county in the map of England; knew all the great rivers, promontories, ſtraits, and bays in the world, and could find the longitude and latitude of any place, before he was ſix years old. Theſe things, that he will thus learn by ſight, and have by rote in his memory, are not all, I confeſs, that he is to learn upon the globes. But yet it is a good ſtep and preparation to it, and will make the remainder much eaſier, when his judgment is grown ripe enough for it: beſides that, it gets ſo much time now; and by the pleaſure of knowing things, leads him on inſenſibly to the gaining of languages.

§ 179. WHEN he has the natural parts of the globe well fix'd in his memory, it may then be time to begin arithmetick. By the natural parts of the globe, I mean ſeveral poſitions of the parts of the earth and ſea, under different names and diſtinctions of countries, not coming yet to thoſe artificial and imaginary lines, which have been invented, and are only ſuppos'd, for the better improvement of that ſcience.

Arithmetick. § 180. ARITHMETICK is the eaſieſt, and conſequently the firſt ſort of abſtract reaſoning, which the mind commonly bears, or accuſtoms itſelf to: and is of ſo general uſe in all parts of life and buſineſs, that ſcarce any thing is to be done without it. This is certain, a man cannot have too much of it, nor too perfectly; he ſhould therefore begin to be exercis'd in counting, as ſoon, and as far, as he is capable of it; and do ſomething in it every day, till he is maſter of the art of numbers. When he underſtands addition and ſubtraction, he may then be advanc'd farther in geography, and after he is acquainted with the poles, zones, parallel circles, and meridians, be taught longitude and latitude, and by them be made to underſtand the uſe of maps, and by the numbers placed on their ſides, to know the reſpective ſituation of countries, and how to find them out on the terreſtrial globe. Which when he can

Aſtronomy. readily do, he may then be enter'd in the celeſtial; and there going over all the circles again, with a more particular obſervation of the ecliptick or zodiack, to fix them all very clearly and diſtinctly in his mind, he may be taught the figure and poſition of the ſeveral conſtellations, which may be ſhew'd him firſt upon the globe, and then in the heavens.

Aſtronomy.

WHEN that is done, and he knows pretty well the conſtellations of this our hemiſphere, it may be time to give him ſome notions of this our planetary world, and to that purpoſe it may not be amiſs to make him a draught of the Copernican ſyſtem; and therein explain to him the ſituation of the planets, their reſpective diſtances from the ſun, the centre of their revolutions. This will prepare him to underſtand the motion and theory of the planets, the moſt eaſy and natural way. For ſince aſtronomers no longer doubt of the motion of the planets about the ſun, it is fit he ſhould proceed upon that hypotheſis, which is not only the ſimpleſt and leaſt perplexed for a learner, but alſo the likelieſt to be true in itſelf. But in this, as in all other parts of inſtruction, great care muſt be taken with children, to begin with that which is plain and ſimple, and to teach them as little as can be at once, and ſettle that well in their heads, before you proceed to the next, or any thing new in that ſcience. Give them firſt one ſimple idea, and ſee that they take it right, and perfectly comprehend it, before you go any farther; and then add ſome other ſimple idea, which lies next in your way to what you aim at; and ſo proceeding by gentle and inſenſible ſteps, children, without confuſion and amazement, will have their underſtandings opened, and their thoughts extended, farther than could have been expected. And when any one has learn'd any thing himſelf, there is no ſuch way to fix it in his memory, and to encourage him to go on, as to ſet him to teach it others.

Geometry.

§ 181. WHEN he has once got ſuch an acquaintance with the globes, as is above-mentioned, he may be fit to be tried a little in geometry; wherein I think the ſix firſt books of Euclid enough for him to be taught. For I am in ſome doubt, whether more to a man of buſineſs be neceſſary or uſeful; at leaſt if he have a genius and inclination to it, being enter'd ſo far by his tutor, he will be able to go on of himſelf without a teacher.

THE globes therefore muſt be ſtudied, and that diligently, and, I think, may be begun betimes, if the tutor will but be careful to diſtinguiſh, what the child is capable of knowing, and what not; for which this may be a rule, that perhaps will go a pretty way, (viz.) That children may be taught any thing that falls under their ſenſes, eſpecially their ſight, as far as their memories only are exerciſed: and thus a child very young may learn, which is the Æquator, which the Meridian, &c. which Europe, and which England, upon the globes, as ſoon almoſt as he knows the rooms of the houſe he lives in; if care be taken not to teach him too much at once, nor to ſet him upon a new part, till that, which he is upon, be perfectly learn'd and fix'd in his memory.

Chronology.

§ 182. WITH geography, chronology ought to go hand in hand; I mean the general part of it, ſo that he may have in his mind a view of the whole current of time, and the ſeveral conſiderable epochs that are made uſe of in hiſtory. Without theſe two, hiſtory, which is the great miſtreſs of prudence, and civil knowledge; and ought to be the proper ſtudy of a gentleman, or man of buſineſs in the world; without geography and chronology, I ſay, hiſtory will be very ill retained, and very little uſeful; but be only a jumble of matters of fact, confuſedly heaped together without order or inſtruction. 'Tis by theſe two, that the actions of mankind are ranked into their proper places of times and countries; under which circumſtances, they are not only much eaſier kept in the memory; but in that natural order, are only capable to afford thoſe obſervations, which make a man the better and the abler for reading them.

§ 183. WHEN I ſpeak of chronology as a ſcience he ſhould be perfect in, I do not mean the little controverſies that are in it. Theſe are endleſs, and moſt of them of ſo little importance to a gentleman, as not to deſerve to be inquired into, were they capable of an eaſy deciſion. And therefore all that learned noiſe and duſt of the chronologiſt is wholly to be avoided. The moſt uſeful book I have ſeen in that part of learning, is a ſmall treatiſe of Strauchius, which is printed in twelves, under the title of "Breviarium Chronologicum," out of which may be ſelected all that is neceſſary to be taught a young gentleman concerning chronology; for all that is in that treatiſe, a learner need

Chronology. not to be cumber'd with. He has in him the moſt remarkable or uſual epochs reduced all to that of the Julian period, which is the eaſieſt, and plaineſt, and ſureſt method, that can be made uſe of in chronology. To this treatiſe of Strauchius, Helvicus's tables may be added, as a book to be turned to on all occaſions.

History. § 184. As nothing teaches, ſo nothing delights, more than hiſtory. The firſt of theſe recommends it to the ſtudy of grown men, the latter makes me think it the fitteſt for a young lad, who, as ſoon as he is inſtructed in chronology, and acquainted with the ſeveral epochs in uſe in this part of the world, and can reduce them to the Julian period, ſhould then have ſome Latin hiſtory put into his hand. The choice ſhould be directed by the eaſineſs of the ſtyle; for where-ever he begins, chronology will keep it from confuſion; and the pleaſantneſs of the ſubject inviting him to read, the language will inſenſibly be got, without that terrible vexation and uneaſineſs, which children ſuffer where they are put into books beyond their capacity, ſuch as are the Roman orators and poets, only to learn the Roman language. When he has by reading maſter'd the eaſier, ſuch perhaps as Juſtin, Eutropius, Quintus Curtius, &c. the next degree to theſe will give him no great trouble: and thus by a gradual progreſs from the plaineſt and eaſieſt hiſtorians, he may at laſt come to read the moſt difficult and ſublime of the Latin authors, ſuch as are Tully, Virgil, and Horace.

Ethicks. § 185. THE knowledge of virtue, all along from the beginning, in all the inſtances he is capable of, being taught him, more by practice than rules: and the love of reputation, inſtead of ſatisfying his appetite, being made habitual in him; I know not whether he ſhould read any other diſcourſes of morality, but what he finds in the bible; or have any ſyſtem of ethicks put into his hand, till he can read Tully's offices, not as a ſchool-boy to learn Latin, but as one that would be informed in the principles and precepts of virtue, for the conduct of his life.

Civil Law. § 186. WHEN he has pretty well digeſted Tully's Offices, and added to it "Puffendorf de officio hominis & civis," it may be ſeaſonable to ſet him upon "Grotius de jure belli & pacis," or, which perhaps is the better of the two, "Puffendorf de jure naturali & gentium;" wherein he will be inſtructed in the natural rights of men, and the original and foundations of ſociety, and the duties reſulting from thence. This general part of civil law and hiſtory, are ſtudies which a gentleman ſhould not barely touch at, but conſtantly dwell upon, and never have done with. A virtuous and well behaved young man, that is well verſed in the general part of the civil law, (which concerns not the chicane of private caſes, but the affairs and intercourſe of civilized nations in general, grounded upon principles of reaſon) underſtands Latin well, and can write a good hand, one may turn looſe into the world, with great aſſurance that he will find employment and eſteem every where.

Law. § 187. IT would be ſtrange to ſuppoſe an Engliſh gentleman ſhould be ignorant of the law of his country. This, whatever ſtation he is in, is ſo requiſite, that from a juſtice of the peace, to a miniſter of ſtate, I know no place he can well fill without it. I do not mean the chicane or wrangling, and captious part of the law; a gentleman whoſe buſineſs is to ſeek the true meaſures of right and wrong, and not the arts how to avoid doing the one, and ſecure himſelf in doing the other, ought to be as far from ſuch a ſtudy of the law, as he is concerned diligently to apply himſelf to that wherein he may be ſerviceable to his country. And to that purpoſe, I think the right way for a gentleman to ſtudy our law, which he does not deſign for his calling, is to take a view of our Engliſh conſtitution and government, in the antient books of the common law, and ſome more modern writers, who out of them have given an account of this government. And having got a true idea of that, then to read our hiſtory, and with it join in every king's reign the laws then made. This will give an inſight into the reaſon of our ſtatutes, and ſhew the true ground upon which they came to be made, and what weight they ought to have.

§ 188. Rhetorick and Logick being the arts, that in the ordinary method uſually follow immediately after grammar, it may perhaps be wondered, that I have ſaid ſo little of them. The reaſon is, becauſe of the little advantage young people receive by them; for I have ſeldom or never obſerved any one to get the ſkill of reaſoning well, or ſpeaking handſomely, by ſtudying thoſe rules which pretend to teach it: and therefore I would have a young gentleman take a view of them in the ſhorteſt ſyſtems could be found, without dwelling long on the contemplation and ſtudy of thoſe formalities. Right reaſoning is founded on ſomething elſe than the predicaments and predicables, and does not conſiſt in talking in mode and figure itſelf. But 'tis beſides my preſent buſineſs to enlarge upon this ſpeculation. To come therefore to what we have in hand; if you would have your ſon reaſon well, let him read Chillingworth; and if you would have him ſpeak well, let him be converſant in Tully, to give him the true idea of eloquence; and let him read thoſe things that are well writ in Engliſh, to perfect his ſtyle in the purity of our language. Rhetorick. Logick.

§ 189. If the uſe and end of right reaſoning be to have right notions, and a right judgment of things; to diſtinguiſh betwixt truth and falſhood, right and wrong, and to act accordingly; be ſure not to let your ſon be bred up in the art and formality of diſputing, either practiſing it himſelf, or admiring it in others; unleſs, inſtead of an able man, you deſire to have him an inſignificant wrangler, opiniater in diſcourſe, and priding himſelf in contradicting others; or, which is worſe, queſtioning every thing, and thinking there is no ſuch thing as truth to be ſought, but only victory, in diſputing. There cannot be any thing ſo diſingenuous, ſo miſbecoming a gentleman, or any one who pretends to be a rational creature, as not to yield to plain reaſon, and the conviction of clear arguments. Is there any thing more inconſiſtent with civil converſation, and the end of all debate, than not to take an anſwer, tho' never ſo full and ſatisfactory; but ſtill to go on with the diſpute, as long as equivocal ſounds can furniſh [a "medius terminus"] a term to wrangle with on the one ſide, or a diſtinction on the other? Whether pertinent or impertinent, ſenſe or nonſenſe, agreeing with, or contrary to, what he had ſaid before, it matters not. For this, in ſhort, is the way and perfection of logical diſputes, that the opponent never takes any anſwer, nor the reſpondent ever yields to any argument. This neither of them muſt do, whatever becomes of truth or knowledge, unleſs he will paſs for a poor baffled wretch, and lie under the diſgrace of not being able to maintain whatever he has once affirm'd, which is the great aim and glory in diſputing. Truth is to be found and ſupported by a mature and due conſideration of things themſelves, and not by artificial terms and ways of arguing: theſe lead not men ſo much into the diſcovery of truth, as into a captious and fallacious uſe of doubtful words, which is the moſt uſeleſs and moſt offenſive way of talking, and ſuch as leaſt ſuits a gentleman or a lover of truth of any thing in the world.

There can ſcarce be a greater defect in a gentleman, than not to expreſs himſelf well, either in writing or ſpeaking. But yet, I think, I may aſk my reader, Whether he doth not know a great many, who live upon their eſtates, and ſo, with the name, ſhould have the qualities of gentlemen, who cannot ſo much as tell a ſtory, as they ſhould, much leſs ſpeak clearly and perſuaſively in any buſineſs? This I think not to be ſo much their fault, as the fault of their education; for I muſt, without partiality, do my countrymen this right, that where they apply themſelves, I ſee none of their neighbours outgo them. They have been taught rhetorick, but yet never taught how to expreſs themſelves handſomely with their tongues, or pens, in the language they are always to uſe; as if the names of the figures, that embelliſh'd the diſcourſes of thoſe who underſtood the art of ſpeaking, were the very art and ſkill of ſpeaking well. This, as all other things of practice, is to be learn'd not by a few or a great many rules given, but by exerciſe and application, according to good rules, or rather patterns, till habits are got, and a facility of doing it well.

Agreeable hereunto, perhaps it might not be amiſs, to make children, as ſoon as they are capable of it, often to tell a ſtory of any thing they know; and Style.

Style.

to correct at firſt the moſt remarkable fault they are guilty of, in their way of putting it together. When that fault is cured, then to ſhew them the next, and ſo on, till one after another, all, at leaſt the groſs ones, are mended. When they can tell tales pretty well, then it may be time to make them write them. The fables of Æſop, the only book almoſt that I know fit for children, may afford them matter for this exerciſe of writing Engliſh, as well as for reading and tranſlating, to enter them in the Latin tongue. When they are got paſt the faults of grammar, and can join in a continued coherent diſcourſe the ſeveral parts of a ſtory, without bald and unhandſome forms of tranſition (as is uſual) often repeated, he that deſires to perfect them yet farther in this, which is the firſt ſtep to ſpeaking well, and needs no invention, may have recourſe to Tully; and by putting in practice thoſe rules, which that maſter of eloquence gives in his firſt book "De Inventione," § 20. make them know wherein the ſkill and graces of an handſome narrative, according to the ſeveral ſubjects and deſigns of it, lie. Of each of which rules fit examples may be found out, and therein they may be ſhewn how others have practis'd them. The ancient claſſic authors afford plenty of ſuch examples, which they ſhould be made not only to tranſlate, but have ſet before them as patterns for their daily imitation.

Letters.

WHEN they underſtand how to write Engliſh with due connection, propriety and order, and are pretty well maſters of a tolerable narrative ſtyle, they may be advanced to writing of letters; wherein they ſhould not be put upon any ſtrains of wit or compliment, but taught to expreſs their own plain eaſy ſenſe, without any incoherence, confuſion, or roughneſs. And when they are perfect in this, they may, to raiſe their thoughts, have ſet before them the example of Voiture's, for the entertainment of their friends at a diſtance, with letters of compliment, mirth, raillery or diverſion; and Tully's epiſtles, as the beſt pattern, whether for buſineſs or converſation. The writing of letters has ſo much to do in all the occurrences of human life, that no gentleman can avoid ſhewing himſelf in this kind of writing: occaſions will daily force him to make this uſe of his pen, which, beſides the conſequences, that, in his affairs, his well or ill managing of it often draws after it, always lays him open to a ſeverer examination of his breeding, ſenſe and abilities, than oral diſcourſes; whoſe tranſient faults, dying for the moſt part with the ſound that gives them life, and ſo not ſubject to a ſtrict review, more eaſily eſcape obſervation and cenſure.

English.

HAD the methods of education been directed to their right end, one would have thought this, ſo neceſſary a part, could not have been neglected, whilſt themes and verſes in Latin, of no uſe at all, were ſo conſtantly every where preſſed, to the racking of children's inventions beyond their ſtrength, and hindering their chearful progreſs in learning the tongues, by unnatural difficulties. But cuſtom has ſo ordain'd it, and who dares diſobey? And would it not be very unreaſonable to require of a learned country ſchool-maſter, (who has all the tropes and figures in Farnaby's rhetorick at his fingers ends) to teach his ſcholar to expreſs himſelf handſomely in Engliſh, when it appears to be ſo little his buſineſs or thought, that the boy's mother (deſpiſed, 'tis like, as illiterate, for not having read a ſyſtem of logick and rhetorick) outdoes him in it?

TO write and ſpeak correctly, gives a grace, and gains a favourable attention, to what one has to ſay: and ſince 'tis Engliſh that an Engliſh gentleman will have conſtant uſe of, that is the language he ſhould chiefly cultivate, and wherein moſt care ſhould be taken to poliſh and perfect his ſtyle. To ſpeak or write better Latin than Engliſh, may make a man be talk'd of; but he would find it more to his purpoſe to expreſs himſelf well in his own tongue, that he uſes every moment, than to have the vain commendation of others for a very inſignificant quality. This I find univerſally neglected, and no care taken any where to improve young men in their own language, that they may thoroughly underſtand and be maſters of it. If any one among us have a facility or purity more than ordinary in his mother-tongue, it is owing to chance, or his genius, or any thing, rather than to his education, or any care of his teacher. To mind what Engliſh his pupil ſpeaks or writes, is below the dignity of one bred up amongſt Greek and Latin, tho' he have but little of them himſelf. Theſe are the learned languages, fit only for learned men to meddle with and teach; Engliſh is the language of the illiterate vulgar; tho' yet we ſee the polity of ſome of our neighbours hath not thought it beneath the publick care, to promote and reward the improvement of their own language. Poliſhing and enriching their tongue, is no ſmall buſineſs amongſt them; it hath colleges and ſtipends appointed it, and there is raiſed amongſt them a great ambition and emulation of writing correctly: and we ſee what they are come to by it, and how far they have ſpread one of the worſt languages, poſſibly, in this part of the world, if we look upon it as it was in ſome few reigns backwards, whatever it be now. The great men amongſt the Romans were daily exerciſing themſelves in their own language; and we find yet upon record, the names of orators, who taught ſome of their emperors Latin, tho' it were their mother-tongue.

English.

'Tis plain the Greeks were yet more nice in theirs; all other ſpeech was barbarous to them but their own, and no foreign language appears to have been ſtudied or valued amongſt that learned and acute people; tho' it be paſt doubt, that they borrowed their learning and philoſophy from abroad.

I am not here ſpeaking againſt Greek and Latin; I think they ought to be ſtudied, and the Latin, at leaſt, underſtood well, by every gentleman. But whatever foreign languages a young man meddles with, (and the more he knows, the better) that which he ſhould critically ſtudy, and labour to get a facility, clearneſs and elegancy to expreſs himſelf in, ſhould be his own, and to this purpoſe he ſhould daily be exercis'd in it.

Natural Philoſophy.

§ 190. Natural philoſophy, as a ſpeculative ſcience, I imagine, we have none; and perhaps I may think I have reaſon to ſay, we never ſhall be able to make a ſcience of it. The works of nature are contriv'd by a wiſdom, and operate by ways, too far ſurpaſſing our faculties to diſcover, or capacities to conceive, for us ever to be able to reduce them into a ſcience. Natural philoſophy being the knowledge of the principles, properties and operations of things, as they are in themſelves, I imagine there are two parts of it, one comprehending ſpirits, with their nature and qualities; and the other bodies. The firſt of theſe is uſually referr'd to metaphyſicks: but under what title ſoever the conſideration of ſpirits comes, I think it ought to go before the ſtudy of matter and body' not as a ſcience that can be methodiz'd into a ſyſtem, and treated of, upon principles of knowledge; but as an inlargement of our minds towards a truer and fuller comprehenſion of the intellectual world, to which we are led both by reaſon and revelation. And ſince the cleareſt and largeſt diſcoveries we have of other ſpirits, beſides God and our own ſouls, is imparted to us from heaven by revelation, I think the information, that at leaſt young people ſhould have of them, ſhould be taken from that revelation. To this purpoſe, I conclude, it would be well, if there were made a good hiſtory of the bible for young people to read; wherein if every thing that is fit to be put into it, were laid down in its due order of time, and ſeveral things omitted, which are ſuited only to riper age, that confuſion, which is uſually produced by promiſcuous reading of the ſcripture, as it lies now bound up in our bibles, would be avoided; and alſo this other good obtained, that by reading of it conſtantly, there would be inſtilled into the minds of children a notion and belief of ſpirits, they having ſo much to do, in all the tranſactions of that hiſtory, which will be a good preparation to the ſtudy of bodies. For, without the notion and allowance of ſpirits, our philoſophy will be lame and defective in one main part of it, when it leaves out the contemplation of the moſt excellent and powerful part of the creation.

§ 191. Of this hiſtory of the bible, I think too it would be well, if there were a ſhort and plain epitome made, containing the chief and moſt material heads for children to be converſant in, as ſoon as they can read. This, tho' it will lead them early into ſome notion of ſpirits, yet is not contrary to what I ſaid above, That I would not have children troubled, whilſt young, with notions of ſpirits; whereby my meaning was, that I think it inconvenient, that their yet tender minds ſhould receive early impreſſions of goblins, ſpectres, and apparitions, wherewith their maids, and thoſe about them, are apt to fright them into a compliance with their orders, which often proves a great inconvenience

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nience to them all their lives after, by ſubjecting their minds to frights, fearful apprehenſions, weakneſs, and ſuperſtition; which, when coming abroad into the world and converſation, they grow weary and aſham'd of, it not ſeldom happens, that to make, as they think, a thorough cure, and eaſe themſelves of a load, which has ſat ſo heavy on them, they throw away the thoughts of all ſpirits together, and ſo run into the other, but worſe extreme.

§ 192. THE reaſon why I would have this premiſed to the ſtudy of bodies, and the doctrine of the ſcriptures well imbibed, before young men be enter'd into natural philoſophy, is, becauſe matter being a thing that all our ſenſes are conſtantly converſant with, it is ſo apt to poſſeſs the mind, and exclude all other beings but matter, that prejudice, grounded on ſuch principles, often leaves no room for the admittance of ſpirits, or the allowing any ſuch things as "immaterial beings, in rerum natura;" when yet it is evident, that by mere matter and motion, none of the great phænomena of nature can be reſolved; to inſtance but in that common one of gravity, which I think impoſſible to be explained by any natural operation of matter, or any other law of motion, but the poſitive will of a ſuperior Being ſo ordering it. And therefore ſince the deluge cannot be well explain'd, without admitting ſomething out of the ordinary courſe of nature, I propoſe it to be conſidered, whether God's altering the centre of gravity in the earth for a time, (a thing as intelligible as gravity itſelf, which perhaps a little variation of cauſes, unknown to us, would produce) will not more eaſily account for Noah's flood, than any hypotheſis yet made uſe of, to ſolve it. I hear the great objection to this is, that it would produce but a partial deluge. But, the alteration of the centre of gravity once allow'd, 'tis no hard matter to conceive, that the divine power might make the centre of gravity, plac'd at a due diſtance from the centre of the earth, move round it in a convenient ſpace of time; whereby the flood would become univerſal, and, as I think, anſwer all the phænomena of the deluge, as deliver'd by Moſes, at an eaſier rate than thoſe many hard ſuppoſitions that are made uſe of, to explain it. But this is not a place for that argument, which is here only mentioned by the by, to ſhew the neceſſity of having recourſe to ſomething beyond bare matter, and its motion, in the explication of nature; to which the notions of ſpirits, and their power, as deliver'd in the bible, where ſo much is attributed to their operation, may be a fit preparative, reſerving to a fitter opportunity a fuller explication of this hypotheſis, and the application of it to all the parts of the deluge, and any difficulties can be ſuppoſed in the hiſtory of the flood, as recorded in the ſcripture.

§ 193. BUT to return to the ſtudy of natural philoſophy; Tho' the world be full of ſyſtems of it, yet I cannot ſay, I know any one which can be taught a young man as a ſcience, wherein he may be ſure to find truth and certainty, which is what all ſciences give an expectation of. I do not hence conclude, that none of them are to be read; it is neceſſary for a gentleman, in this learned age, to look into ſome of them to fit himſelf for converſation: but whether that of Des Cartes be put into his hands, as that which is moſt in faſhion, or it be thought fit to give him a ſhort view of that and ſeveral other alſo; I think the ſyſtems of natural philoſophy, that have obtained in this part of the world, are to be read more to know the hypotheſes, and to underſtand the terms and ways of talking of the ſeveral ſects, than with hopes to gain thereby a comprehenſive ſcientifical and ſatisfactory knowledge of the works of nature; only this may be ſaid, that the modern Corpuſcularians talk, in moſt things, more intelligibly than the Peripateticks, who poſſeſſed the ſchools immediately before them. He that would look farther back, and acquaint himſelf with the ſeveral opinions of the antients, may conſult Dr. Cudworth's intellectual ſyſtem; wherein that very learned author hath, with ſuch accurateneſs and judgment, collected and explained the opinions of the Greek philoſophers, that what principles they built on, and what were the chief hypotheſes that divided them, is better to be ſeen in him, than any where elſe that I know. But I would not deter any one from the ſtudy of nature, becauſe all the knowledge we have, or poſſibly can have of it, cannot be brought into a ſcience. There are very many things in it, that are convenient and neceſſary to be known to a gentleman; and a great many

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other, that will abundantly reward the pains of the curious with delight and advantage. But theſe, I think, are rather to be found amongſt ſuch writers, as have employ'd themſelves in making rational experiments and obſervations, than in ſtarting barely ſpeculative ſyſtems. Such writings therefore, as many of Mr. Boyle's are, with others that have writ of huſbandry, planting, gardening, and the like, may be fit for a gentleman, when he has a little acquainted himſelf with ſome of the ſyſtems of the natural philoſophy in faſhion.

§ 194. Tho' the ſyſtems of phyſicks, that I have met with, afford little encouragement to look for certainty, or ſcience, in any treatiſe, which ſhall pretend to give us a body of natural philoſophy from the firſt principles of bodies in general; yet the incomparable Mr. Newton has ſhewn, how far mathematicks, applied to ſome parts of nature, may, upon principles that matter of fact juſtifies, carry us in the knowledge of ſome, as I may ſo call them, particular provinces of the incomprehenſible univerſe. And if others could give us ſo good and clear an account of other parts of nature, as he has of this our planetary world, and the moſt conſiderable phænomena obſervable in it, in his admirable book "Philoſophiæ naturalis principia mathematica," we might in time hope to be furniſhed with more true and certain knowledge in ſeveral parts of this ſtupendous machine, than hitherto we could have expected. And tho' there are very few that have mathematicks enough to underſtand his demonſtrations; yet the moſt accurate mathematicians, who have examin'd them, allowing them to be ſuch, his book will deſerve to be read, and give no ſmall light and pleaſure to thoſe, who, willing to underſtand the motions, properties, and operations of the great maſſes of matter in this our ſolar ſyſtem, will but carefully mind his concluſions, which may be depended on as propoſitions well proved.

Greek.

§ 195. This is, in ſhort, what I have thought concerning a young gentleman's ſtudies; wherein it will poſſibly be wondered, that I ſhould omit Greek, ſince amongſt the Grecians is to be found the original, as it were, and foundation of all that learning which we have in this part of the world. I grant it ſo; and will add, that no man can paſs for a ſcholar, that is ignorant of the Greek tongue. But I am not here conſidering of the education of a profeſs'd ſcholar, but of a gentleman, to whom Latin and French, as the world now goes, is by every one acknowledged to be neceſſary. When he comes to be a man, if he has a mind to carry his ſtudies farther, and look into the Greek learning, he will then eaſily get that tongue himſelf; and if he has not that inclination, his learning of it under a tutor will be but loſt labour, and much of his time and pains ſpent in that, which will be neglected and thrown away as ſoon as he is at liberty. For how many are there of an hundred, even amongſt ſcholars themſelves, who retain the Greek they carried from ſchool; or ever improve it to a familiar reading, and perfect underſtanding of Greek authors?

To conclude this part, which concerns a young gentleman's ſtudies; his tutor ſhould remember, that his buſineſs is not ſo much to teach him all that is knowable, as to raiſe in him a love and eſteem of knowledge; and to put him in the right way of knowing and improving himſelf, when he has a mind to it.

The thoughts of a judicious author on the ſubject of languages, I ſhall here give the reader, as near as I can, in his own way of expreſſing them. He ſays, * "One can ſcarce burden children too much with the knowledge of languages. " They are uſeful to men of all conditions, and they equally open them the en- " trance, either to the moſt profound, or the more eaſy and entertaining parts " of learning. If this irkſome ſtudy be put off to a little more advanced age, " young men either have not reſolution enough to apply to it out of choice, or " ſteadineſs to carry it on. And if any one has the gift of perſeverance, it is " not without the inconvenience of ſpending that time upon languages, which " is deſtin'd to other uſes: and he confines to the ſtudy of words that age of his " life that is above it, and requires things; at leaſt, it is the loſing the beſt and " beautifulleſt ſeaſon of one's life. This large foundation of languages cannot " be well laid, but when every thing makes an eaſy and deep impreſſion on the " mind; when the memory is freſh, ready, and tenacious; when the head and " heart are as yet free from cares, paſſions and deſigns; and thoſe, on whom the

* La Bruyere Mœurs de ce ſiecle, p. 577, 662.

Greek.

“ child depends, have authority enough to keep him cloſe to a long continued
“ application. I am perſuaded that the ſmall number of truly learned, and the
“ multitude of ſuperficial pretenders, is owing to the neglect of this.”

I THINK every body will agree with this obſerving gentleman, that languages are the proper ſtudy of our firſt years. But 'tis to be conſidered by the parents and tutors, what tongues 'tis fit the child ſhould learn. For it muſt be confeſſed, that it is fruitleſs pains, and loſs of time, to learn a language, which, in the courſe of life that he is deſigned to, he is never like to make uſe of, or which one may gueſs by his temper, he will wholly neglect and loſe again, as ſoon as an approach to manhood, ſetting him free from a governor, ſhall put him into the hands of his own inclination, which is not likely to allot any of his time to the cultivating the learned tongues; or diſpoſe him to mind any other language, but what daily uſe, or ſome particular neceſſity, ſhall force upon him.

BUT yet for the ſake of thoſe who are deſigned to be ſcholars, I will add, what the ſame author ſubjoins, to make good his foregoing remark. It will deſerve to be conſidered by all who deſire to be truly learned, and therefore may be a fit rule for tutors to inculcate, and leave with their pupils, to guide their future ſtudies:

“ The ſtudy, ſays he, of the original text can never be ſufficiently recom-
“ mended. 'Tis the ſhorteſt, ſureſt, and moſt agreeable way to all ſorts of
“ learning. Draw from the ſpring-head, and take not things at ſecond-hand.
“ Let the writings of the great maſters be never laid aſide, dwell upon them,
“ ſettle them in your mind, and cite them upon occaſion; make it your buſi-
“ neſs thoroughly to underſtand them in their full extent, and all their circum-
“ ſtances: acquaint yourſelf fully with the principles of original authors; bring
“ them to a conſiſtency, and then do you yourſelf make your deductions. In
“ this ſtate were the firſt commentators, and do not you reſt, till you bring
“ yourſelf to the ſame. Content not yourſelf with thoſe borrowed lights, nor
“ guide yourſelf by their views, but where your own fails you, and leaves you
“ in the dark. Their explications are not yours, and will give you the ſlip.
“ On the contrary, your own obſervations are the product of your own mind,
“ where they will abide, and be ready at hand upon all occaſions in converſe,
“ conſultation, and diſpute. Loſe not the pleaſure it is to ſee that you were
“ not ſtopp'd in your reading, but by difficulties that are invincible; where the
“ commentators and ſcholialiſts themſelves are at a ſtand, and have nothing to
“ ſay; thoſe copious expoſitors of other places, who, with a vain and pompous
“ overflow of learning, pour'd out on paſſages plain and eaſy in themſelves, are
“ very free of their words and pains, where there is no need. Convince your-
“ ſelf fully by thus ordering your ſtudies, that 'tis nothing but men's lazineſs,
“ which hath encouraged pedantry to cram, rather than enrich libraries, and
“ to bury good authors under heaps of notes and commentaries; and you will
“ perceive, that ſloth herein hath acted againſt itſelf, and its own intereſt, by
“ multiplying reading and inquiries, and increaſing the pains it endeavoured to
“ avoid.”

THIS, tho' it may ſeem to concern none but direct ſcholars, is of ſo great moment for the right ordering of their education and ſtudies, that I hope I ſhall not be blamed for inſerting of it here, eſpecially if it be conſidered, that it may be of uſe to gentlemen too, when at any time they have a mind to go deeper than the ſurface, and get to themſelves a ſolid, ſatisfactory, and maſterly inſight in any part of learning.

Method.

ORDER and conſtancy are ſaid to make the great difference between one man and another; this I am ſure, nothing ſo much clears a learner's way, helps him ſo much on in it, and makes him go ſo eaſy and ſo far in any inquiry, as a good method. His governor ſhould take pains to make him ſenſible of this, accuſtom him to order, and teach him method in all the applications of his thoughts; ſhew him wherein it lies, and the advantages of it; acquaint him with the ſeveral ſorts of it, either from general to particulars, or from particulars to what is more general; exerciſe him in both of them; and make him ſee, in what caſes each different method is moſt proper, and to what ends it beſt ſerves.

Method. In hiſtory the order of time ſhould govern; in philoſophical inquiries, that of nature, which in all progreſſion is to go from the place one is then in, to that which joins and lies next to it; and ſo it is in the mind, from the knowledge it ſtands poſſeſſed of already, to that which lies next, and is coherent to it, and ſo on to what it aims at, by the ſimpleſt and moſt uncompounded parts it can divide the matter into. To this purpoſe, it will be of great uſe to his pupil to accuſtom him to diſtinguiſh well, that is, to have diſtinct notions, where-ever the mind can find any real difference; but as carefully to avoid diſtinctions in terms, where he has not diſtinct and different clear ideas.

§ 196. BESIDES what is to be had from ſtudy and books, there are other accompliſhments neceſſary for a gentleman, to be got by exerciſe, and to which time is to be allowed, and for which maſters muſt be had.

Dancing. DANCING being that which gives graceful motions all the life, and, above all things, manlineſs and a becoming confidence to young children, I think it cannot be learn'd too early, after they are once of an age and ſtrength capable of it. But you muſt be ſure to have a good maſter, that knows, and can teach, what is graceful and becoming, and what gives a freedom and eaſineſs to all the motions of the body. One that teaches not this, is worſe than none at all, natural unfaſhionableneſs being much better than apiſh, affected poſtures; and I think it much more paſſable to put off the hat, and make a leg, like an honeſt country gentleman, than like an ill-faſhion'd dancing-maſter. For, as for the jigging part, and the figures of dances, I count that little or nothing, farther than as it tends to perfect graceful carriage.

Muſick. § 197. MUSICK is thought to have ſome affinity with dancing, and a good hand, upon ſome inſtruments, is by many people mightily valued. But it waſtes ſo much of a young man's time, to gain but a moderate ſkill in it; and engages often in ſuch odd company, that many think it much better ſpared: and I have, amongſt men of parts and buſineſs, ſo ſeldom heard any one commended or eſteemed for having an excellency in muſick, that amongſt all thoſe things, that ever came into the liſt of accompliſhments, I think I may give it the laſt place. Our ſhort lives will not ſerve us for the attainment of all things; nor can our minds be always intent on ſomething to be learn'd. The weakneſs of our conſtitutions, both of mind and body, requires that we ſhould be often unbent: and he that will make a good uſe of any part of his life, muſt allow a large portion of it to recreation. At leaſt this muſt not be denied to young people, unleſs, whilſt you with too much haſte make them old, you have the diſpleaſure to ſet them in their graves, or a ſecond childhood, ſooner than you could wiſh. And therefore I think, that the time and pains allotted to ſerious improvements, ſhould be employ'd about things of moſt uſe and conſequence, and that too in the methods the moſt eaſy and ſhort, that could be at any rate obtained; and perhaps, as I have above ſaid, it would be none of the leaſt ſecrets of education, to make the exerciſes in the body and the mind, the recreation one to another. I doubt not but that ſomething might be done in it, by a prudent man, that would well conſider the temper and inclination of his pupil. For he that is wearied either with ſtudy or dancing, does not deſire preſently to go to ſleep; but to do ſomething elſe which may divert and delight him. But this muſt be always remember'd, that nothing can come into the account of recreation, that is not done with delight.

§ 198. FENCING, and riding the great horſe, are look'd upon as ſo neceſſary parts of breeding, that it would be thought a great omiſſion to neglect them: the latter of the two being for the moſt part to be learn'd only in great towns, is one of the beſt exerciſes for health, which is to be had in thoſe places of eaſe and luxury; and, upon that account, makes a fit part of a young gentleman's employment, during his abode there. And, as far as it conduces to give a man a firm and graceful ſeat on horſeback, and to make him able to teach his horſe to ſtop, and turn quick, and to reſt on his haunches, is of uſe to a gentleman both in peace and war. But, whether it be of moment enough to be made a buſineſs of, and deſerve to take up more of his time, than ſhould barely for his health be employed, at due intervals, in ſome ſuch vigorous exerciſe, I ſhall leave to the diſcretion of parents and tutors; who will do well to remember, in all the parts of education, that moſt time and application is to be beſtowed on that, which is like to be of greateſt conſequence, and frequenteſt uſe, in the ordinary courſe and occurrences of that life the young man is deſigned for.

Fencing. § 199. As for fencing, it ſeems to me a good exerciſe for health, but dangerous to the life, the confidence of their ſkill being apt to engage in quarrels thoſe that think they have learned to uſe their ſwords. This preſumption makes them often more touchy than needs, on point of honour, and ſlight or no provocations. Young men in their warm blood are forward to think, they have in vain learned to fence, if they never ſhew their ſkill and courage in a duel; and they ſeem to have reaſon. But how many ſad tragedies that reaſon has been the occaſion of, the tears of many a mother can witneſs. A man that cannot fence, will be more careful to keep out of bullies and gameſters company, and will not be half ſo apt to ſtand upon punctilio's, nor to give affronts, or fiercely juſtify them when given, which is that which uſually makes the quarrel. And when a man is in the field, a moderate ſkill in fencing rather expoſes him to the ſword of his enemy, than ſecures him from it. And certainly a man of courage, who cannot fence at all, and therefore will put all upon one thruſt, and not ſtand parrying, has the odds againſt a moderate fencer, eſpecially if he has ſkill in wreſtling. And therefore, if any proviſion be to be made againſt ſuch accidents, and a man be to prepare his ſon for duels, I had much rather mine ſhould be a good wreſtler, than an ordinary fencer; which is the moſt a gentleman can attain to in it, unleſs he will be conſtantly in the fencing-ſchool, and every day exerciſing. But ſince fencing, and riding the great-horſe, are ſo generally looked upon as neceſſary qualifications in the breeding of a gentleman, it will be hard wholly to deny any one of that rank theſe marks of diſtinction. I ſhall leave it therefore to the father, to conſider, how far the temper of his ſon, and the ſtation he is like to be in, will allow or encourage him to comply with faſhions, which, having very little to do with civil life, were yet formerly unknown to the moſt warlike nations; and ſeem to have added little of force or courage to thoſe who have received them; unleſs we will think martial ſkill or prowеſs have been improved by duelling, with which fencing came into, and with which, I preſume, it will go out of the world.

§ 200. These are my preſent thoughts concerning learning and accompliſhments. The great buſineſs of all is virtue and wiſdom.

"Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia."

Teach him to get a maſtery over his inclinations, and ſubmit his appetite to reaſon. This being obtained, and by conſtant practice ſettled into habit, the hardeſt part of the taſk is over. To bring a young man to this, I know nothing which ſo much contributes, as the love of praiſe and commendation, which ſhould therefore be inſtilled into him by all arts imaginable. Make his mind as ſenſible of credit and ſhame as may be: and when you have done that, you have put a principle into him, which will influence his actions, when you are not by, to which the fear of a little ſmart of a rod is not comparable, and which will be the proper ſtock, whereon afterwards to graft the true principles of morality and religion.

Trade. § 201. I have one thing more to add, which as ſoon as I mention, I ſhall run the danger of being ſuſpected to have forgot what I am about, and what I have above written concerning education, all tending towards a gentleman's calling, with which a trade ſeems wholly to be inconſiſtent. And yet, I cannot forbear to ſay, I would have him learn a trade, a manual trade; nay, two or three, but one more particularly.

§ 202. The buſy inclination of children being always to be directed to ſomething that may be uſeful to them, the advantages propos'd from what they are ſet about, may be conſider'd of two kinds; 1. Where the ſkill itſelf, that is got by exerciſe, is worth the having. Thus ſkill not only in languages, and learned ſciences, but in painting, turning, gardening, tempering, and working, in iron, and all other uſeful arts, is worth the having. 2. Where the exerciſe itſelf, without any conſideration, is neceſſary or uſeful for health. Knowledge in ſome things is ſo neceſſary to be got by children, whilſt they are young, that ſome part of their time is to be allotted to their improvement in them, tho' thoſe employments contribute nothing at all to their health: ſuch are reading, and writing, and all other ſedentary ſtudies, for the cultivating of the mind, which unavoidably take up a great part of gentlemen's time, quite from their cradles. Other manual arts, which are both got and exerciſed by labour, do many of them, by that exerciſe, not only increaſe our dexterity and ſkill, but contribute to our health too, eſpecially, ſuch as employ us in the open air. In theſe, then, health and improvement may be join'd together, and of theſe ſhould ſome fit ones be choſen, to be made the recreations of one, whoſe chief buſineſs is with books and ſtudy. In this choice, the age and inclination of the perſon is to be conſider'd, and conſtraint always to be avoided in bringing him to it. For command and force may often create, but can never cure an averſion; and whatever any one is brought to by compulſion, he will leave as ſoon as he can, and be little profited, and leſs recreated by, whilſt he is at it.

Trade.

§ 203. That which of all others would pleaſe me beſt, would be a painter, were there not an argument or two againſt it, not eaſy to be anſwered. Firſt, ill painting is one of the worſt things in the world; and to attain a tolerable degree of ſkill in it, requires too much of a man's time. If he has a natural inclination to it, it will endanger the neglect of all other more uſeful ſtudies, to give way to that; and if he have no inclination to it, all the time, pains and money ſhall be employ'd in it, will be thrown away to no purpoſe. Another reaſon why I am not for painting in a gentleman, is, becauſe it is a ſedentary recreation, which more employs the mind than the body. A gentleman's more ſerious employment, I look on to be ſtudy; and when that demands relaxation and refreſhment, it ſhould be in ſome exerciſe of the body, which unbends the thought, and confirms the health and ſtrength. For theſe two reaſons I am not for painting.

Painting.

§ 204. In the next place, for a country gentleman, I ſhould propoſe one, or rather both theſe; viz. gardening or huſbandry in general, and working in wood, as a carpenter, joyner, or turner, theſe being fit and healthy recreations for a man of ſtudy or buſineſs. For ſince the mind endures not to be conſtantly employ'd in the ſame thing or way; and ſedentary or ſtudious men ſhould have ſome exerciſe, that at the ſame time might divert their minds, and employ their bodies; I know none that could do it better for a country gentleman, than theſe two, the one of them affording him exerciſe, when the weather or ſeaſon keeps him from the other. Beſides, that by being ſkill'd in the one of them, he will be able to govern and teach his gardener; by the other, contrive and make a great many things both of delight and uſe: tho' theſe I propoſe not as the chief end of his labour, but as temptations to it; diverſion from his other more ſerious thoughts and employments, by uſeful and healthy manual exerciſe, being what I chiefly aim at in it.

Gardening.

Joyner.

§ 205. The great men among the antients underſtood very well how to reconcile manual labour with affairs of ſtate, and thought it no leſſening to their dignity, to make the one the recreation to the other. That indeed which ſeems moſt generally to have employ'd and diverted their ſpare hours, was agriculture. Gideon amongſt the Jews was taken from threſhing, as well as Cincinnatus amongſt the Romans, from the plough, to command the armies of their countries againſt their enemies; and 'tis plain, their dexterous handling of the flail, or the plough, and being good workmen with theſe tools, did not hinder their ſkill in arms, nor make them leſs able in the arts of war or government. They were great captains and ſtateſmen, as well as huſbandmen. Cato major, who had with great reputation borne all the great offices of the commonwealth, has left us an evidence under his own hand, how much he was verſed in country affairs; and as I remember, Cyrus thought gardening ſo little beneath the dignity and grandeur of a throne, that he ſhew'd Xenophon a large field of fruit-trees, all of his own planting. The records of antiquity, both amongſt Jews and Gentiles, are full of inſtances of this kind, if it were neceſſary to recommend uſeful recreations by examples.

Recreation. § 206. NOR let it be thought, that I miſtake, when I call theſe or the like exerciſes of manual arts, diverſions or recreations: for recreation is not being idle, (as every one may obſerve) but eaſing the wearied part by change of buſineſs: and he that thinks diverſion may not lie in hard and painful labour, forgets the early riſing, hard riding, heat, cold and hunger of huntſmen, which is yet known to be the conſtant recreation of men of the greateſt condition. Delving, planting, inoculating, or any the like profitable employments, would be no leſs a diverſion, than any of the idle ſports in faſhion, if men could but be brought to delight in them, which cuſtom and ſkill in a trade will quickly bring any one to do. And I doubt not, but there are to be found thoſe, who, being frequently call'd to cards, or any other play, by thoſe they could not refuſe, have been more tired with theſe recreations, than with any the moſt ſerious employment of life; tho' the play has been ſuch as they have naturally had no averſion to, and with which they could willingly ſometimes divert themſelves.

§ 207. PLAY, wherein perſons of condition, eſpecially ladies, waſte ſo much of their time, is a plain inſtance to me, that men cannot be perfectly idle; they muſt be doing ſomething. For how elſe could they ſit ſo many hours toiling at that, which generally gives more vexation than delight to people, whilſt they are actually engag'd in it? 'Tis certain, gaming leaves no ſatisfaction behind it to thoſe who reflect when it is over, and it no way profits either body or mind: as to their eſtates, if it ſtrike ſo deep as to concern them, it is a trade then, and not a recreation, wherein few, that have any thing elſe to live on, thrive; and at beſt, a thriving gameſter has but a poor trade on't, who fills his pockets at the price of his reputation.

RECREATION belongs not to people who are ſtrangers to buſineſs, and are not waſted and wearied with the employment of their calling. The ſkill ſhould be, ſo to order their time of recreation, that it may relax and refreſh the part that has been exerciſed, and is tired; and yet do ſomething, which, beſides the preſent delight and eaſe, may produce what will afterwards be profitable. It has been nothing but the vanity and pride of greatneſs and riches, that has brought unprofitable and dangerous paſtimes (as they are call'd) into faſhion, and perſuaded people into a belief, that the learning or putting their hands to any thing that was uſeful, could not be a diverſion fit for a gentleman. This has been that, which has given cards, dice and drinking, ſo much credit in the world: and a great many throw away their ſpare hours in them, thro' the prevalency of cuſtom, and want of ſome better employment to fill up the vacancy of leiſure, more than from any real delight is to be found in them. They cannot bear the dead weight of unemploy'd time lying upon their hands, nor the uneaſineſs it is to do nothing at all; and having never learn'd any laudable manual art, wherewith to divert themſelves, they have recourſe to thoſe fooliſh or ill ways in uſe, to help off their time, which a rational man, till corrupted by cuſtom, could find very little pleaſure in.

§ 208. I SAY not this, that I would never have a young gentleman accommodate himſelf to the innocent diverſions in faſhion, amongſt thoſe of his age and condition. I am ſo far from having him auſtere and moroſe to that degree, that I would perſuade him to more than ordinary complaiſance for all the gaieties and diverſions of thoſe he converſes with, and be averſe or teſty in nothing they ſhould deſire of him, that might become a gentleman, and an honeſt man: tho' as to cards and dice, I think the ſafeſt and beſt way, is never to learn any play upon them, and ſo to be incapacitated for thoſe dangerous temptations, and incroaching waſters of uſeful time. But allowance being made for idle and jovial converſation, and all faſhionable becoming recreations; I ſay, a young man will have time enough, from his ſerious and main buſineſs, to learn almoſt any

Trade. trade. 'Tis want of application, and not of leiſure, that men are not ſkilful in more arts than one; and an hour in a day, conſtantly employ'd in ſuch a way of diverſion, will carry a man in a ſhort time a great deal farther than he can imagine: which, if it were of no other uſe, but to drive the common, vicious, uſe-

Trade.

leſs, and dangerous paſtimes out of faſhion, and to ſhew there was no need of them, would deſerve to be encouraged. If men from their youth were weaned from that ſauntring humour, wherein ſome, out of cuſtom, let a good part of their lives run uſeleſly away, without either buſineſs or recreation, they would find time enough to acquire dexterity and ſkill in hundreds of things, which, tho' remote from their proper callings, would not at all interfere with them. And therefore, I think, for this, as well as other reaſons before-mentioned, a lazy, liſtleſs humour, that idly dreams away the days, is of all others the leaſt to be indulged, or permitted in young people. It is the proper ſtate of one ſick, and out of order in his health, and is tolerable in no body elſe, of what age and condition ſoever.

§ 209. To the arts above-mention'd, may be added perfuming, varniſhing, graving, and ſeveral ſorts of working in iron, braſs and ſilver: and if, as it happens to moſt young gentlemen, that a conſiderable part of his time be ſpent in a great town, he may learn to cut, poliſh, and ſet precious ſtones, or employ himſelf in grinding and poliſhing optical glaſſes. Amongſt the great variety there is of ingenious manual arts, 'twill be impoſſible that no one ſhould be found to pleaſe and delight him, unleſs he be either idle or debauch'd, which is not to be ſuppoſed in a right way of education. And ſince he cannot be always employ'd in ſtudy, reading and converſation, there will be many an hour, beſides what his exerciſes will take up, which, if not ſpent this way, will be ſpent worſe. For, I conclude, a young man will ſeldom deſire to ſit perfectly ſtill and idle; or if he does, 'tis a fault that ought to be mended.

§ 210. BUT if his miſtaken parents, frightened with the diſgraceful names of mechanick and trade, ſhall have an averſion to any thing of this kind in their children; yet there is one thing relating to trade, which, when they conſider, they will think abſolutely neceſſary for their ſons to learn.

Merchants Accounts.

MERCHANTS accounts, tho' a ſcience not likely to help a gentleman to get an eſtate, yet poſſibly there is not any thing of more uſe and efficacy to make him preſerve the eſtate he has. 'Tis ſeldom obſerv'd, that he who keeps an account of his income and expences, and thereby has conſtantly under view the courſe of his domeſtick affairs, lets them run to ruin; and I doubt not but many a man gets behind-hand, before he is aware, or runs further on, when he is once in, for want of this care, or the ſkill to do it. I would therefore adviſe all gentlemen to learn perfectly merchants accounts, and not to think it is a ſkill that belongs not to them, becauſe it has receiv'd its name from, and has been chiefly practiſed by, men of traffick.

§ 211. WHEN my young maſter has once got the ſkill of keeping accounts, (which is a buſineſs of reaſon more than arithmetick) perhaps it will not be amiſs, that his father from thenceforth require him to do it in all his concernments. Not that I would have him ſet down every pint of wine, or play, that coſts him money; the general name of expences will ſerve for ſuch things well enough: nor would I have his father look ſo narrowly into theſe accounts, as to take occaſion from thence to criticiſe on his expences. He muſt remember, that he himſelf was once a young man, and not forget the thoughts he had then, nor the right his ſon has to have the ſame, and to have allowance made for them. If therefore I would have the young gentleman oblig'd to keep an account, it is not at all to have that way a check upon his expences, (for what the father allows him, he ought to let him be fully maſter of) but only, that he might be brought early into the cuſtom of doing it, and that it might be made familiar and habitual to him betimes, which will be ſo uſeful and neceſſary to be conſtantly practiſed thro' the whole courſe of his life. A noble Venetian, whoſe ſon wallowed in the plenty of his father's riches, finding his ſon's expences grow very high and extravagant, ordered his caſhier to let him have, for the future, no more money than what he ſhould count when he received it. This one would think no great reſtraint to a young gentleman's expences, who could freely have as much money as he would tell. But yet this, to one, who was uſed to nothing but the purſuit of his pleaſures, proved a very great trouble, which at laſt ended in this ſober and advantageous reflection: "If it be ſo much

Merchants accounts.

“ pains to me, barely to count the money I would ſpend; what labour and “ pains did it coſt my anceſtors, not only to count, but get it?” This rational thought, ſuggeſted by this little pains impos'd upon him, wrought ſo effectually upon his mind, that it made him take up, and from that time forwards prove a good huſband. This at leaſt every body muſt allow, that nothing is likelier to keep a man within compaſs, than the having conſtantly before his eyes, the ſtate of his affairs in a regular courſe of account.

Travel.

§ 212. The laſt part uſually in education, is travel, which is commonly thought to finiſh the work, and complete the gentleman. I confeſs, travel into foreign countries has great advantages; but the time uſually choſen to ſend young men abroad, is, I think, of all other, that which renders them leaſt capable of reaping thoſe advantages. Thoſe which are propos'd, as to the main of them, may be reduced to theſe two; firſt, language; ſecondly, an improvement in wiſdom and prudence, by ſeeing men, and converſing with people of tempers, cuſtoms, and ways of living, different from one another, and eſpecially from thoſe of his pariſh and neighbourhood. But from ſixteen to one and twenty, which is the ordinary time of travel, men are, of all their lives, the leaſt ſuited to theſe improvements. The firſt ſeaſon to get foreign languages, and form the tongue to their true accents, I ſhould think, ſhould be from ſeven to fourteen or ſixteen; and then too, a tutor with them is uſeful and neceſſary, who may, with thoſe languages, teach them other things. But to put them out of their parents view, at a great diſtance, under a governor, when they think themſelves too much men to be govern'd by others, and yet have not prudence and experience enough to govern themſelves: what is it, but to expoſe them to all the greateſt dangers of their whole life, when they have the leaſt fence and guard againſt them? Till that boiling boiſterous part of life comes in, it may be hoped, the tutor may have ſome authority; neither the ſtubbornneſs of age, nor the temptation or examples of others can take him from his tutor's conduct, till fifteen or ſixteen: but then, when he begins to conſort himſelf with men, and thinks himſelf one; when he comes to reliſh, and pride himſelf in, manly vices, and thinks it a ſhame to be any longer under the controul and conduct of another: what can be hoped from even the moſt careful and diſcreet governor, when neither he has power to compel, nor his pupil a diſpoſition to be perſuaded; but, on the contrary, has the advice of warm blood, and prevailing faſhion, to hearken to the temptations of his companions, juſt as wiſe as himſelf, rather than to the perſuaſions of his tutor, who is now look'd on as the enemy to his freedom? And when is a man ſo like to miſcarry, as when at the ſame time he is both raw and unruly? This is the ſeaſon of all his life, that moſt requires the eye and authority of his parents and friends, to govern it. The flexibleneſs of the former part of a man's age, not yet grown up to be headſtrong, makes it more governable and ſafe; and, in the after-part, reaſon and foreſight begin a little to take place, and mind a man of his ſafety and improvement. The time therefore I ſhould think the fitteſt for a young gentleman to be ſent abroad, would be, either when he is younger, under a tutor, whom he might be the better for; or when he is ſome years older, without a governor; when he is of age to govern himſelf, and make obſervations of what he finds in other countries worthy his notice, and that might be of uſe to him after his return: and when too, being thoroughly acquainted with the laws and faſhions, the natural and moral advantages and defects of his own country, he has ſomething to exchange with thoſe abroad, from whoſe converſation he hoped to reap any knowledge.

§ 214. The ordering of travel otherwiſe, is that, I imagine, which makes ſo many young gentlemen come back ſo little improved by it. And if they do bring home with them any knowledge of the places and people they have ſeen, it is often an admiration of the worſt and vaineſt practices they met with abroad; retaining a reliſh and memory of thoſe things, wherein their liberty took its firſt ſwing, rather than of what ſhould make them better and wiſer after their return. And indeed, how can it be otherwiſe, going abroad at the age they do, under the care of another, who is to provide their neceſſaries, and make their obſervations for them? Thus, under the ſhelter and pretence of a governor, thinking themſelves excuſed from ſtanding upon their own legs, or being accountable for their own conduct, they very ſeldom trouble themſelves with inquiries, or making uſeful obſervations of their own. Their thoughts run after play and pleaſure, wherein they take it as a leſſening to be controul'd; but ſeldom trouble themſelves to examine the deſigns, obſerve the addreſs, and conſider the arts, tempers, and inclinations of men they meet with; that ſo they may know how to comport themſelves towards them. Here he that travels with them, is to ſkreen them, get them out, when they have run themſelves into the briers; and in all their miſcarriages be anſwerable for them. Travel.

§ 215. I confess, the knowledge of men is ſo great a ſkill, that it is not to be expected a young man ſhould preſently be perfect in it. But yet his going abroad is to little purpoſe, if travel does not ſometimes open his eyes, make him cautious and wary, and accuſtom him to look beyond the outſide, and, under the inoffenſive guard of a civil and obliging carriage, keep himſelf free and ſafe in his converſation with ſtrangers, and all ſorts of people, without forfeiting their good opinion. He that is ſent out to travel at the age, and with the thoughts, of a man deſigning to improve himſelf, may get into the converſation and acquaintance of perſons of condition where he comes: which, tho' a thing of moſt advantage to a gentleman that travels; yet I aſk, amongſt our young men that go abroad under tutors, What one is there of an hundred, that ever viſits any perſon of quality? Much leſs makes an acquaintance with ſuch, from whoſe converſation he may learn what is good breeding in that country, and what is worth obſervation in it; tho' from ſuch perſons it is, one may learn more in one day, than in a year's rambling from one inn to another. Nor indeed is it to be wonder'd; for men of worth and parts will not eaſily admit the familiarity of boys, who yet need the care of a tutor: tho' a young gentleman and ſtranger, appearing like a man, and ſhewing a deſire to inform himſelf in the cuſtoms, manners, laws, and government of the country he is in, will find welcome aſſiſtance and entertainment amongſt the beſt and moſt knowing perſons every where, who will be ready to receive, encourage, and countenance any ingenious and inquiſitive foreigner.

§ 216. This, how true ſoever it be, will not, I fear, alter the cuſtom, which has caſt the time of travel upon the worſt part of a man's life; but for reaſons not taken from their improvement. The young lad muſt not be ventur'd abroad at eight or ten, for fear of what may happen to the tender child, tho' he then runs ten times leſs riſque than at ſixteen or eighteen. Nor muſt he ſtay at home till that dangerous heady age be over, becauſe he muſt be back again by one and twenty, to marry and propagate. The father cannot ſtay any longer for the portion, nor the mother for a new ſet of babies to play with: and ſo my young maſter, whatever comes on't, muſt have a wife look'd out for him, by that time he is of age; tho' it would be no prejudice to his ſtrength, his parts, or his iſſue, if it were reſpited for ſome time, and he had leave to get, in years and knowledge, the ſtart a little of his children, who are often found to tread too near upon the heels of their fathers, to the no great ſatisfaction either of ſon or father. But the young gentleman being got within view of matrimony, 'tis time to leave him to his miſtreſs.

§ 217. Tho' I am now come to a concluſion of what obvious remarks have ſuggeſted to me concerning education, I would not have it thought, that I look on it as a juſt treatiſe on this ſubject. There are a thouſand other things that may need conſideration; eſpecially if one ſhould take in the various tempers, different inclinations, and particular defaults, that are to be found in children; and preſcribe proper remedies. The variety is ſo great, that it would require a volume; nor would that reach it. Each man's mind has ſome peculiarity, as well as his face, that diſtinguiſhes him from all others; and there are poſſibly ſcarce two children, who can be conducted by exactly the ſame method. Beſides that, I think a prince, a nobleman, and an ordinary gentleman's ſon, ſhould have different ways of breeding. But having had here only ſome general views, Concluſion.

in

Concluſion. in reference to the main end and aims in education, and thoſe deſign'd for a gentleman's ſon, whom, being then very little, I conſider'd only as white paper, or wax, to be moulded and faſhioned as one pleaſes; I have touch'd little more than thoſe heads, which I judg'd neceſſary for the breeding of a young gentleman of his condition in general; and have now publiſhed theſe my occaſional thoughts, with this hope, that, tho' this be far from being a complete treatiſe on this ſubject, or ſuch as that every one may find what will juſt fit his child in it; yet it may give ſome ſmall light to thoſe, whoſe concern for their dear little ones makes them ſo irregularly bold, that they dare venture to conſult their own reaſon, in the education of their children, rather than wholly to rely upon old cuſtom.

A
PARAPHRASE
AND
NOTES
ON THE
Epiſtles of St. Paul
TO THE

Galatians, } { *Romans*,
I. and II. } *Corinthians*, } { *Epheſians*.

To which is prefix'd, An

ESSAY
FOR THE

Underſtanding of St. *PAUL*'s EPISTLES, by
Conſulting St. *PAUL* himſelf.

AN
ESSAY
For the Underſtanding of
St. *PAUL*'s EPISTLES,
By conſulting St. *PAUL* himſelf.

THE
PREFACE.

TO go about to explain any of St. Paul's epiſtles, after ſo great a train of expoſitors and commentators, might ſeem an attempt of vanity, cenſurable for its needleſſneſs, did not the daily and approved examples of pious and learned men juſtify it. This may be ſome excuſe for me to the publick, if ever theſe following papers ſhould chance to come abroad: but to myſelf, for whoſe uſe this work was undertaken, I need make no apology. Tho' I had been converſant in theſe epiſtles, as well as in other parts of ſacred ſcripture, yet I found that I underſtood them not; I mean the doctrinal and diſcurſive parts of them: tho' the practical directions, which are uſually dropp'd in the latter part of each epiſtle, appeared to me very plain, intelligible, and inſtructive.

I DID not, when I reflected on it, very much wonder, that this part of ſacred ſcripture had difficulties in it: many cauſes of obſcurity did readily occur to me. The nature of epiſtolary writings, in general, diſpoſes the writer to paſs by the mentioning of many things, as well known to him, to whom his letter is addreſſed, which are neceſſary to be laid open to a ſtranger, to make him comprehend what is ſaid: and it not ſeldom falls out, that a well-penn'd letter, which is very eaſy and intelligible to the receiver, is very obſcure to a ſtranger, who hardly knows what to make of it. The matters that St. Paul writ about, were certainly things well known to thoſe he writ to, and which they had ſome peculiar concern in; which made them eaſily apprehend his meaning, and ſee the tendency and force of his diſcourſe. But we having now, at this diſtance, no information of the occaſion of his writing, little or no knowledge of the temper and circumſtances thoſe he writ to were in, but what is to be gathered out of the epiſtles themſelves; it is not ſtrange, that many things in them lie concealed to us, which, no doubt, they who were concerned in the letter, underſtood at firſt ſight. Add to this, that in many places 'tis manifeſt he anſwers letters ſent, and queſtions propoſed to him, which, if we had, would much better clear thoſe paſſages that relate to them, than all the learned notes of criticks and commentators, who in after-times fill us with their conjectures; for very often, as to the matter in hand, they are nothing elſe.

THE language wherein theſe epiſtles are writ, are another, and that no ſmall occaſion, of their obſcurity to us now: the words are Greek; a language dead many ages ſince; a language of a very witty, volatile people, ſeekers after novelty, and abounding with variety of notions and ſects, to which they applied the terms of their common tongue, with great liberty and variety: and yet this makes but one ſmall part of the difficulty in the language of theſe epiſtles; there is a peculiarity in it, that much more obſcures and perplexes the meaning of theſe writings, than what can be occaſioned by the looſeneſs and variety of the Greek tongue. The terms are Greek, but the idiom, or turn of the phraſes, may be truly ſaid to be Hebrew or Syriack. The cuſtom and familiarity of which tongues do ſometimes ſo far influence the expreſſions in theſe epiſtles, that one may obſerve the force of the Hebrew conjugations, particularly that of Hiphil, given to Greek verbs, in a way unknown to the Grecians themſelves. Nor is this all; the ſubject treated of in theſe epiſtles is ſo wholly new, and the doctrines contained in them ſo perfectly remote from the notions that mankind were acquainted with, that moſt of the important terms in it have quite another ſignification from what they have in other diſcourſes. So that putting all together, we may truly ſay, that the new teſtament is a book written in a language peculiar to itſelf.

To theſe cauſes of obſcurity, common to St. Paul, with moſt of the other penmen of the ſeveral books of the new teſtament, we may add thoſe that are peculiarly his, and owing to his ſtyle and temper. He was, as 'tis viſible, a man of quick thought, and warm temper, mighty well verſed in the writings of the old teſtament, and full of the doctrine of the new. All this put together, ſuggeſted matter to him in abundance, on thoſe ſubjects which came in his way: ſo that one may conſider him, when he was writing, as beſet with a croud of thoughts, all ſtriving for utterance. In this poſture of mind it was almoſt impoſſible for him to keep that ſlow pace, and obſerve minutely that order and method of ranging all he ſaid, from which reſults an eaſy and obvious perſpicuity. To this plenty and vehemence of his, may be imputed thoſe many large parentheſes, which a careful reader may obſerve in his epiſtles. Upon this account alſo it is, that he often breaks off, in the middle of an argument, to let in ſome new thought ſuggeſted by his own words; which having purſued and explained, as far as conduced to his preſent purpoſe, he reaſſumes again the thread of his diſcourſe, and goes on with it, without taking any notice, that he returns again to what he had been before ſaying; tho' ſometimes it be ſo far off, that it may well have ſlipt out of his mind, and requires a very attentive reader to obſerve, and ſo bring the disjointed members together, as to make up the connection, and ſee how the ſcattered parts of the diſcourſe hang together in a coherent, well-agreeing ſenſe, that makes it all of a piece.

Besides the diſturbance in peruſing St. Paul's epiſtles, from the plenty and vivacity of his thoughts, which may obſcure his method, and often hide his ſenſe from an unwary, or over-haſty reader; the frequent changing of the perſonage he ſpeaks in, renders the ſenſe very uncertain, and is apt to miſlead one that has not ſome clue to guide him; ſometimes by the pronoun, I, he means himſelf; ſometimes any chriſtian; ſometimes a Jew, and ſometimes any man, &c. If ſpeaking of himſelf, in the firſt perſon ſingular, has ſo various meanings; his uſe of the firſt perſon plural is with a far greater latitude, ſometimes deſigning himſelf alone, ſometimes thoſe with himſelf, whom he makes partners to the epiſtle; ſometimes with himſelf, comprehending the other apoſtles, or preachers of the goſpel, or chriſtians: nay, ſometimes he in that way ſpeaks of the converted Jews, other times of the converted Gentiles, and ſometimes of others, in a more or leſs extended ſenſe, every one of which varies the meaning of the place, and makes it to be differently underſtood. I have forborne to trouble the reader with examples of them here. If his own obſervation hath not already furniſhed him with them, the following paraphraſe and notes, I ſuppoſe, will ſatiſfy him in the point.

In the current alſo of his diſcourſe, he ſometimes drops in the objections of others, and his anſwers to them, without any change in the ſcheme of his language, that might give notice of any other ſpeaking, beſides himſelf. This requires great attention to obſerve; and yet, if it be neglected or overlooked, will make the reader very much miſtake, and miſunderſtand his meaning, and render the ſenſe very perplexed.

THESE are intrinſick difficulties ariſing from the text itſelf, whereof there might be a great many other named, as the uncertainty, ſometimes, who are the perſons he ſpeaks to, or the opinions, or practices, which he has in his eye, ſometimes in alluding to them, ſometimes in his exhortations and reproofs. But thoſe above-mentioned being the chief, it may ſuffice to have opened our eyes a little upon them, which, well examined, may contribute towards our diſcovery of the reſt.

To theſe we may ſubjoin two external cauſes, that have made no ſmall increaſe of the native and original difficulties, that keep us from an eaſy and aſſured diſcovery of St. Paul's ſenſe, in many parts of his epiſtles; and thoſe are:

FIRST, The dividing of them into chapters and verſes, as we have done; whereby they are ſo chopp'd and minc'd, and, as they are now printed, ſtand ſo broken and divided, that not only the common people take the verſes uſually for diſtinct aphoriſms; but even men of more advanced knowledge, in reading them, loſe very much of the ſtrength and force of the coherence, and the light that depends on it. Our minds are ſo weak and narrow, that they have need of all the helps and aſſiſtances can be procured, to lay before them undiſturbedly, the thread and coherence of any diſcourſe; by which alone they are truly improved, and led into the genuine ſenſe of the author. When the eye is conſtantly diſturbed with looſe ſentences, that by their ſtanding and ſeparation appear as ſo many diſtinct fragments: the mind will have much ado to take in, and carry on in its memory, an uniform diſcourſe of dependent reaſonings; eſpecially having from the cradle been uſed to wrong impreſſions concerning them, and conſtantly accuſtomed to hear them quoted as diſtinct ſentences, without any limitation or explication of their preciſe meaning, from the place they ſtand in, and the relation they bear to what goes before, or follows. Theſe diviſions alſo have given occaſion to the reading theſe epiſtles by parcels, and in ſcraps, which has farther confirmed the evil ariſing from ſuch partitions. And I doubt not but every one will confeſs it to be a very unlikely way, to come to the underſtanding of any other letters, to read them piecemeal, a bit to day, and another ſcrap to-morrow, and ſo on by broken intervals; eſpecially if the pauſe and ceſſation ſhould be made, as the chapters the apoſtle's epiſtles are divided into, do end, ſometimes in the middle of a diſcourſe, and ſometimes in the middle of a ſentence. It cannot therefore but be wondered, that that ſhould be permitted to be done to holy writ, which would viſibly diſturb the ſenſe, and hinder the underſtanding of any other book whatſoever. If Tully's epiſtles were ſo printed, and ſo uſed, I aſk, "Whe-
"ther they would not be much harder to be underſtood, leſs eaſy and leſs
"pleaſant to be read, by much, than now they are?

HOW plain ſoever this abuſe is, and what prejudice ſoever it does to the underſtanding of the ſacred ſcripture, yet if a Bible was printed, as it ſhould be, and as the ſeveral parts of it were writ, in continued diſcourſes, where the argument is continued, I doubt not but the ſeveral parties would complain of it, as an innovation, and a dangerous change in the publiſhing thoſe holy books. And indeed, thoſe who are for maintaining their opinions, and the ſyſtems of parties, by ſound of words, with a neglect of the true ſenſe of ſcripture, would have reaſon to make and foment the outcry. They would moſt of them be immediately diſarmed of their great magazine of artillery, wherewith they defend themſelves, and fall upon others. If the holy ſcriptures were but laid before the eyes of chriſtians, in its connection and conſiſtency, it would not then be ſo eaſy to ſnatch out a few words, as if they were ſeparate from the reſt, to ſerve a purpoſe, to which they do not at all belong, and with which they have nothing to do. But, as the matter now ſtands, he that has a mind to it, may at a cheap rate be a notable champion for the truth, that is, for the doctrines of the ſect, that chance or intereſt has caſt him into. He need but be furniſhed with verſes of ſacred ſcripture, containing words and expreſſions that are but flexible, (as all general obſcure and doubtful ones are) and his ſyſtem, that has appropriated them to the orthodoxy of his church, makes them immediately ſtrong and irrefragable arguments for his opinion. This is the benefit of looſe ſentences, and ſcripture crumbled into verſes, which quickly turn into indepen-

dent aphoriſms. But if the quotation in the verſe produced, were conſidered as a part of a continued coherent diſcourſe, and ſo its ſenſe were limited by the tenor of the context, moſt of theſe forward and warm diſputants would be quite ſtripp'd of thoſe, which they doubt not now to call ſpiritual weapons; and they would have often nothing to ſay, that would not ſhew their weakneſs, and manifeſtly fly in their faces. I crave leave to ſet down a ſaying of the learned and judicious Mr. Selden: “ In interpreting the ſcripture, ſays he, many do, as if a
“ man ſhould ſee one have ten pounds, which he reckoned by 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,
“ 7, 8, 9, 10, meaning four was but four units, and five, five units, &c. and
“ that he had in all but ten pounds: the other that ſees him, takes not the
“ figures together, as he doth, but picks here and there; and thereupon reports
“ that he had five pounds in one bag, and ſix pounds in another bag, and nine
“ pounds in another bag, &c. when as, in truth, he has but ten pounds in all.
“ So we pick out a text here and there, to make it ſerve our turn; whereas, if
“ we take it altogether, and conſider what went before, and what followed
“ after, we ſhould find it meant no ſuch thing.”

I HAVE heard ſober chriſtians very much admire, why ordinary illiterate people, who were profeſſors, that ſhewed a concern for religion, ſeemed much more converſant in St. Paul's epiſtles, than in the plainer, and (as it ſeemed to them) much more intelligible parts of the new teſtament; they confeſſed, that tho' they read St. Paul's epiſtles with their beſt attention, yet they generally found them too hard to be maſtered, and they laboured in vain, ſo far to reach the apoſtle's meaning, all along in the train of what he ſaid, as to read them with that ſatisfaction that ariſes from a feeling, that we underſtand and fully comprehend the force and reaſoning of an author; and therefore they could not imagine what thoſe ſaw in them, whoſe eyes they thought not much better than their own. But the caſe was plain, theſe ſober inquiſitive readers had a mind to ſee nothing in St. Paul's epiſtles, but juſt what he meant; whereas thoſe others, of a quicker and gayer ſight, could ſee in them what they pleaſed. Nothing is more acceptable to fancy, than pliant terms, and expreſſions that are not obſtinate; in ſuch it can find its account with delight, and with them be illuminated, orthodox, infallible, at pleaſure, and in its own way. But where the ſenſe of the author goes viſibly in its own train, and the words, receiving a determined ſenſe from their companions and adjacents, will not conſent to give countenance and colour to what is agreed to be right, and muſt be ſupported at any rate, there men of eſtabliſhd orthodoxy do not ſo well find their ſatisfaction. And perhaps, if it were well examined, it would be no very extravagant paradox to ſay, that there are fewer that bring their opinions to the ſacred ſcripture, to be tried by that infallible rule, than bring the ſacred ſcripture to their opinions, to bend it to them, to make it, as they can, a cover and guard of them. And to this purpoſe, its being divided into verſes, and brought, as much as may be, into looſe and general aphoriſms, makes it moſt uſeful and ſerviceable. And in this lies the other great cauſe of obſcurity and perplexedneſs, which has been caſt upon St. Paul's epiſtles from without.

ST. PAUL's epiſtles, as they ſtand tranſlated in our Engliſh Bibles, are now, by long and conſtant uſe, become a part of the Engliſh language, and common phraſeology, eſpecially in matters of religion: this every one uſes familiarly, and thinks he underſtands; but it muſt be obſerved, that if he has a diſtinct meaning, when he uſes thoſe words and phraſes, and knows himſelf, what he intends by them, it is always according to the ſenſe of his own ſyſtem, and the articles, or interpretations, of the ſociety he is engaged in. So that all his knowledge and underſtanding, which he has in the uſe of theſe paſſages of ſacred ſcripture, reaches no farther than this, that he knows (and that is very well) what he himſelf ſays, but thereby knows nothing at all what St. Paul ſaid in them. The apoſtle writ not by that man's ſyſtem, and ſo his meaning cannot be known by it. This being the ordinary way of underſtanding the epiſtles, and every ſect being perfectly orthodox in its own judgment; What a great and invincible darkneſs muſt this caſt upon St. Paul's meaning, to all thoſe of that way, in all thoſe places, where his thoughts and ſenſe run counter to what any party has eſpouſed for orthodox; as it muſt, unavoidably, to all but one of the different ſyſtems, in all thoſe paſſages that any way relate to the points in controverſy between them?

This is a miſchief, which, however frequent, and almoſt natural, reaches ſo far, that it would juſtly make all thoſe who depend upon them, wholly diffident of commentators, and let them ſee how little help was to be expected from them, in relying on them for the true ſenſe of the ſacred ſcripture, did they not take care to help to cozen themſelves, by chuſing to uſe, and pin their faith on, ſuch expoſitors as explain the ſacred ſcripture, in favour of thoſe opinions, that they before-hand have voted orthodox, and bring to the ſacred ſcripture, not for trial, but confirmation. No body can think, that any text of St. Paul's epiſtles has two contrary meanings; and yet ſo it muſt have, to two different men, who taking two commentators of different ſects, for their reſpective guides into the ſenſe of any one of the epiſtles, ſhall build upon their reſpective expoſitions. We need go no further for a proof of it, than the notes of the two celebrated commentators on the new teſtament, Dr. Hammond, and Beza, both men of parts and learning, and both thought, by their followers, men mighty in the ſacred ſcriptures. So that here we ſee the hopes of great benefit and light, from expoſitors and commentators, are in a great part abated; and thoſe, who have moſt need of their help, can receive but little from them, and can have very little aſſurance of reaching the apoſtle's ſenſe, by what they find in them, whilſt matters remain in the ſame ſtate they are in at preſent. For thoſe who find they need help, and would borrow light from expoſitors, either conſult only thoſe who have the good luck to be thought ſound and orthodox, avoiding thoſe of different ſentiments from themſelves, in the great and approved points of their ſyſtems, as dangerous and not fit to be meddled with; or elſe with indifferency look into the notes of all commentators promiſcuouſly. The firſt of theſe take pains only to confirm themſelves in the opinions and tenets they have already, which whether it be the way to get the true meaning of what St. Paul delivered, is eaſy to determine. The others, with much more fairneſs to themſelves, tho' with reaping little more advantage, (unleſs they have ſomething elſe to guide them into the apoſtle's meaning, than the comments themſelves) ſeek help on all hands, and refuſe not to be taught by any one, who offers to enlighten them in any of the dark paſſages. But here, tho' they avoid the miſchief, which the others fall into, of being confined in their ſenſe, and ſeeing nothing but that in St. Paul's writings, be it right or wrong; yet they run into as great on the other ſide, and inſtead of being confirmed in the meaning, that they thought they ſaw in the text, are diſtracted with an hundred, ſuggeſted by thoſe they adviſed with; and ſo, inſtead of that one ſenſe of the ſcripture, which they carried with them to their commentators, return from them with none at all.

This, indeed, ſeems to make the caſe deſperate: for if the comments and expoſitions of pious and learned men cannot be depended on, whither ſhall we go for help? To which I anſwer, I would not be miſtaken, as if I thought the labours of the learned in this caſe wholly loſt and fruitleſs. There is great uſe and benefit to be made of them, when we have once got a rule, to know which of their expoſitions, in the great variety there is of them, explains the words and phraſes according to the apoſtle's meaning. 'Till then 'tis evident, from what is above ſaid, they ſerve for the moſt part to no other uſe, but either to make us find our own ſenſe, and not his, in St. Paul's words; or elſe to find in them no ſettled ſenſe at all.

Here it will be aſk'd, "How ſhall we come by this rule you mention? "Where is that touchſtone to be had, that will ſhew us, whether the meaning "we ourſelves put, or take as put by others, upon St. Paul's words, in his epiſtles, be truly his meaning or no?" I will not ſay the way which I propoſe, and have in the following paraphraſe followed, will make us infallible in our interpretations of the apoſtle's text: but this I will own, that till I took this way, St. Paul's epiſtles, to me, in the ordinary way of reading and ſtudying them, were very obſcure parts of ſcripture, that left me almoſt every where at a loſs; and I was at a great uncertainty, in which of the contrary ſenſes, that were to be found in his commentators, he was to be taken. Whether what I have done has made it any clearer, or more viſible, now, I muſt leave others to judge. This I beg leave to ſay for myſelf, that if ſome very ſober, judicious chriſtians, no ſtrangers to the ſacred ſcriptures, nay, learned divines of the church of England, had not profeſſed, that by the peruſal of theſe following papers, they underſtood the epiſtles much better than they did before, and had not, with repeated inſtances, preſſed me to publiſh them, I ſhould not have conſented they ſhould have gone beyond my own private uſe, for which they were at firſt deſigned, and where they made me not repent my pains.

If any one be ſo far pleaſed with my endeavours, as to think it worth while to be informed, what was the clue I guided myſelf by, thro' all the dark paſſages of theſe epiſtles, I ſhall minutely tell him the ſteps, by which I was brought into this way, that he may judge whether I proceeded rationally, upon right grounds or no; if ſo be any thing, in ſo mean an example as mine, may be worth his notice.

After I had found by long experience, that the reading of the text and comments, in the ordinary way, proved not ſo ſucceſsful as I wiſhed, to the end propoſed, I began to ſuſpect, that in reading a chapter, as was uſual, and thereupon ſometimes conſulting expoſitors upon ſome hard places of it, which at that time moſt affected me, as relating to points then under conſideration in my own mind, or in debate amongſt others, was not a right method to get into the true ſenſe of theſe epiſtles. I ſaw plainly, after I began once to reflect on it, that if any one now ſhould write me a letter, as long as St. Paul's to the Romans, concerning ſuch a matter as that is, in a ſtyle as foreign, and expreſſions as dubious, as his ſeem to be, if I ſhould divide it into fifteen or ſixteen chapters, and read of them one to day, and another to-morrow, &c. it was ten to one, I ſhould never come to a full and clear comprehenſion of it. The way to underſtand the mind of him that writ it, every one would agree, was to read the whole letter thro', from one end to the other, all at once, to ſee what was the main ſubject and tendency of it: or if it had ſeveral views and purpoſes in it, not dependent one of another, nor in a ſubordination to one chief aim and end, to diſcover what thoſe different matters were, and where the author concluded one, and began another; and if there were any neceſſity of dividing the epiſtle into parts, to make the boundaries of them.

In proſecution of this thought, I concluded it neceſſary, for the underſtanding of any one of St. Paul's epiſtles, to read it all thro' at one ſitting; and to obſerve, as well as I could, the drift and deſign of his writing it. If the firſt reading gave me ſome light, the ſecond gave me more; and ſo I perſiſted on, reading conſtantly the whole epiſtle over at once, till I came to have a good general view of the apoſtle's main purpoſe in writing the epiſtle, the chief branches of his diſcourſe wherein he proſecuted it, the arguments he uſed, and the diſpoſition of the whole.

This, I confeſs, is not to be obtained by one or two haſty readings; it muſt be repeated again and again, with a cloſe attention to the tenor of the diſcourſe, and a perfect neglect of the diviſions into chapters and verſes. On the contrary, the ſafeſt way is to ſuppoſe, that the epiſtle has but one buſineſs, and one aim, 'till, by a frequent peruſal of it, you are forced to ſee there are diſtinct independent matters in it, which will forwardly enough ſhew themſelves.

It requires ſo much more pains, judgment and application, to find the coherence of obſcure and abſtruſe writings, and makes them ſo much the more unfit to ſerve prejudice and pre-occupation, when found; that it is not to be wondered, that St. Paul's epiſtles have, with many, paſſed rather for disjointed, looſe, pious diſcourſes, full of warmth and zeal, and overflows of light, rather than for calm, ſtrong, coherent reaſonings, that carried a thread of argument and conſiſtency all thro' them.

But this muttering of lazy or ill-diſpoſed readers, hindered me not from perſiſting in the courſe I had begun: I continued to read the ſame epiſtle over and over, and over again, 'till I came to diſcover, as appeared to me, what was the drift and aim of it, and by what ſteps and arguments St. Paul proſecuted his purpoſe. I remembered that St. Paul was miraculouſly called to the miniſtry of the goſpel, and declared to be a choſen veſſel; that he had the whole doctrine of the goſpel from God, by immediate revelation; and was appointed to be the apoſtle of the Gentiles, for the propagating of it in the heathen world. This was enough to perſuade me, that he was not a man of looſe and ſhattered parts, uncapable to argue, and unfit to convince thoſe he had to deal with. God knows how to chooſe fit inſtruments for the buſineſs he employs them in. A large ſtock of Jewiſh learning he had taken in, at the feet of Gamaliel; and for his information in chriſtian knowledge, and the myſteries and depths of the diſpenſation of grace by Jeſus Chriſt, God himſelf had condeſcended to be his inſtructor and teacher. The light of the goſpel he had received from the Fountain and Father of light himſelf, who, I concluded, had not furniſhed him in this extraordinary manner, if all this plentiful ſtock of learning and illumination had been in danger to have been loſt, or proved uſeleſs, in a jumbled and confuſed head; nor have laid up ſuch a ſtore of admirable and uſeful knowledge in a man, who, for want of method and order, clearneſs of conception, or pertinency in diſcourſe, could not draw it out into uſe with the greateſt advantages of force and coherence. That he knew how to proſecute this purpoſe with ſtrength of argument, and cloſe reaſoning, without incoherent ſallies, or the intermixing of things foreign to his buſineſs, was evident to me, from ſeveral ſpeeches of his, recorded in the acts: and it was hard to think, that a man, that could talk with ſo much conſiſtency, and clearneſs of conviction, ſhould not be able to write without confuſion, inextricable obſcurity, and perpetual rambling. The force, order, and perſpicuity of thoſe diſcourſes, could not be denied to be very viſible. How then came it, that the like was thought much wanting in his epiſtles? And of this, there appeared to me this plain reaſon: the particularities of the hiſtory, in which theſe ſpeeches are inſerted, ſhew St. Paul's end in ſpeaking; which, being ſeen, caſts a light on the whole, and ſhews the pertinency of all that he ſays. But his epiſtles not being ſo circumſtantiated; there being no concurring hiſtory, that plainly declares the diſpoſition St. Paul was in; what the actions, expectations, or demands of thoſe to whom he writ, required him to ſpeak to, we are no where told. All this, and a great deal more, neceſſary to guide us into the true meaning of the epiſtles, is to be had only from the epiſtles themſelves, and to be gathered from thence with ſtubborn attention, and more than common application.

THIS being the only ſafe guide (under the Spirit of God, that dictated theſe ſacred writings) that can be relied on, I hope, I may be excuſed, if I venture to ſay, that the utmoſt ought to be done to obſerve and trace out St. Paul's reaſonings; to follow the thread of his diſcourſe in each of his epiſtles; to ſhew how it goes on, ſtill directed with the ſame view, and pertinently drawing the ſeveral incidents towards the ſame point. To underſtand him right, his inferences ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved; and it ſhould be carefully examined, from what they are drawn, and what they tend to. He is certainly a coherent, argumentative, pertinent writer; and care, I think, ſhould be taken, in expounding of him, to ſhew that he is ſo. But tho' I ſay, he has weighty aims in his epiſtles, which he ſteadily keeps in his eye, and drives at, in all he ſays; yet I do not ſay, that he puts his diſcourſes into an artificial method, or leads his reader into a diſtinction of his arguments, or gives them notice of new matter, by rhetorical or ſtudied tranſitions. He has no ornaments borrowed from the Greek eloquence; no notions of their philoſophy mixed with his doctrine, to ſet it off. The inticing words of man's wiſdom, whereby he means all the ſtudied rules of the Grecian ſchools, which made them ſuch maſters in the art of ſpeaking, he, as he ſays himſelf, 1 Cor. ii. 4. wholly neglected. The reaſon whereof he gives in the next verſe, and in other places. But tho' politeneſs of language, delicacy of ſtyle, fineneſs of expreſſion, laboured periods, artificial tranſitions, and a very methodical ranging of the parts, with ſuch other imbelliſhments as make a diſcourſe enter the mind ſmoothly, and ſtrike the fancy at firſt hearing, have little or no place in his ſtyle; yet coherence of diſcourſe, and a direct tendency of all the parts of it, to the argument in hand, are moſt eminently to be found in him. This I take to be his character, and doubt not but he will be found to be ſo upon diligent examination. And in this, if it be ſo, we have a clue, if we will take the pains to find it, that will conduct us with ſurety, thro' thoſe ſeemingly dark places, and imagined intricacies, in which chriſtians have wandered ſo far one from another, as to find quite contrary ſenſes.

WHETHER a ſuperficial reading, accompanied with the common opinion of his invincible obſcurity, has kept off ſome from ſeeking, in him, the coherence of a diſcourſe, tending with cloſe, ſtrong reaſoning to a point; or a ſeemingly more honourable opinion of one that had been rapp'd up into the third heaven, as if from a man ſo warmed and illuminated as he had been, nothing could be expected, but flaſhes of light, and raptures of zeal, hindered others to look for a train of reaſoning, proceeding on regular, and cogent argumentation from a man raiſed above the ordinary pitch of humanity, to a higher and brighter way of illumination; or elſe, whether others were loth to beat their heads about the tenor and coherence in St. Paul's diſcourſes; which, if found out, poſſibly might ſet him at a manifeſt and irreconcilable difference with their ſyſtems; 'tis certain, that whatever hath been the cauſe, this way of getting the true ſenſe of St. Paul's epiſtles, ſeems not to have been much made uſe of, or at leaſt ſo thoroughly purſued, as I am apt to think it deſerves.

FOR, granting that he was full ſtored with the knowledge of the things he treated of; for he had light from heaven, it was God himſelf furniſhed him, and he could not want: allowing alſo, that he had ability to make uſe of the knowledge had been given him, for the end for which it was given him, viz. the information, conviction, and converſion of others; and accordingly, that he knew how to direct his diſcourſe to the point in hand: we cannot widely miſtake the parts of his diſcourſe employed about it, when we have any where found out the point he drives at: wherever we have got a view of his deſign, and the aim he propoſed to himſelf in writing, we may be ſure, that ſuch or ſuch an interpretation does not give us his genuine ſenſe, it being nothing at all to his preſent purpoſe. Nay, among various meanings given a text, it fails not to direct us to the beſt, and very often to aſſure us of the true. For it is no preſumption, when one ſees a man arguing for this or that propoſition, if he be a ſober man, maſter of reaſon, or common ſenſe, and takes any care of what he ſays, to pronounce with confidence, in ſeveral caſes, that he could not talk thus or thus.

I DO not yet ſo magnify this method of ſtudying St. Paul's epiſtles, as well as other parts of ſacred ſcripture, as to think it will perfectly clear every hard place, and leave no doubt unreſolved. I know, expreſſions now out of uſe, opinions of thoſe times not heard of in our days, alluſions to cuſtoms loſt to us, and various circumſtances and particularities of the parties, which we cannot come at, &c. muſt needs continue ſeveral paſſages in the dark, now to us, at this diſtance, which ſhone with full light to thoſe they were directed to. But for all that, the ſtudying of St. Paul's epiſtles, in the way I have propoſed, will, I humbly conceive, carry us a great length in the right underſtanding of them, and make us rejoice in the light we receive from thoſe moſt uſeful parts of divine revelation, by furniſhing us with viſible grounds, that we are not miſtaken, whilſt the conſiſtency of the diſcourſe, and the pertinency of it to the deſign he is upon, vouches it worthy of our great apoſtle. At leaſt I hope, it may be my excuſe, for having endeavoured to make St. Paul an interpreter, to me, of his own epiſtles.

To this may be added another help, which St. Paul himſelf affords us, towards the attaining the true meaning contained in his epiſtles. He that reads him with the attention I propoſe, will eaſily obſerve, that as he was full of the doctrine of the goſpel; ſo it lay all clear and in order, open to his view. When he gave his thoughts utterance upon any point, the matter flowed like a torrent; but 'tis plain, 'twas a matter he was perfectly maſter of: he fully poſſeſſed the intire revelation he had received from God; had thoroughly digeſted it; all the parts were formed together in his mind, into one well-contracted harmonious body. So that he was no way at an uncertainty, nor ever, in the leaſt, at a loſs concerning any branch of it. One may ſee his thoughts were all of a-piece in all his epiſtles, his notions were at all times uniform, and conſtantly the ſame; tho' his expreſſions very various. In them he ſeems to take great liberty. This at leaſt is certain, that no one ſeems leſs tied up to a form of words. If then, having, by the method before propoſed, got into the ſenſe of the ſeveral epiſtles; we will but compare what he ſays, in the places where he treats of the ſame ſubject, we can hardly be miſtaken in his ſenſe, nor doubt what it was that he believed and taught, concerning thoſe points of the chriſtian religion. I know it is not unuſual to find a multitude of texts heaped up, for the maintaining of an eſpouſed propoſition; but in a ſenſe often ſo remote from their true meaning, that one can hardly avoid thinking, that thoſe, who ſo uſed them, either ſought not, or valued not the ſenſe; and were ſatisfied with the ſound, where they could but get that to favour them. But a verbal concordance leads not always to texts of the ſame meaning; truſting too much thereto, will furniſh us but with ſlight proofs in many caſes, and any one may obſerve, how apt that is to jumble together paſſages of ſcripture, not relating to the ſame matter, and thereby to diſturb and unſettle the true meaning of holy ſcripture. I have therefore ſaid, that we ſhould compare together places of ſcripture treating of the ſame point. Thus, indeed, one part of the ſacred text could not fail to give light unto another. And ſince the providence of God hath ſo ordered it, that St. Paul has writ a great number of epiſtles; which, tho' upon different occaſions, and to ſeveral purpoſes, yet all confined within the buſineſs of his apoſtleſhip, and ſo contain nothing but points of chriſtian inſtruction, amongſt which he ſeldom fails to drop in, and often to enlarge on, the great and diſtinguiſhing doctrines of our holy religion; which, if quitting our own infallibility in that analogy of faith, which we have made to ourſelves, or have implicitly adopted from ſome other, we would carefully lay together, and diligently compare and ſtudy, I am apt to think, would give us St. Paul's ſyſtem, in a clear and indiſputable ſenſe; which every one muſt acknowledge to be a better ſtandard to interpret his meaning by, in any obſcure and doubtful parts of his epiſtles, if any ſuch ſhould ſtill remain, than the ſyſtem, confeſſion, or articles of any church, or ſociety of chriſtians, yet known; which, however pretended to be founded on ſcripture, are viſibly the contrivances of men, fallible both in their opinions and interpretations; and, as is viſible in moſt of them, made with partial views, and adapted to what the occaſions of that time, and the preſent circumſtances they were then in, were thought to require, for the ſupport or juſtification of themſelves. Their philoſophy, alſo, has its part in miſleading men from the true ſenſe of the ſacred ſcripture. He that ſhall attentively read the chriſtian writers, after the age of the apoſtles, will eaſily find how much the philoſophy, they were tinctured with, influenced them in their underſtanding of the books of the old and new teſtament. In the ages wherein Platoniſm prevailed, the converts to chriſtianity of that ſchool, on all occaſions, interpreted holy writ, according to the notions they had imbib'd from that philoſophy. Ariſtotle's doctrine had the ſame effect in its turn, and when it degenerated into the peripateticiſm of the ſchools, that, too, brought its notions and diſtinctions into divinity, and affixed them to the terms of the ſacred ſcripture. And we may ſee ſtill how, at this day, every one's philoſophy regulates every one's interpretation of the word of God. Thoſe who are poſſeſſed with the doctrine of aerial and æthereal vehicles, have thence borrowed an interpretation of the four firſt verſes of 2 Cor. v. without having any ground to think, that St. Paul had the leaſt notion of any ſuch vehicle. 'Tis plain, that the teaching of men philoſophy, was no part of the deſign of divine revelation; but that the expreſſions of ſcripture are commonly ſuited, in thoſe matters, to the vulgar apprehenſions and conceptions of the place and people, where they were delivered. And, as to the doctrine therein directly taught by the apoſtles, that tends wholly to the ſetting up the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt in this world, and the ſalvation of men's ſouls: and in this 'tis plain their expreſſions were conformed to the ideas and notions which they had received from revelation, or were conſequent from it. We ſhall, therefore, in vain go about to interpret their words by the notions of our philoſophy, and the doctrines of men delivered in our ſchools. This is to explain the apoſtles meaning, by what they never thought of, whilſt they were writing; which is not the way to find their ſenſe, in what they delivered, but our own, and to take up, from their writings, not what they left there for us, but what we bring along with us in ourſelves. He that would underſtand St. Paul right, muſt underſtand his terms, in the ſenſe he uſes them, and not as they are appropriated by each man's particular philoſophy, to conceptions that never entered the mind of the apoſtle. For example, he that ſhall bring the philoſophy now taught and received, to the explaining of ſpirit, ſoul, and body, mentioned 1 Theſſ. v. 23. will, I fear, hardly reach

St. Paul's ſenſe, or repreſent to himſelf the notions St. Paul then had in his mind. That is what we ſhould aim at, in reading him, or any other author; and 'till we, from his words, paint his very ideas and thoughts in our minds, we do not underſtand him.

In the diviſions I have made, I have endeavoured, the beſt I could, to govern myſelf by the diverſity of matter. But in a writer like St. Paul, it is not ſo eaſy always to find preciſely, where one ſubject ends, and another begins. He is full of the matter he treats, and writes with warmth, which uſually neglects method, and thoſe partitions and pauſes, which men, educated in the ſchools of rhetoricians, uſually obſerve. Thoſe arts of writing, St. Paul, as well out of deſign as temper, wholly laid by: the ſubject he had in hand, and the grounds upon which it ſtood firm, and by which he inforced it, were what alone he minded; and without ſolemnly winding up one argument, and intimating any way, that he began another, let his thoughts, which were fully poſſeſſed of the matter, run in one continued train, wherein the parts of his diſcourſe were wove, one into another: ſo that it is ſeldom that the ſcheme of his diſcourſe makes any gap; and therefore, without breaking in upon the connection of his language, 'tis hardly poſſible to ſeparate his diſcourſe, and give a diſtinct view of his ſeveral arguments, in diſtinct ſections.

I am far from pretending infallibility, in the ſenſe I have any where given in my paraphraſe, or notes: that would be to erect myſelf into an apoſtle; a preſumption of the higheſt nature in any one, that cannot confirm what he ſays by miracles. I have, for my own information, ſought the true meaning, as far as my poor abilities would reach. And I have unbiaſſedly embraced, what, upon a fair inquiry, appeared ſo to me. This I thought my duty and intereſt, in a matter of ſo great concernment to me. If I muſt believe for myſelf, it is unavoidable, that I muſt underſtand for myſelf. For if I blindly, and with an implicit faith, take the pope's interpretation of the ſacred ſcripture, without examining whether it be Chriſt's meaning; 'tis the pope I believe in, and not in Chriſt; 'tis his authority I reſt upon; 'tis what he ſays, I embrace: for what 'tis Chriſt ſays, I neither know, nor concern myſelf. 'Tis the ſame thing, when I ſet up any other man in Chriſt's place, and make him the authentick interpreter of ſacred ſcripture to myſelf. He may poſſibly underſtand the ſacred ſcripture as right as any man: but I ſhall do well to examine myſelf, whether that, which I do not know, nay, which (in the way I take) I can never know, can juſtify me, in making myſelf his diſciple, inſtead of Jeſus Chriſt's, who of right is alone, and ought to be, my only Lord and Maſter: and it will be no leſs ſacrilege in me, to ſubſtitute to myſelf any other in his room, to be a Prophet to me, than to be my King, or Prieſt.

The ſame reaſons that put me upon doing what I have in theſe papers done, will exempt me from all ſuſpicion of impoſing my interpretation on others. The reaſons that led me into the meaning, which prevailed on my mind, are ſet down with it: as far as they carry light and conviction to any other man's underſtanding, ſo far, I hope, my labour may be of ſome uſe to him; beyond the evidence it carries with it, I adviſe him not to follow mine, nor any man's interpretation. We are all men, liable to errors, and infected with them; but have this ſure way to preſerve ourſelves, every one, from danger by them, if laying aſide ſloth, careleſſneſs, prejudice, party, and a reverence of men, we betake ourſelves, in earneſt, to the ſtudy of the way to ſalvation, in thoſe holy writings, wherein God has revealed it from heaven, and propoſed it to the world, ſeeking our religion, where we are ſure it is in truth to be found, comparing ſpiritual things with ſpiritual things.

A
PARAPHRASE
AND
NOTES
ON THE
Epiſtle of St. Paul
TO THE
GALATIANS.

The PUBLISHER to the READER.

THERE is nothing, certainly, of greater concernment to the peace of the church in general, nor to the direction and edification of all chriſtians in particular, than a right underſtanding of the holy ſcripture. This conſideration has ſet ſo many learned and pious men amongſt us, of late years, upon expoſitions, paraphraſes, and notes on the ſacred writings, that the author of theſe hopes the faſhion may excuſe him for endeavouring to add his mite; believing, that after all that has been done by thoſe great labourers in the harveſt, there may be ſome gleanings left, whereof he preſumes he has an inſtance, chap. iii. ver. 20. and ſome other places in this epiſtle to the Galatians, which he looks upon not to be the hardeſt of St. Paul's. If he has given a light to any obſcure paſſage, he ſhall think his pains well employed: if there be nothing elſe worth notice in him, accept of his good intention.

THE
Epiſtle of St. Paul
TO THE
GALATIANS.

Writ from Epheſus, the year of our Lord 57, of Nero 3.

SYNOPSIS.

THE ſubject and deſign of this epiſtle of St. Paul, is much the ſame with that of his epiſtle to the Romans, but treated in ſomewhat a different manner. The buſineſs of it is to dehort and hinder the Galatians from bringing themſelves under the bondage of the Moſaical law.

St. Paul himſelf had planted the churches of Galatia, and therefore referring (as he does, chap. i. 8, 9.) to what he had before taught them, does not, in this epiſtle, lay down at large to them the doctrine of the goſpel, as he does in that to the Romans, who having been converted to the chriſtian faith by others, he did not know how far they were inſtructed in all thoſe particulars, which, on the occaſion whereon he writ to them, it might be neceſſary for them to underſtand: and therefore, writing to the Romans, he ſets before them a large and comprehenſive view of the chief heads of the chriſtian religion.

He alſo deals more roundly with his diſciples the Galatians, than, we may obſerve, he does with the Romans, to whom he, being a ſtranger, writes not in ſo familiar a ſtyle, nor in his reproofs and exhortations uſes ſo much the tone of a maſter, as he does to the Galatians.

St. Paul had converted the Galatians to the faith, and erected ſeveral churches among them in the year of our Lord 51; between which, and the year 57, wherein this epiſtle was writ, the diſorders following were got into thoſe churches:

First, Some zealots for the Jewiſh conſtitution had very near perſuaded them out of their chriſtian liberty, and made them willing to ſubmit to circumciſion, and all the ritual obſervances of the Jewiſh church, as neceſſary under the goſpel, chap. i. 7. iii. 3. iv. 9, 10, 21. v. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10.

Secondly, Their diſſenſions and diſputes in this matter had raiſed great animoſities amongſt them, to the diſturbance of their peace, and the ſetting them at ſtrife one with another, chap. v. 6, 13—15.

The reforming them in theſe two points, ſeems to be the main buſineſs of this epiſtle, wherein he endeavours to eſtabliſh them in a reſolution to ſtand firm in the freedom of the goſpel, which exempts them from the bondage of the Moſaical law: and labours to reduce them to a ſincere love and affection one to another; which he concludes with an exhortation to liberality, and general beneficence, eſpecially to their teachers, chap. vi. 6, 10. Theſe being the matters he had in his mind to write to them about, he ſeems here as if he had done. But, upon mentioning, ver. 11. what a long letter he had writ to them

with

with his own hand, the former argument concerning circumciſion, which filled and warmed his mind, broke out again into what we find, ver. 12—17. of the ſixth chapter.

SECT. I.

CHAP. I. 1—5.

INTRODUCTION.

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An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

Chap. I.

THE general view of this epiſtle plainly ſhews St. Paul's chief deſign in it to be, to keep the Galatians from hearkening to thoſe judaizing ſeducers, who had almoſt perſuaded them to be circumciſed. Theſe perverters of the goſpel of Chriſt, as St. Paul himſelf calls them, ver. 7. had, as may be gathered from ver. 8, and 10. and from chap. v. 11. and other paſſages of this epiſtle, made the Galatians believe, that St. Paul himſelf was for circumciſion. 'Till St. Paul himſelf had ſet them right in this matter, and convinced them of the falſhood of this aſperſion, it was in vain for him, by other arguments, to attempt the re-eſtabliſhing the Galatians in the chriſtian liberty, and in that truth which he had preached to them. The removing therefore of this calumny, was his firſt endeavour: and to that purpoſe, this introduction, different from what we find in any other of his epiſtles, is marvellouſly well adapted. He declares, here at the entrance, very expreſly and emphatically, that he was not ſent by men on their errands; nay, that Chriſt, in ſending him, did not ſo much as convey his apoſtolic power to him by the miniſtry, or intervention of any man; but that his commiſſion and inſtructions were all intirely from God, and Chriſt himſelf, by immediate revelation. This, of itſelf, was an argument ſufficient to induce them to believe, 1. That what he taught them, when he firſt preached the goſpel to them, was the truth, and that they ought to ſtick firm to that. 2. That he changed not his doctrine, whatever might be reported of him. He was Chriſt's choſen officer, and had no dependence on men's opinions, nor regard to their authority or favour, in what he preached; and therefore it was not likely he ſhould preach one thing at one time, and another thing at another.

Thus this preface is very proper in this place, to introduce what he is going to ſay concerning himſelf, and adds force to his diſcourſe, and the account he gives of himſelf in the next ſection.

PARAPHRASE.

1. PAUL (an apoſtle not of men [a], to ſerve their ends, or carry on their deſigns, nor receiving his call, or commiſſion, by the intervention of any man [b], to whom he might be thought to owe any reſpect or deference upon that account; but immediately from Jeſus

TEXT.

PAUL an apoſtle (not of men, neither by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, and God the Father, who raiſed him from the dead.) 1

NOTES.

1 [a] Οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, "nor of men," i. e. not ſent by men at their pleaſure, or by their authority; not inſtructed by men what to ſay, or do, as we ſee Timothy and Titus were, when ſent by St. Paul; and Judas and Silas, ſent by the church of Jeruſalem.

[b] Οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, "nor by man," i. e. his choice and ſeparation to his miniſtry and apoſtleſhip, was ſo wholly an act of God and Chriſt, that there was no intervention of any thing done by any man in the caſe, as there was in the election of Matthias. All this we may ſee explained at large, ver. 10—12, and ver. 16, 17. and chap. ii. 6—9.

1

TEXT.

2 And all the brethren, which are with me, unto the churches of Galatia.

3 Grace be to you, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

4 Who gave himſelf for our ſins, that he might deliver us from this preſent evil world, according to the will of God and our Father.

5 To whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

PARAPHRASE.

Jeſus Chriſt, and from God the Father, who raiſed
him up from the dead); And all the brethren that are 2.
with me, unto the churches [a] of Galatia: Favour be 3.
to you, and peace [b] from God the Father, and from
our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Who gave himſelf for our ſins, 4.
that he might take us out of this preſent evil world [c],
according to the will and good pleaſure of God and
our Father, To whom be glory for ever and ever. 5.
Amen.

NOTES.

2 [a] "Churches of Galatia." This was an evident ſeal of his apoſtleſhip to the Gentiles; ſince, in no bigger a country than Galatia, a ſmall province of the leſſer Aſia, he had, in no long ſtay among them, planted ſeveral diſtinct churches.

3 [b] "Peace." The wiſhing of peace, in the ſcripture-language, is the wiſhing of all manner of good.

4 [c] Ὅπως ἐξέληται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ. "That he might take us out of this preſent evil world," or age; ſo the Greek words ſignify. Whereby it cannot be thought, that St. Paul meant, that chriſtians were to be immediately removed into the other world. Therefore ἐνεστὼς αἰὼν muſt ſignify ſomething elſe, than preſent world, in the ordinary import of thoſe words in Engliſh. Αἰὼν οὗτος, 1 Cor. ii. 6, 8. and in other places, plainly ſignifies the Jewiſh nation, under the Moſaical conſtitution; and it ſuits very well with the apoſtle's deſign in this epiſtle, that it ſhould do ſo here. God has, in this world, but one kingdom, and one people. The nation of the Jews were the kingdom and people of God, whilſt the law ſtood. And this kingdom of God, under the Moſaical conſtitution, was called αἰῶν οὗτος, this age, or as it is commonly tranſlated, this world, to which αἰὼν ἐνεστὼς, the preſent world, or age, here anſwers. But the kingdom of God, which was to be under the Meſſiah, wherein the œconomy and conſtitution of the Jewiſh church, and the nation itſelf, that, in oppoſition to Chriſt, adhered to it, was to be laid aſide, is in the new teſtament, called αἰὼν μέλλων, the world, or age to come; ſo that "Chriſt's taking "them out of the preſent world," may, without any violence to the words, be underſtood to ſignify his ſetting them free from the Moſaical conſtitution. This is ſuitable to the deſign of this epiſtle, and what St. Paul has declared in many other places. See Col. ii. 14—17, and 20. which agrees to this place, and Rom. vii. 4, 6. The law is ſaid to be contrary to us, Col. ii. 14. and to "work wrath," Rom. iv. 15. and St. Paul ſpeaks very diminiſhingly of the ritual parts of it in many places: but yet, if all this may not be thought ſufficient to juſtify the applying of the epithet πονηροῦ, evil, to it; that ſcruple will be removed, if we take ἐνεστὼς αἰὼν, "this preſent world," here, for the Jewiſh conſtitution and nation together; in which ſenſe it may very well be called "evil;" tho' the apoſtle, out of his wonted tenderneſs to his nation, forbears to name them openly, and uſes a doubtful expreſſion, which might comprehend the heathen world alſo; tho' he chiefly pointed at the Jews.

SECT. II.

CHAP. I. 6——II. 21.

CONTENTS.

We have obſerved, that St. Paul's firſt endeavour, in this epiſtle, was to ſatisfy the Galatians, that the report ſpread of him, that he preached circumciſion, was falſe. 'Till this obſtruction, that lay in his way, was removed, it was to no purpoſe for him to go about to diſſuade them from circumciſion, though that be what he principally aims at, in this epiſtle. To ſhew them, that he promoted not circumciſion, he calls their hearkening to thoſe who perſuaded them to be circumciſed, their being removed from him; and thoſe that ſo perſuaded them, "perverters of the goſpel of Chriſt, ver. 6, 7. He farther aſſures them, that the goſpel which he preached every where, was that, and that only, which he had received by immediate revelation from Chriſt, and no contrivance of man, nor did he vary it to pleaſe men: that would not conſiſt with his being a ſervant of Chriſt, ver. 10. And he expreſſes ſuch a firm adherence to what he had received from Chriſt, and had preached to them, that he pronounces an anathema upon himſelf, ver. 8, 9. or any other man, or angel, that ſhould preach any thing elſe to them. To make out this to have been all along his conduct, he gives an account of himſelf, for many years backwards, even from the time before his converſion. Wherein he ſhews, that from a zealous perſecuting Jew, he was made a chriſtian, and an apoſtle, by immediate revelation; and that, having no communication with the apoſtles, or with the churches of Judea, or any man, for ſome years, he had nothing to preach, but what he had received by immediate revelation. Nay, when, fourteen years after, he went up to Jeruſalem, it was by revelation; and when he there communicated the goſpel, which he preached amongſt the Gentiles, Peter, James, and John, approved of it, without adding any thing, but admitted him as their fellow-apoſtle. So that, in all this, he was guided by nothing but divine revelation, which he inflexibly ſtuck to ſo far, that he openly oppoſed St. Peter, for his judaizing at Antioch. All which account of himſelf tends clearly to ſhew, that St. Paul made not the leaſt ſtep towards complying with the Jews, in favour of the law, nor did, out of regard to man, deviate from the doctrine he had received by revelation from God.

All the parts of this ſection, and the narrative contained in it, manifeſtly concenter in this, as will more fully appear, as we go through them, and take a cloſer view of them; which will ſhew us, that the whole is ſo ſkilfully managed, and the parts ſo gently ſlid into, that it is a ſtrong, but not ſeemingly laboured, juſtification of himſelf, from the imputation of preaching up circumciſion.

PARAPHRASE.

6. I Cannot but wonder that you are ſo ſoon [a] removed from me [b], (who called you into the covenant of grace, which is in Chriſt) unto another ſort of goſpel;
7. which is not owing to any thing elſe [c], but only this, that ye are troubled by a certain ſort of men, who would overturn the goſpel of Chriſt, by making circumciſion, and the keeping of the law, neceſſary [d] under the goſpel.
8. But if even I myſelf, or an angel from heaven, ſhould preach any thing to you for goſpel, different from the goſpel I have preached unto you, let him be accurſed.
9. I ſay it again to you, if any one, under pretence of the goſpel,

TEXT.

I Marvel, that ye are ſo ſoon removed from him, that called you into the grace of Chriſt, unto another goſpel: 6

Which is not another; but there be ſome that trouble you, and would pervert the goſpel of Chriſt. 7

But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other goſpel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accurſed. 8

As we ſaid before, ſo ſay I now again, if any man preach 9

NOTES.

6 [a] "So ſoon." The firſt place we find Galatia mentioned, is Acts xvi. 6. And therefore St. Paul may be ſuppoſed to have planted theſe churches there, in his journey mentioned, Acts xvi. which was anno Domini 51. He viſited them again, after he had been at Jeruſalem, Acts xviii. 21——23. A. D. 54. From thence he returned to Epheſus, and ſtaid there about two years, during which time this epiſtle was writ; ſo that counting from his laſt viſit, this letter was writ to them within two or three years from the time he was laſt with them, and had left them confirmed in the doctrine he had taught them; and therefore he might with reaſon wonder at their forſaking him ſo ſoon, and that goſpel he had converted them to.

[b] "From him that called you." Theſe words plainly point out himſelf; but then one might wonder how St. Paul came to uſe them; ſince it would have ſounded better to have ſaid, "Removed from the goſpel I preached to you, to another goſpel, than removed from me that preached to you, to another goſpel." But if it be remembered, that St. Paul's deſign here, is to vindicate himſelf from the aſperſion caſt on him, that he preached circumciſion, nothing could be more ſuitable to that purpoſe, than this way of expreſſing himſelf.

7 [c] Ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο· I take to ſignify, "which is not any thing elſe." The words themſelves, the context, and the buſineſs the apoſtle is upon here, do all concur to give theſe words the ſenſe I have taken them in. For, 1. If ὃ had referred to εὐαγγέλιον, it would have been more natural to have kept to the word ἕτερον, and not have changed it into ἄλλο. 2. It can ſcarce be ſuppoſed, by any one who reads what St. Paul ſays, in the following words of this verſe, and the two adjoining; and alſo chap. iii. 4. and ver. 2—4. and 7. that St. Paul ſhould tell them, that what he would keep them from, "is not another goſpel." 3. It is ſuitable to St. Paul's deſign here, to tell them, that to their being "removed to another goſpel," no body elſe had contributed, but it was wholly owing to thoſe judaizing ſeducers.

[d] See Acts xv. 1, 5, 23, 24.

TEXT.

any other goſpel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accurſed.

10 For do I now perſuade men, or God? Or do I ſeek to pleaſe men? For if I yet pleaſed men, I ſhould not be the ſervant of Chriſt.

11 But I certify you, brethren, that the goſpel which was preached of me, is not after man.

12 For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt.

13 For ye have heard of my converſation in time paſt, in the Jews religion, how that beyond meaſure I perſecuted the church of God, and waſted it:

14 And profited in the Jews religion above many my equals in mine own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers.

15 But when it pleaſed God, who ſeparated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace,

16 To reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen: immediately I conferred not with fleſh and blood:

PARAPHRASE.

CHAP. I.

ſpel, preach any other thing to you, than what ye 10.
have received from me, let him be accurſed[a]. For
can it be doubted of me, after having done and ſuffered
ſo much for the goſpel of Chriſt, whether I do
now[b], at this time of day, make my court to men,
or ſeek the favour[c] of God? If I had hitherto made
it my buſineſs to pleaſe men, I ſhould not have been
the ſervant of Chriſt, nor taken up the profeſſion of
the goſpel. But I certify you, brethren, that the 11.
goſpel, which has been every where[d] preached by
me, is not ſuch as is pliant to human intereſt, or can
be accommodated to the pleaſing of men (For I neither 12.
received it from man, nor was I taught it by
any one, as his ſcholar;) but it is the pure and unmixed,
immediate revelation of Jeſus Chriſt to me.
To ſatisfy you of this; my behaviour, whilſt I was 13.
of the Jewiſh religion, is ſo well known, that I need
not tell you, how exceſſive violent I was in perſecuting
the church of God, and deſtroying it all I could;
And that being carried on by an extraordinary zeal 14.
for the traditions of my fore-fathers, I out-ſtripped
many ſtudents of my own age and nation, in Judaiſm.
But when it pleaſed God (who ſeparated[e] 15.
me from my mother's womb, and by his eſpecial favour
called[f] me to be a chriſtian, and a preacher of
the goſpel) To reveal his ſon to me, that I might 16.
preach him among the Gentiles, I thereupon applied
not myſelf to any man[g], for advice what to do[h]:
Neither

NOTES.

9 [a] "Accurſed." Though we may look upon the repetition of the anathema here, to be for the adding of force to what he ſays, yet we may obſerve, that by joining himſelf with an angel, in the foregoing verſe, he does as good as tell them, that he is not guilty of what deſerves it, by ſkilfully inſinuating to the Galatians, that they might as well ſuſpect an angel might preach to them a goſpel, different from his, i. e. a falſe goſpel, as that he himſelf ſhould: and then, in this verſe, lays the anathema, wholely and ſolely, upon the judaizing ſeducers.

10 [b] Ἄρτι, "now," and ἔτι, "yet," cannot be underſtood without a reference to ſomething in St. Paul's paſt life; what that was, which he had particularly then in his mind, we may ſee by the account he gives of himſelf, in what immediately follows, viz. that before his converſion he was employed by men, in their deſigns, and made it his buſineſs to pleaſe them, as may be ſeen, Acts, ix. 1, 2. But when God called him, he received his commiſſion and inſtructions from him alone, and ſet immediately about it, without conſulting any man whatſoever, preaching that, and that only, which he had received from Chriſt. So that it would be ſenſeleſs folly in him, and no leſs than the forſaking his Maſter, Jeſus Chriſt, if he ſhould now, as was reported of him, mix any thing of men's, with the pure doctrine of the Goſpel, which he had received immediately by revelation from Jeſus Chriſt, to pleaſe the Jews, after he had ſo long preached only that; and had, to avoid all appearance or pretence to the contrary, ſo carefully ſhunned all communication with the churches of Judea; and had not, 'till a good while after, and that very ſparingly, converſed with any, and thoſe but a few, of the apoſtles themſelves, ſome of whom he openly reproved for their judaizing. Thus the narrative, ſubjoined to this verſe, explains the "now," and "yet," in it, and all tends to the ſame purpoſe.

[c] Πείθω, tranſlated "perſuade," is ſometimes uſed for making application to any one to obtain his good will, or friendſhip; and hence, Acts xii. 20. πείσαντες Βλάστον is tranſlated "having "made Blaſtus their friend:" the ſenſe is here the ſame which, 1 Theſſ. ii. 4. he expreſſes in theſe words, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκοντες, ἀλλὰ τῷ Θεῷ, "not as pleaſing men, but God."

11 [d] Τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, "which has been preached by me:" this, being ſpoken indefinitely, muſt be underſtood in general, every where, and ſo is the import of the foregoing verſe.

15 [e] "Separated." This may be underſtood by Jer. i. 5.

[f] "Called." The hiſtory of this call, ſee Acts ix. 1, &c.

16 [g] "Fleſh and blood," is uſed for man, ſee Eph. vi. 12.

[h] "For advice:" this, and what he ſays in the following verſe, is to evidence to the Galatians, the full aſſurance he had of the truth and perfection of the goſpel, which he had received from Chriſt, by immediate revelation; and how little he was diſpoſed to have any regard to the pleaſing

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. I.
17. Neither went I up to Jeruſalem, to thoſe who were
apoſtles before me, to ſee whether they approved my
doctrine, or to have farther inſtructions from them:
but I went immediately [a] unto Arabia, and from
18. thence returned again to Damaſcus. Then after
three years [b], I went up to Jeruſalem, to ſee Peter,
19. and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the
apoſtles ſaw I none, but James, the brother of our
20. Lord. Theſe things, that I write to you, I call God
to witneſs, are all true; there is no falſhood in them.
21. Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Ci-
22. licia. But with the churches of Chriſt [c] in Judea, I
had had no communication: they had not ſo much
23. as ſeen my face [d]; Only they had heard, that I, who
formerly perſecuted the churches of Chriſt, did now
preach the goſpel, which I once endeavoured to ſup-
24. preſs and extirpate. And they glorified God upon
my account.

TEXT.

Neither went I up to Jeruſalem, to them which were apoſtles before me, but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damaſcus. 17

Then, after three years, I went up to Jeruſalem, to ſee Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. 18

But other of the apoſtles ſaw I none, ſave James the Lord's brother. 19

Now the things, which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not. 20

Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia: 21

And was unknown by face unto the churches of Judea, which were in Chriſt. 22

But they had heard only, that he, which perſecuted us in times paſt, now preacheth the faith which once he deſtroyed. 23

And they glorified God in me. 24

NOTES.

ſing of men in preaching it, that he did not ſo much as communicate, or adviſe, with any of the apoſtles about it, to ſee whether they approved of it.

17 [a] Εὐθέως, immediately, though placed juſt before οὐ and προσανεθέμην, "I conferred not;" yet it is plain, by the ſenſe and deſign of St. Paul here, that it principally relates to, "I went into "Arabia;" his departure into Arabia, preſently upon his converſion, before he had conſulted with any body, being made uſe of, to ſhew that the goſpel, he had received by immediate revelation from Jeſus Chriſt, was complete, and ſufficiently inſtructed and inabled him to be a preacher and an apoſtle to the Gentiles, without borrowing any thing from any man, in order thereunto; no not with any of the apoſtles, no one of whom he ſaw, 'till three years after.

18 [b] "Three years," i. e. from his converſion.

22 [c] "In Chriſt," i. e. believing in Chriſt, ſee Rom. xvi. 7.

[d] This, which he ſo particularly takes notice of, does nothing to the proving, that he was a true apoſtle; but ſerves very well to ſhew, that, in what he preached, he had no communication with thoſe of his own nation, nor took any care to pleaſe the Jews.

CHAP. II.

PARAPHRASE.

1. THEN fourteen years after, I went up again
to Jeruſalem, with Barnabas, and took Titus
2. alſo with me. And I went up by revelation, and
there laid before them [a] the goſpel, which I preached
to the Gentiles, but privately, to thoſe who were of
note and reputation amongſt them; leſt the pains
of

TEXT.

THen fourteen years after, I went up again to Jeruſalem, with Barnabas, and took Titus with me alſo. 1

And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that goſpel, which I preach among the Gentiles, 2

NOTES.

2 [a] "I communicated." The conference he had in private with the chief of the church of Jeruſalem, concerning the goſpel which he preached among the Gentiles, ſeems not to have been barely concerning the doctrine of their being free from the law of Moſes: that had been openly and hotly diſputed at Antioch, and was known to be the buſineſs they came about to Jeruſalem; but it is probable, it was to explain to them the whole doctrine he had received by revelation, by the fulneſs and perfection whereof, (for it is ſaid, ver. 6. that, in that conference, they added nothing to it) and by the miracles he had done in confirmation of it, (ſee ver. 8.) they might ſee and own what he preached, to be the truth, and him to be one of themſelves, both by commiſſion and doctrine, as indeed they did; αὐτοῖς, "them," ſignifies thoſe at Jeruſalem; κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσι, are exegetical, and ſhew the particular manner and perſons, import "nempe privatim, eminen-

TEXT.

but privately to them which were of reputation, leſt by any means I ſhould run, or had run in vain.

3 But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumciſed:

4 And that, becauſe of falſe brethren, unaware brought in, who came in privily to ſpy out our liberty, which we have in Chriſt Jeſus, that they might bring us into bondage.

5 To whom we gave place by ſubjection, no not for an hour; that the truth of the goſpel might continue

PARAPHRASE.

that I have already taken [a], or ſhould take in the
goſpel, ſhould be in vain [b]. But tho' I communi- 3.
cated the goſpel, which I preached to the Gentiles,
to the eminent men of the church at Jeruſalem, yet
neither [c] Titus, who was with me, being a Greek,
was forced to be circumciſed: Nor [d] did I yield any 4.
thing, one moment, by way of ſubjection [e] to the
law, to thoſe falſe brethren, who, by an unwary ad-
mittance, were ſlily crept in, to ſpy out our liberty
from the law, which we have under the goſpel:
that they might bring us into bondage [f] to the law.
But I ſtood my ground againſt it, that the truth [g] of 5.
the goſpel might remain [h] among you. But as for 6.
thoſe,

NOTES.

"eminentioribus." 'Twas enough to his purpoſe to be owned by thoſe of greateſt authority, and ſo we ſee, he was, by James, Peter, and John, ver. 9. and therefore it was ſafeſt and beſt to give an account of the goſpel he preached, in private to them, and not publickly to the whole church.

[a] "Running," St. Paul uſes for taking pains in the goſpel. See Phil. ii. 16. A metaphor, I ſuppoſe, taken from the Olympic games, to expreſs his utmoſt endeavours to prevail in the propagating the goſpel.

[b] "In vain:" He ſeems here to give two reaſons why, at laſt, after 14 years, he communicated to the chief of the apoſtles at Jeruſalem, the goſpel that he preached to the Gentiles, when, as he ſhews to the Galatians, he had formerly declined all communication with the convert Jews. 1. He ſeems to intimate, that he did it by revelation. 2. He gives another reaſon, viz. That, if he had not communicated, as he did, with the leading men there, and ſatisfied them of his doctrine and miſſion, his oppoſers might unſettle the churches he had, or ſhould plant, by urging, that the Apoſtles knew not what it was that he preached, nor had ever owned it for the goſpel, or him for an apoſtle. Of the readineſs of the Judaizing ſeducers, to take any ſuch advantage againſt him, he had lately an example in the church of Corinth.

3 [c] οὐκ ἠναγκάσθη is rightly tranſlated, "was not compelled," a plain evidence to the Galatians, that the circumciſing of the convert Gentiles, was no part of the goſpel which he laid before theſe men of note, as what he preached to the Gentiles. For if it had, Titus muſt have been circumciſed; for no part of his goſpel was blamed, or altered by them, ver. 6. Of what other uſe his mentioning this, of Titus, here can be, but to ſhew to the Galatians, that what he preached, contained nothing of circumciſing the convert Gentiles, it is hard to find. If it were to ſhew that the other apoſtles, and church at Jeruſalem, diſpenſed with circumciſion, and other ritual obſervances of the Moſaical law, that was needleſs; for that was ſufficiently declared by their decree, Acts xv. which was made and communicated to the churches, before this epiſtle was writ, as may be ſeen, Acts xvi. 4. much leſs was this of Titus of any force, to prove that St. Paul was a true apoſtle, if that were what he was here labouring to juſtify. But conſidering his aim here, to be the clearing himſelf from a report, that he preached up circumciſion, there could be nothing more to his purpoſe, than this inſtance of Titus, whom, uncircumciſed as he was, he took with him to Jeruſalem; uncircumciſed he kept with him there, and uncircumciſed he took back with him, when he returned. This was a ſtrong and pertinent inſtance to perſuade the Galatians, that the report of his preaching circumciſion was a mere aſperſion.

4 [d] Οὐδὲ, "Neither," in the third verſe, according to propriety of ſpeech, ought to have a "nor," to anſwer it, which is the οὐδὲ, "nor," here; which, ſo taken, anſwers the propriety of the Greek, and very much clears the ſenſe; οὐδὲ Τίτος ἠναγκάσθη, οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν, "Neither was "Titus compelled, nor did we yield to them a moment."

[e] Τῇ ὑποταγῇ, "by ſubjection." The point thoſe falſe brethren contended for, was, That the law of Moſes was to be kept, ſee Acts xv. 5. St. Paul, who, on other occaſions, was ſo complaiſant, that to the Jews he became as a Jew, to thoſe under the law, as under the law (ſee 1 Cor. ix. 19—22.) yet, when ſubjection to the law was claimed, as due in any caſe, he would not yield the leaſt matter; this I take to be his meaning of οὐδὲ εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ; for, where compliance was deſired of him, upon the account of expedience, and not of ſubjection to the law, we do not find him ſtiff and inflexible, as may be ſeen, Acts xxi. 18—26. which was after the writing of this epiſtle.

[f] "Bondage" What this bondage was, ſee Acts xv. 1, 5, 10.

5 [g] "The truth of the goſpel." By it he means here, the doctrine of freedom from the law; and ſo he calls it again, ver. 14. and chap. iii. 1. & iv. 16.

[h] "Might remain among you." Here he tells the reaſon himſelf, why he yielded not to thoſe Judaizing falſe brethren: it was, that the true doctrine, which he had preached to the Gentiles, of their freedom from the law, might ſtand firm. A convincing argument to the Galatians, that he preached not circumciſion.

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thoſe [a], who were really men [b] of eminency and value, what they were heretofore, it matters not at all to me: God accepts not the perſon of any man, but communicates the goſpel to whom he pleaſes [c], as he has done to me by revelation, without their help; for, in their conference with me, they added nothing to me, they taught me nothing new, nor that Chriſt had taught me before, nor had they any thing to
7. object againſt what I preached to the Gentiles. But on the contrary, [d] James, Peter, and John, who were of reputation, and juſtly eſteemed to be pillars, perceiving

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with you. But of theſe, who 6 ſeemed to be ſomewhat (whatſoever they were, it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's perſon;) for they, who ſeemed to be ſomewhat, in conference added nothing to me.

But contrariwiſe, when they 7 ſaw that the goſpel of the uncircumciſion was committed unto me, as the goſpel of the circumciſion was unto Peter;

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4, 5. "And that,—to whom." There appears a manifeſt difficulty in theſe two verſes, which has been obſerved by moſt interpreters, and is by ſeveral aſcribed to a redundancy, which ſome place in δὲ, in the beginning of ver. 4. and others to οἷς in the beginning of ver. 5. The relation between οὐδὲ, ver. 3. and οὐδὲ, ver. 5. methinks puts an eaſy end to the doubt, by the ſhewing St. Paul's ſenſe to be, that he neither circumciſed Titus, nor yielded in the leaſt to the falſe brethren; he having told the Galatians, That, upon his laying, before the men of moſt authority in the church at Jeruſalem, the doctrine which he preached, Titus was not circumciſed; he, as a further proof of his not preaching circumciſion, tells them how he carried it toward the falſe brethren, whoſe deſign it was, to bring the convert Gentiles into ſubjection to the law. "And," or "moreover," (for ſo δὲ often ſignifies) ſays he, "in regard to the falſe brethren," &c. Which way of entrance on the matter, would not admit of οὐδὲ after it, to anſwer οὐδὲ, ver. 3. which was already writ, but without οἷς the negation muſt have been expreſſed by οὐκ, as any one will perceive, who attentively reads the Greek original. And thus οἷς may be allowed for an Hebrew pleonáſm, and the reaſon of it to be the preventing the former οὐδὲ to ſtand alone, to the diſturbance of the ſenſe.

6 [a] He that conſiders the beginning of this verſe, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων, with regard to the Διὰ δὲ τὰς ψευδαδέλφους, in the beginning of the fourth verſe, will eaſily be induced, by the Greek idiom, to conclude, that the author, by theſe beginnings, intimates a plain diſtinction of the matter ſeparately treated of, in what follows each of them, viz. what paſſed between the falſe brethren and him, contained in ver. 4, and 5. and what paſſed between the chief of the brethren and him, contained ver. 6—10. And therefore, ſome (and I think with reaſon) introduce this verſe with theſe words: "Thus we have behaved ourſelves towards the falſe brethren: but," &c.

[b] Τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι, "our tranſlation renders, "who ſeemed to be ſomewhat," which however it may anſwer the words, yet to an Engliſh ear it carries a diminiſhing and ironical ſenſe, contrary to the meaning of the apoſtle, who ſpeaks here of thoſe, for whom he had a real eſteem, and were truly of the firſt rank; for it is plain, by what follows, that he means Peter, James, and John. Beſides, οἱ δοκοῦντες being taken in a good ſenſe, ver. 2. and tranſlated, "thoſe of "reputation," the ſame expreſſion ſhould have been kept in rendering ver. 6, and 9. where the ſame term occurs again three times, and may be preſumed in the ſame ſenſe, that it was at firſt uſed in, ver. 2.

[c] Every body ſees that there is ſomething to be ſupplied to make up the ſenſe; moſt commentators, that I have ſeen, add theſe words, "I learned nothing:" but then, that enervates the reaſon that follows, "for in conference they added nothing to me," giving the ſame thing as a reaſon for itſelf, and making St. Paul talk thus: "I learnt nothing of them, for they taught me "nothing." But it is very good reaſoning, and ſuited to his purpoſe, that it was nothing at all to him, how much thoſe great men were formerly in Chriſt's favour: this hindered not but that God, who was no reſpecter of perſons, might reveal the goſpel to him alſo, as 'twas evident he had done, and that in its full perfection; for thoſe great men, the moſt eminent of the apoſtles, had nothing to add to it, or except againſt it. This was proper to perſuade the Galatians, that he no where, in his preaching, receded from that doctrine of freedom from the law, which he had preached to them, and was ſatisfied it was the truth, even before he had conferred with theſe apoſtles. The bare ſupplying of οἱ, in the beginning of the verſe, takes away the neceſſity of any ſuch addition. Examples of the like elleipſes we have, Matt. xxvii. 9. where we read ἀπὸ υἱῶν, for οἱ ἀπὸ υἱῶν; and John xvi. 17. ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν, for οἱ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν; and ſo here, taking ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων, to be for οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων, all the difficulty is removed; and St. Paul having in the foregoing verſe ended the narrative of his deportment towards the falſe brethren, he here begins an account of what paſſed between him and the chief of the apoſtles.

7 [d] Peter, James, and John, who, 'tis manifeſt by ver. 9. are the perſons here ſpoken of, ſeem, of all the apoſtles, to have been moſt in eſteem and favour with their maſter, during his converſation with them on earth. See Mark v. 37. and ix. 2. and xiv. 33. "But yet that, ſays St. Paul, "is of no moment now to me. The goſpel, which I preach, and which God, who is no reſpecter "of perſons, has been pleaſed to commit to me by immediate revelation, is not the leſs true, nor "is there any reaſon for me to recede from it, in a tittle; for theſe men of the firſt rank could "find nothing to add, alter, or gainſay, in it." This is ſuitable to St. Paul's deſign here, to let the Galatians ſee, that as he, in his carriage, had never favoured circumciſion; ſo neither had he

any

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8 (For he that wrought effectually in Peter, to the apoſtleſhip of the circumciſion, the ſame was mighty in me, towards the Gentiles)

9 And when James, Cephas, and John, who ſeemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowſhip; that we ſhould go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumciſion.

10 Only they would that we ſhould remember the poor; the ſame which I alſo was forward to do.

11 But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withſtood him to the face, becauſe he was to be blamed.

12 For, before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but, when they were come, he withdrew, and ſeparated himſelf, fearing them which were of the circumciſion.

13 And the other Jews diſſembled likewiſe with him; inſomuch that Barnabas alſo was carried away with their diſſimulation.

PARAPHRASE.

ceiving that the goſpel which was to be preached to
the Gentiles, was committed to me; as that which
was to be preached to the Jews, was committed to
Peter (For he that had wrought powerfully [a] in Pe- 8.
ter, to his executing the office of an apoſtle to the
Jews, had alſo wrought powerfully in me, in my ap-
plication, and apoſtleſhip, to the Gentiles): And, 9.
knowing [b] the favour that was beſtowed on me, gave
me and Barnabas the right hand [c] of fellowſhip, that
we ſhould preach the goſpel to the Gentiles, and
they to the children of Iſrael. All that they propo- 10.
ſed, was, that we ſhould remember to make col-
lections among the Gentiles, for the poor chriſ-
tians of Judea, which was a thing that of myſelf
I was forward to do. But when Peter came to An- 11.
tioch, I openly oppoſed [d] him to his face: for, in-
deed, he was to be blamed. For he converſed there 12.
familiarly with the Gentiles, and eat with them, 'till
ſome Jews came thither from James: then he with-
drew, and ſeparated from the Gentiles, for fear of
thoſe who were of the circumciſion: And the reſt of 13.
the Jews joined alſo with him in this hypocriſy, in-
ſomuch that Barnabas himſelf was carried away with
the

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any reaſon, by preaching circumciſion, to forſake the doctrine of liberty from the law, which he had preached to them as a part of that goſpel, which he had received by revelation.

8 [a] Ἐνεργήσας, "working in," may be underſtood here to ſignify, both the operation of the Spirit upon the mind of St. Peter and St. Paul, in ſending them, the one to the Jews, the other to the Gentiles: and alſo the Holy Ghoſt beſtowed on them, whereby they were enabled to do miracles for the confirmation of their doctrine. In neither of which St. Paul, as he ſhews, was inferior, and ſo had as authentick a ſeal of his miſſion and doctrine.

9 [b] Καὶ, "and," copulates γνόντες, "knowing," in this verſe, with ἰδόντες, "ſeeing," ver. 7. and makes both of them to agree with the nominative caſe to the verb ἔδωκαν, "gave," which is no other but James, Cephas, and John, and ſo juſtifies my transferring thoſe names to ver. 7. for the more eaſy conſtruction and underſtanding of the text, though St. Paul defers the naming of them, 'till he is, as it were againſt his will, forced to it, before the end of his diſcourſe.

[c] The giving "the right hand," was a ſymbol amongſt the Jews, as well as other nations, of accord, and admitting men into fellowſhip.

11 [d] "I oppoſed him." From this oppoſition to St. Peter, which they ſuppoſe to be, before the council at Jeruſalem, ſome would have it, that this epiſtle to the Galatians was writ before that council; as if what was done before the council, could not be mentioned in a letter writ after the council. They alſo contend, that this journey mentioned here by St. Paul, was not that wherein he and Barnabas went up to that council to Jeruſalem; but that mention'd Acts xi. 30. but this, with as little ground as the former. The ſtrongeſt reaſon they bring, is, that if this journey had been to the council, and this letter after that council, St. Paul would not certainly have omitted to have mentioned to the Galatians that decree. To which I anſwer, 1. The mention of it was ſuperfluous; for they had it already, ſee Acts xvi. 4. 2. The mention of it was impertinent to the deſign of St. Paul's narrative here. For it is plain, that his aim, in what he relates here of himſelf, and his paſt actions, is to ſhew, that having received the goſpel from Chriſt by immediate revelation, he had all along preached that, and nothing but that, every where; ſo that he could not be ſuppoſed to have preached circumciſion, or by his carriage, to have ſhewn any ſubjection to the law; all the whole narrative following, being to make good what he ſays, ch. i. 11. "That the goſpel, which he preached, was not accommodated to the humouring of men; nor "did he ſeek to pleaſe the Jews (who were the men here meant) in what he taught." Taking this to be his aim, we ſhall find the whole account he gives of himſelf, from that ver. 11. of ch. i. to the end of this ſecond, to be very clear and eaſy, and very proper to invalidate the report of his preaching circumciſion.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. II. the ſtream, and diſſembled as they did. But when
14. I ſaw they conformed not their conduct to the truth
[a] of the goſpel, I ſaid unto Peter before them all;
If thou, being a Jew, takeſt the liberty ſometimes
to live after the manner of the Gentiles, not keeping
to thoſe rules which the Jews obſerve, why doſt
thou conſtrain the Gentiles to conform themſelves
15. to the rites and manner of living of the Jews? We,
who are by [b] nature Jews, born under the inſtruction
and guidance of the law, God's peculiar people,
and not of the unclean and profligate race of the
16. Gentiles, abandoned to ſin and death, Knowing that
a man cannot be juſtified by the deeds of the law,
but ſolely by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, even we have put
ourſelves upon believing on him, and embraced the
profeſſion of the goſpel, for the attainment of juſtification
by faith, in Chriſt, and not by the works of
17. the law: But if we ſeek to be juſtified in Chriſt,
even we ourſelves alſo are found unjuſtified ſinners
[c] (for ſuch are all thoſe who are under the law,
which admits of no remiſſion nor juſtification:) is
Chriſt, therefore, the miniſter of ſin? Is the diſpenſation
by him, a diſpenſation of ſin, and not of
righteouſneſs? Did he come into the world, that
thoſe, who believe in him, ſhould ſtill remain ſinners,
i. e. under the guilt of their ſins, without the
18. benefit of juſtification? By no means. And yet
certain it is, if I [d], who quitted the law, to put
myſelf under the goſpel, put myſelf again under the
law, I make myſelf a tranſgreſſor; I re-aſſume again
the guilt of all my tranſgreſſions; which, by the
terms of that covenant of works, I cannot be juſtified
19. from. For, by the [e] tenor of the law itſelf, I,
by

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14 But when I ſaw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the goſpel, I ſaid unto Peter, before them all, If thou, being a Jew, liveſt after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compelleſt thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?

15 We who are Jews by nature, and not ſinners of the Gentiles,

16 Knowing that a man is not juſtified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, even we have believed in Jeſus Chriſt, that we might be juſtified by the faith of Chriſt, and not by the works of the law: for by the works of the law ſhall no fleſh be juſtified.

17 But if, while we ſeek to be juſtified by Chriſt, we ourſelves alſo are found ſinners, is therefore Chriſt the miniſter of ſin? God forbid.

18 For if I build again the things which I deſtroyed, I make myſelf a tranſgreſſor.

19 For I, through the law, am dead to the law, that I might live unto God.

NOTES.

14 [a] Ἀλήθεια τῦ ἐυαγγελίυ, "The truth of the goſpel," is put here for that freedom from the law of Moſes, which was a part of the true doctrine of the goſpel. For it was in nothing elſe, but their undue and timorous obſerving ſome of the Moſaical rites, that St. Paul here blames St. Peter, and the other judaizing converts at Antioch. In this ſenſe he uſes the word "truth," all along through this epiſtle, as ch. ii. 5, 14. and iii. 1. and v. 7. inſiſting on it, that this doctrine of freedom from the law, was the true goſpel.

15 [b] Φύσει Ἰυδαῖοι, "Jews by nature." What the Jews thought of themſelves in contradiſtinction to the Gentiles, ſee Rom. ii. 17, 23.

17 [c] "Sinners." Thoſe who are under the law, having once tranſgreſſed, remain always ſinners unalterably ſo, in the eye of the law, which excludes all from juſtification. The apoſtle, in this place, argues thus: "We Jews, who are by birth God's holy people, and not as the profligate "Gentiles, abandoned to all manner of pollution and uncleanneſs, not being nevertheleſs able to "attain righteouſneſs by the deeds of the law, have believed in Chriſt, that we might be juſtified "by faith in him. But if even we, who have betaken ourſelves to Chriſt for juſtification, are "ourſelves found to be unjuſtified ſinners, liable ſtill to wrath, as alſo under the law, to which "we ſubject ourſelves; what deliverance have we from ſin by Chriſt? None at all: we are as "much concluded under ſin and guilt, as if we did not believe in him. So that by joining him "and the law together for juſtification, we ſhut ourſelves out from juſtification, which cannot "be had under the law, and make Chriſt the miniſter of ſin, and not of juſtification, which God "forbid."

18 [d] Whether this be a part of what St. Paul ſaid to St. Peter, or whether it be addreſſed to the Galatians, St. Paul, by ſpeaking in his own name, plainly declares, that if he ſets up the law again, he muſt neceſſarily be an offender; whereby he ſtrongly inſinuates to the Galatians, that he was no promoter of circumciſion, eſpecially when what he ſays, chap. v. 2—4. is added to it.

19 [e] "By the tenor of the law itſelf." See Rom. iii. 21. Gal. iii. 24, 25. and iv. 21, &c.

TEXT.

20 I am crucified with Chriſt: nevertheleſs I live; yet not I, but Chriſt liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the fleſh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himſelf for me.

21 I do not fruſtrate the grace of God; for if righteouſneſs come by the law, then Chriſt is dead in vain.

PARAPHRASE.

by faith in Chriſt, am diſcharged [a] from the law,
that I might be appropriated [b] to God, and live acceptably to him in his kingdom, which he has now
ſet up under his Son. I, a member of Chriſt's bo- 20.
dy, am crucified [c] with him; but tho' I am thereby
dead to the law, I nevertheleſs live; yet not I, but
Chriſt liveth in me, i. e. the life, which I now live in
the fleſh, is upon no other principle, nor under any
other law, but that of faith in the Son of God [d],
who loved me, and gave himſelf for me. And in 21.
ſo doing, I avoid fruſtrating the grace of God, I accept of the grace [e] and forgiveneſs of God, as it is
offered through faith in Chriſt, in the goſpel: but if
I ſubject myſelf to the law, as ſtill in force under
the goſpel, I do in effect fruſtrate grace. For if
righteouſneſs be to be had by the law, then Chriſt
died to no purpoſe, there was no need of it [f].

NOTES.

[a] Being diſcharged from the law, St. Paul expreſſes by "dead to the law;" compare Rom. vi. 14. with vii. 4.

[b] "Live to God." What St. Paul ſays here, ſeems to imply, that living under the law, was to live not acceptably to God; a ſtrange doctrine certainly to the Jews, and yet it was true now, under the goſpel. For, God having put his kingdom in this world wholly under his Son, when he raiſed him from the dead, all who, after that, would be his people in his kingdom, were to live by no other law, but the goſpel, which was now the law of his kingdom. And hence we ſee God caſt off the Jews; becauſe ſticking to their old conſtitution, they would not have this man reign over them: ſo that what St. Paul ſays here, is in effect this: "By believing in Chriſt, "I am diſcharged from the Moſaical law, that I may wholly conform myſelf to the rule of the "goſpel, which is now the law, which muſt be owned and obſerved by all thoſe, who, as God's "people, will live acceptably to him." This, I think, is viſibly his meaning, though the accuſtoming himſelf to antitheſes, may poſſibly be the reaſon why, after having ſaid, "I am dead "to the law," he expreſſes his putting himſelf under the goſpel, by living to God.

20 [c] "Crucified with Chriſt;" ſee this explained, Rom. vii. 4. and vi. 2—14.

[d] i. e. The whole management of myſelf is conformable to the doctrine of the goſpel, of juſtification in Chriſt alone, and not by the deeds of the law. This, and the former verſe, ſeems to be ſpoken in oppoſition to St. Peter's owning a ſubjection to the law of Moſes, by his walking, mentioned, ver. 14.

21 [e] "Grace of God;" ſee chap. i. 6, 7. to which this ſeems here oppoſed.

[f] "In vain;" read this explained in St. Paul's own words, chap. v. 3—6.

SECT. III.

CHAP. III. 1—5.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. III.

BY the account St. Paul has given of himſelf, in the foregoing ſection, the Galatians being furniſhed with evidence, ſufficient to clear him, in their minds, from the report of his preaching circumciſion, he comes now, the way being thus opened, directly to oppoſe their being circumciſed, and ſubjecting themſelves to the law. The firſt argument he uſes, is, that they received the Holy Ghoſt, and the gifts of miracles, by the goſpel, and not by the law.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.
Chap. III.

PARAPHRASE.

1. O Ye fooliſh Galatians, who hath caſt a miſt be-
fore your eyes, that you ſhould not keep to the
truth [a] of the goſpel, you, to whom the ſufferings
and death of Chriſt [b] upon the croſs, hath been by
me ſo lively repreſented, as if it had been actually
2. done in your ſight? This one thing I deſire to know
of you: Did you receive the miraculous gifts of the
Spirit, by the works of the law, or by the goſpel
3. preached to you? Have you ſo little underſtanding,
that, having begun in the reception of the ſpiritual
doctrine of the goſpel, you hope to be advanced to
higher degrees of perfection, and to be completed
4. by the law [c]? Have you ſuffered ſo many things in
vain, if at leaſt you will render it in vain, by falling
off from the profeſſion of the pure and uncorrupted
doctrine of the goſpel, and apoſtatizing to Judaiſm?
5. The gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, that have been conferred
upon you, have they not been conferred on you
as Chriſtians, profeſſing faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and
not as obſervers of the law? And hath not he [d],
who hath conveyed theſe gifts to you, and done
miracles amongſt you, done it as a preacher and
profeſſor of the goſpel, the Jews, who ſtick in the
law of Moſes, being not able, by virtue of that, to
do any ſuch thing?

TEXT.

O Fooliſh Galatians, who 1
hath bewitched you,
that you ſhould not obey the
truth, before whoſe eyes Jeſus
Chriſt hath been evidently ſet
forth, crucified among you?

This only would I learn 2
of you: Received ye the
Spirit by the works of the
law, or by the hearing of
faith?

Are ye ſo fooliſh? Having 3
begun in the Spirit, are ye
now made perfect by the
fleſh?

Have ye ſuffered ſo many 4
things in vain? if it be yet in
vain.

He, therefore, that mini- 5
ſtreth to you the Spirit, and
worketh miracles among you,
doth he it by the works of
the law, or by the hearing of
faith?

NOTES.

1 [a] “Obey the truth,” i. e. ſtand faſt in the liberty of the goſpel; truth being uſed in this epiſtle, as we have already noted, chap. ii. 14. for the doctrine of being free from the law, which St. Paul had delivered to them. The reaſon whereof he gives, chap. v. 3—5.

[b] St. Paul mentions nothing to them here but Chriſt crucified, as knowing that, when formerly he had preached Chriſt crucified to them, he had ſhewn them, that, by Chriſt's death on the croſs, believers were ſet free from the law, and the covenant of works was removed, to make way for that of grace. This we may find him inculcating to his other Gentile converts. See Eph. ii. 15, 16. Col. ii. 14, 20. And accordingly he tells the Galatians, chap. v. 2, 4. that if, by circumciſion, they put themſelves under the law, they were fallen from grace, and Chriſt ſhould profit them nothing at all: things, which they are ſuppoſed to underſtand, at his writing to them.

3 [c] It is a way of writing very familiar to St. Paul, in oppoſing the law and the goſpel, to call the law Fleſh, and the goſpel Spirit. The reaſon whereof is very plain to any one converſant in his epiſtles.

5 [d] “He.” The perſon meant here by ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν, “he that miniſtreth,” and chap. i. 6. by ὁ καλέσας, “he that called,” is plainly St. Paul himſelf, though, out of modeſty, he declines naming himſelf.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. III. 6—17.

CONTENTS.

HIS next argument againſt circumciſion, and ſubjection to the law, is, that the children of Abraham, intitled to the inheritance and bleſſing promiſed to Abraham and his ſeed, are ſo by faith, and not by being under the law, which brings a curſe upon thoſe, who are under it.

TEXT.

1

TEXT.

6 Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteouſneſs:

7 Know ye, therefore, that they, which are of faith, the ſame are the children of Abraham.

8 And the ſcripture, foreſeeing that God would juſtify the heathen through faith, preached before the goſpel unto Abraham, ſaying, “In “thee ſhall all nations be “bleſſed.”

9 So then, they which be of faith, are bleſſed with faithful Abraham.

10 For as many as are of the works of the law, are under the curſe; for it is written, “Curſed is every one that “continueth not in all things, “which are written in the “book of the law, to do “them.”

11 But that no man is juſtified by the law, in the ſight of God, it is evident: for, “the “juſt ſhall live by faith.”

12 And the law is not of faith: but, “The man that doth “them, ſhall live in them.”

13 Chriſt hath redeemed us from the curſe of the law, being made a curſe for us; for it is written, “Curſed is every “one that hangeth on a tree.”

14 That the bleſſing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jeſus Chriſt; that we might receive the promiſe of the Spirit through faith.

15 Brethren, I ſpeak after the manner of men; though it be

PARAPHRASE.

BUT to proceed: As Abraham believed in God, 6.
and it was accounted to him for righteouſneſs;
So know ye, that thoſe who are of faith, i. e. who 7.
rely upon God, and his promiſes of grace, and not
upon their own performances, they are the children
of Abraham, who ſhall inherit, and this is plain in the
ſcripture: For it being in the purpoſe of God, to 8.
juſtify the Gentiles by faith, he gave Abraham
a fore-knowledge of the goſpel in theſe words:
“[a] In thee all the nations of the earth ſhall be bleſ-
“ſed.” So that they, who are of [b] faith, are bleſſed 9.
with Abraham, who believed. But as many as are 10.
of the works of the law, are under the [c] curſe: for
it is written [d], “Curſed is every one, who remain-
“eth not in all things, which are written in the
“book of the law, to do them.” But that no man 11.
is juſtified by the law, in the ſight of God, is evi-
dent; “for the juſt ſhall live by faith [e].” But the 12.
law ſays not ſo, the law gives not life to thoſe who
believe [f]: but the rule of the law is, “He that
“doth them, ſhall live in them [g].” Chriſt hath 13.
redeemed us from the curſe of the law, being made
a curſe for us; for it is written [h], “Curſed is every
“one that hangeth on a tree:” That the bleſſing [i], 14.
promiſed to Abraham, might come on the Gentiles,
through Jeſus Chriſt; that we who are Chriſtians
might, believing, receive the Spirit that was pro-
miſed [k]. Brethren, this is a known and allowed rule 15.
in human affairs, that a promiſe, or compact, though
it be barely a man’s covenant, yet if it be once rati-
fied, ſo it muſt ſtand, no body can render it void,
or

NOTES.

8 [a] Gen. xii. 3.

9, 10 [b] “Of faith,” and “of the works of the law;” ſpoken of two races of men, the one as the genuine poſterity of Abraham, heirs of the promiſe, the other not.

[c] “Bleſſed,” and “under the curſe.” Here again there is another diviſion, viz. into the bleſſed, and thoſe under the curſe, whereby is meant ſuch as are in a ſtate of life, or acceptance with God; or ſuch as are expoſed to his wrath, and to death, ſee Deut. xxx. 19.

10 [d] “Written,” Deut. xxvii. 26.

11 [e] Hab. ii. 4.

12 [f] See Acts xiii. 39.

[g] Lev. xviii. 5.

13 [h] Deut. xxi. 23.

14 [i] “Bleſſing:” “That bleſſing,” ver. 8, 9, 14. “Juſtification,” ver. 11. “Righteouſneſs,” ver. 21. “Life,” ver. 11, 12, 21. “Inheritance,” ver. 18. “Being the children of God,” ver. 26. are in effect all the ſame, on the one ſide: And the “curſe,” ver. 13. the direct contrary, on the other ſide; ſo plain is St. Paul’s diſcourſe here, that no body, who reads it with the leaſt attention, will be in any doubt about it.

[k] “Promiſed.” St. Paul’s argument, to convince the Galatians, that they ought not to be circumciſed, or ſubmit to the law, from their having received the Spirit from him, upon their having received the goſpel, which he preached to them, ver. 2 and 5. ſtands thus: The bleſſing promiſed to Abraham, and to his ſeed, was wholly upon the account of faith, ver. 7. There were not different ſeeds, who ſhould inherit the promiſe; the one by the works of the law, and the other by faith. For there was but “one ſeed, which was Chriſt,” ver. 16. and thoſe who ſhould claim in, and under him, by faith. Among thoſe there was no diſtinction of Jew and Gentile. They, and they only, who believed, were all one and the ſame true ſeed of Abraham, and “heirs according to the promiſe,” ver. 28, 29. And therefore the promiſe, made to the people of God, of giving them the Spirit under the goſpel, was performed only to thoſe who

PARAPHRASE.

16. or make any alteration in it. Now to Abraham and his ſeed were the promiſes made. God doth not ſay, "and to ſeeds [a];" as if he ſpoke of more ſeeds than one, that were entitled to the promiſe upon different accounts; but only of one ſort of men, who, upon one ſole account, were that ſeed of Abraham, which was alone meant and concerned in the promiſe; ſo that "unto thy ſeed [b]," deſigned Chriſt, and his myſtical body [c], i. e. thoſe,
17. that become members of him by faith. This, therefore, I ſay, that the law, which was not 'till 430 years after, cannot diſannul the covenant that was long before made, and ratified to Chriſt, by God, ſo as to ſet aſide the promiſe. For if the right to the inheritance be from the works of the law, it is plain that it is not founded in the promiſe to Abraham, as certainly it is. For the inheritance was a donation and free gift of God, ſettled on Abraham, and his ſeed, by promiſe.

TEXT.

but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man diſannulleth, or addeth thereto.

Now to Abraham and his ſeed were the promiſes made. He ſaith not, "and to ſeeds," as of many; but as of one, "and to thy ſeed," which is Chriſt. 16

And this I ſay, that the covenant that was confirmed before of God in Chriſt, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot diſannul, that it ſhould make the promiſe of none effect. 17

NOTES.

who believed in Chriſt: a clear evidence, that it was not by putting themſelves under the law, but by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, that "they were the people of God, and heirs of the promiſe."

16 [a] "And to ſeeds:" By ſeeds, St. Paul here viſibly means the οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, "thoſe of faith;" and the οἱ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, "thoſe of the works of the law," ſpoken of above, ver. 9, 10. as two diſtinct ſeeds, or deſcendants claiming from Abraham,

[b] "And to thy ſeed;" See Gen. xii. 7: repeated again in the following chapters.

[c] "Myſtical body;" ſee ver. 27.

SECT. V.

CHAP. III. 18—25.

CONTENTS.

IN anſwer to this objection, "To what, then, ſerveth the law?" He ſhews that the law was not contrary to the promiſe: but ſince all men were guilty of tranſgreſſion, ver. 22. the law was added, to ſhew the Iſraelites the fruit and inevitable conſequence of their ſin, and thereby the neceſſity of betaking themſelves to Chriſt: but, as ſoon as men have received Chriſt, they have attained the end of the law, and ſo are no longer under it. This is a further argument againſt circumciſion.

PARAPHRASE.

18. If the bleſſing and inheritance be ſettled on Abraham and believers, as a free gift by promiſe, and
19. was not to be obtained by the deeds of the law; To what purpoſe, then, was the law? It was added, becauſe the Iſraelites, the poſterity of Abraham, were tranſgreſſors [a], as well as other men, to ſhew them their

TEXT.

For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promiſe: but God gave it to Abraham by promiſe. 18

Wherefore, then, ſerveth the law? It was added becauſe of tranſgreſſions, 'till the ſeed ſhould come, to whom the 19

NOTE.

19 [a] That this is the meaning of, "becauſe of tranſgreſſions," the following part of this ſection ſhews, wherein St. Paul argues to this purpoſe: The Jews were ſinners, as well as other men, ver. 22. The law denouncing death to all ſinners, could ſave none, ver. 21. but was thereby uſeful to bring men to Chriſt, that they might be juſtified by faith, ver. 24. See ch. ii. 15, 16.

TEXT.

promiſe was made; and it was ordained by angels, in the hand of a mediator.

20 Now a mediator is not a mediator of one; but God is one.

21 Is the law, then, againſt the promiſes of God? God forbid! for if there had been a law given, which could have given life, verily righteouſneſs ſhould have been by the law.

22 But the ſcripture hath concluded all under ſin, that the promiſe, by faith of Jeſus Chriſt, might be given to them that believe.

PARAPHRASE.

their ſins, and the puniſhment and death they incurred by them, 'till Chriſt ſhould come, who was the
ſeed, into whom both Jews and Gentiles, ingrafted
by believing, become the people of God, and children of Abraham, that ſeed to which the promiſe
was made. And the law was ordained by angels, in
the hand of a mediator [a], whereby it is manifeſt,
that the law could not diſannul the promiſe; Becauſe 20
a mediator is a mediator between two parties concerned, but God is but one [b] of thoſe concerned in
the promiſe. If, then, the promiſed inheritance come 21
not to the ſeed of Abraham, by the law, is the law
oppoſite, by the curſe it denounces againſt tranſgreſſors, to the promiſes that God made of the bleſſing to Abraham; No, by no means! For if there
had been a law given, which could have put us in a
ſtate of life [c], certainly righteouſneſs ſhould have
been by law [d]. But we find the quite contrary by 22
the ſcripture, which makes no diſtinction betwixt
Jew and Gentile, in this reſpect, but has ſhut up
together all mankind [e], Jews and Gentiles, under ſin [f]
and

NOTES.

[a] Mediator. See Deut. v. 5. Lev. xxvi. 46. Where it is ſaid, the law was made between God and the children of Iſrael, by the hand of Moſes.

20 [b] But God is one: To underſtand this verſe, we muſt carry in our minds what St. Paul is here doing, and that from ver. 17. is manifeſt, that he is proving that the law could not diſannul the promiſe; and he does it upon this known rule, that a covenant, or promiſe, once ratified, cannot be altered, or diſannulled, by any other, but by both the parties concerned. Now, ſays he, God is but one of the parties concerned in the promiſe; the Gentiles and Iſraelites together made up the other, ver. 14. But Moſes, at the giving of the Law, was a mediator only between the Iſraelites and God; and, therefore, could not tranſact any thing to the diſannulling the promiſe, which was between God, and the Iſraelites and Gentiles together, becauſe God was but one of the parties to that covenant; the other, which was the Gentiles, as well as Iſraelites, Moſes appeared, or tranſacted, not for. And ſo what was done at mount Sinai, by the mediation of Moſes, could not affect a covenant made between parties, whereof one only was there. How neceſſary it was for St. Paul to add this, we ſhall ſee, if we conſider, that without it, his argument of 430 years diſtance would have been deficient, and hardly concluſive. For if both the parties concerned in the promiſe, had tranſacted by Moſes the mediator, (as they might, if none but the nation of the Iſraelites had been concerned in the promiſe made by God to Abraham) they might, by mutual conſent, have altered, or ſet aſide, the former promiſe, as well four hundred years, as four days after. That which hindered it, was, that at Moſes's mediation, at mount Sinai, God, who was but one of the parties to the promiſe, was preſent: but the other party, Abraham's ſeed, conſiſting of Iſraelites and Gentiles together, was not there; Moſes tranſacted for the nation of the Iſraelites alone: the other nations were not concerned in the covenant made at mount Sinai, as they were in the promiſe made to Abraham and his ſeed; which, therefore, could not be diſannulled without their conſent. For that both the promiſe to Abraham and his ſeed, and the covenant with Iſrael at mount Sinai, was national, is in itſelf evident.

21 [c] Ζωοποιῆσαι, "Put into a ſtate of life." The Greek word ſignifies, to make alive. St. Paul conſiders all men here, as in a mortal ſtate; and to be put out of that mortal ſtate, into a ſtate of life, he calls, being made alive. This, he ſays, the law could not do, becauſe it could not confer righteouſneſs.

[d] Ἐκ νόμου, by law, i. e. by works, or obedience to that law, which tended towards righteouſneſs, as well as the promiſe, but was not able to reach, or confer, it. See Rom. viii. 3. i. e. frail men were not able to attain righteouſneſs by an exact conformity of their actions to the law of righteouſneſs.

22 [e] Τὰ πάντα, All, is uſed here for all men. The apoſtle, Rom. iii. 9. and 19. expreſſes the ſame thing by πάντας, all men; and, πᾶς ὁ κόσμος, all the world. But ſpeaking in the text here of the Jews, in particular, he ſays, We, meaning thoſe of his own nation, as is evident from ver, 24, 25.

[f] Under ſin, i. e. rank them all together, as one guilty race of ſinners: ſee this proved, Rom. iii. 9. i. 18, &c. To the ſame purpoſe of putting both Jews and Gentiles into one ſtate, St. Paul uſes συνέκλεισε πάντας, "hath ſhut them up all together," Rom. xi. 32.

PARAPHRASE.

and guilt, that the bleſſing[a] which was promiſed, to
that which is Abraham's true and intended ſeed, by
faith in Chriſt, might be given to thoſe who believe.
23. But, before Chriſt, and the doctrine of juſtification
by faith[b] in him, came, we Jews were ſhut up as a
company of priſoners together, under the cuſtody
and inflexible rigor of the law, unto the coming of
the Meſſiah, when the doctrine of juſtification by
24. faith[c] in him ſhould be revealed. So that the law,
by its ſeverity, ſerved as a ſchool-maſter to bring us
25. to Chriſt, that we might be juſtified by faith. But
Chriſt being come, and with him the doctrine of juſtification by faith, we are ſet free from this ſchool-maſter, there is no longer need of him.

TEXT.

But before faith came, we 23
were kept under the law,
ſhut up unto the faith, which
ſhould afterwards be revealed.

Wherefore the law was our 24
ſchool-maſter, to bring us unto Chriſt, that we might be
juſtified by faith.

But, after that faith is come, 25
we are no longer under a
ſchool-maſter.

NOTES.

[a] The thing promiſed in this chapter, ſometimes called Bleſſing, ver. 9, 14. ſometimes Inheritance, ver. 18. ſometimes Juſtification, ver. 11, 24. ſometimes Righteouſneſs, ver. 21. and ſometimes Life, v. 11, 21.

23 [b] By faith, ſee ver. 14.

[c] Juſtification by faith, ſee ver. 24.

SECT. VI.

CHAP. III. 26—29.

CONTENTS.

As a further argument to diſſuade them from circumciſion, he tells the Galatians, that by faith in Chriſt, all, whether Jews or Gentiles, are made the children of God, and ſo they ſtood in no need of circumciſion.

PARAPHRASE.

26. For ye are[a] all the children of God, by faith in
27. Chriſt Jeſus. For, as many of you, as have been
28. baptized in Chriſt, have put on[b] Chriſt. There
is no diſtinction of Jew or Gentile, of bond or free,
of male or female. For ye are all one body, making up one perſon in Chriſt Jeſus. And if ye are
29. all one in Chriſt Jeſus[c], ye are the true ones, ſeed
of Abraham, and heirs according to the promiſe.

TEXT.

For ye are all the children 26
of God, by faith in Chriſt
Jeſus.

For as many of you, as 27
have been baptized into
Chriſt, have put on Chriſt.

There is neither Jew nor 28
Greek, there is neither bond
nor free, there is neither male
nor female: for ye are all one
in Chriſt Jeſus.

And if ye be Chriſt's, then 29
are ye Abraham's ſeed, and
heirs according to the promiſe.

NOTES.

26 [a] All, i. e. both Jews and Gentiles.

27 [b] Put on Chriſt. This, which, at firſt ſight, may ſeem a very bold metaphor, if we conſider what St. Paul has ſaid, ver. 16, and 26, is admirably adapted to expreſs his thoughts in few words, and has a great grace in it. He ſays, ver. 16, that "the ſeed, to which the promiſe was made, was but one, and that one was Chriſt. And ver. 36. he declares, that "by Faith in Chriſt, they all became the ſons of God." To lead them into an eaſy conception, how this is done, he here tells them, that, by taking on them the profeſſion of the goſpel, they have, as it were, put on Chriſt; ſo that to God, now looking on them, there appears nothing but Chriſt. They are, as it were, covered all over with him, as a man is with the cloaths he hath put on. And hence he ſays in the next verſe, that "they are all one in Chriſt Jeſus," as if there were but that one perſon.

29 [c] The Clermont copy reads εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, "And if ye are one in Chriſt Jeſus," more ſuitable, as it ſeems, to the apoſtle's argument. For ver. 28. he ſays, "They are all one

SECT. VII.

CHAP. IV. 1—11.

CONTENTS.

IN the firſt part of this ſection he further ſhews, that the law was not againſt the promiſe, in that the child is not diſinherited, by being under tutors. But the chief deſign of this ſection is to ſhew, that tho' both Jews and Gentiles were intended to be the children of God, and heirs of the promiſe by faith in Chriſt, yet they both of them were left in bondage, the Jews to the law, ver. 3. and the Gentiles to falſe Gods, ver. 8. 'till Chriſt in due time came to redeem them both; and, therefore, it was folly in the Galatians, being redeemed from one bondage, to go backwards, and put themſelves again in a ſtate of bondage, tho' under a new maſter.

TEXT.

1 NOW I ſay, that the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a ſervant, tho' he be lord of all:

2 But is under tutors and governors, until the time appointed of the father.

3 Even ſo we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world:

4 But when the fulneſs of the time was come, God ſent forth his Son made of a woman, made under the law;

5 To redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of ſons.

6 And, becauſe ye are ſons, God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.

PARAPHRASE.

NOW I ſay, that the heir, as long as he is a 1.
child, differeth nothing from a bondman[a],
tho' he be lord of all; But is under tutors and guar- 2.
dians, until the time prefixed by his father. So we 3.
[b] Jews, whilſt we were children, were in bondage
under the law[c]. But when the time appointed for 4.
the coming of the Meſſias was accompliſhed, God
ſent forth his Son, made of a woman, and ſubjected
to the law; That he might redeem thoſe who were 5.
under the law, and ſet them free from it, that we,
who believe, might be put out of the ſtate of bond-
men, into that of ſons. Into which ſtate of ſons, it 6.
is evident that you, Galatians, who were heretofore
Gentiles, are put; foraſmuch as God hath ſent forth
his Spirit[d] into your hearts, which inables you to
cry, Abba, Father. So that thou art no longer a 7.
bondman

NOTES.

one in Chriſt Jeſus;" from whence the inference in the following words, of the Clermont copy, is natural: "And if ye be one in Chriſt Jeſus, then are ye Abraham's ſeed, and heirs according to promiſe."

1 [a] Bondman; ſo δȣ̃λος ſignifies; and unleſs it be ſo tranſlated, ver. 7, 8. Bondage, ver. 3, 7. will ſcarce be underſtood by an Engliſh reader: but St. Paul's ſenſe will be loſt to one, who, by Servant, underſtands not one in a ſtate of bondage.

3 [b] We. 'Tis plain, St. Paul ſpeaks here in the name of the Jews, or Jewiſh church, which, though God's peculiar people, yet was to paſs its nonage (ſo St. Paul calls it) under the reſtraint and tutorage of the law, and not to receive the poſſeſſion of the promiſed inheritance, 'till Chriſt came.

[c] The law, he calls here ϛοιχεῖα τȣ̃ κόσμȣ, "Elements, or rudiments, of the world." Becauſe the obſervances and diſcipline of the law, which had reſtraint and bondage enough in it, led them not beyond the things of this world, into the poſſeſſion, or taſte, of their ſpiritual and heavenly inheritance.

6 [d] The ſame argument, of proving their ſonſhip from their having the Spirit, St. Paul uſes to the Romans, Rom. viii. 16. And he that will read 2 Cor. iv. 17——v. 6. and Eph. i. 11—14. will find, that the Spirit is looked on, as the ſeal and aſſurance of the inheritance of life, to thoſe "who have received the adoption of ſons," as St. Paul ſpeaks here, ver. 5. The force of the argument ſeems to lie in this, that as he, that has the ſpirit of a man in him, has an evidence that he is the ſon of a man, ſo he, that hath the Spirit of God, has thereby an aſſurance that he is the Son of God. Comformable hereunto, the opinion of the Jews was, that the Spirit of God was given to none but themſelves, they alone being the people or children, of God; for God calls the people of Iſrael his ſons, Exod. iv. 22, 23. And hence we ſee, that when, to the aſtoniſhment of the Jews, the Spirit was given to the Gentiles, the Jews no longer doubted that the inheritance of eternal life was alſo conferred on the Gentiles. Compare Acts x. 44—48. with Acts xi. 15—18.

PARAPHRASE.

bondman, but a ſon: and if a ſon, then an heir [a] of
8. God, or of the promiſe of God through Chriſt. But
then, i. e. before ye were made the ſons of God, by
faith in Chriſt, now under the goſpel, ye, not know-
9. ing God, were in bondage to thoſe, who were in
truth no gods. But now, that ye know God, yea
rather, that ye are known [b] and taken into favour by
him, how can it be that you, who have been put out
of a ſtate of bondage, into the freedom of ſons,
ſhould go backwards, and be willing to put your-
ſelves under the [c] weak and beggarly elements [d] of
10. the world, into a ſtate of bondage again? Ye ob-
ſerve days, and months, and times, and years, in
11. compliance with the Moſaical inſtitution. I begin
to be afraid of you, and to be in doubt, whether
all the pains I have taken about you, to ſet you at
liberty, in the freedom of the goſpel, will not prove
loſt labour.

TEXT.

Wherefore thou art no more a ſervant, but a ſon; and if a ſon, then an heir of God, through Chriſt. 7

Howbeit, then, when ye knew not God, ye did ſervice unto them, which by nature are no gods. 8

But now, after that ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye deſire again to be in bondage? 9

Ye obſerve days and months, and times, and years. 10

I am afraid of you, leſt I have beſtowed upon you labour in vain. 11

NOTES.

7 [a] St. Paul, from the Galatians having received the Spirit, (as appears chap. iii. 2.) argues, that they are the ſons of God, without the law; and conſequently heirs of the promiſe, without the law; for, ſays he, ver. 1—6, the Jews themſelves were fain to be redeemed from the bondage of the law, by Jeſus Chriſt, that, as ſons, they might attain to the inheritance. But you, Galatians, ſays he, have, by the Spirit, that is given you, by the miniſtry of the goſpel, an evidence that God is your Father; and being ſons, are free from the bondage of the law, and heirs without it. The ſame ſort of reaſoning St. Paul uſes to the Romans, ch. viii. 14—17.

9. [b] Known. It has been before obſerved, how apt St. Paul is to repeat his words, though ſomething varied in their ſignification. We have here another inſtance of it: having ſaid, "Ye have known God," he ſubjoins, "or rather are known of him," in the Hebrew latitude of the word, Known, in which language, it ſometimes ſignifies knowing, with choice and approbation. See Amos iii. 2. 1 Cor. viii. 3.

[c] The law is here called weak, becauſe it was not able to deliver a man from bondage and death, into the glorious liberty of the ſons of God, Rom. viii. 1—3. And it is called beggarly, becauſe it kept men in the poor eſtate of pupils, from the full poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the inheritance, ver. 1—3.

[d] The apoſtle makes it matter of aſtoniſhment, how they, who had been in bondage to falſe gods, having been once ſet free, could endure the thoughts of parting with their liberty, and of returning into any ſort of bondage again, even under the mean and beggarly rudiments of the Moſaical inſtitution, which was not able to make them ſons, and inſtal them in the inheritance. For St. Paul, ver. 7. expreſly oppoſes bondage to ſonſhip; ſo that all, who are not in the ſtate of ſons, are in the ſtate of bondage. Πάλιν, again, cannot here refer to στοιχεῖα, elements, which the Galatians had never been under hitherto, but to bondage, which he tells them, ver. 8. they had been in to falſe gods.

SECT. VIII.

CHAP. IV. 12—20.

CONTENTS.

HE preſſes them with the remembrance of the great kindneſs they had for him, when he was amongſt them, and aſſures them that they have no reaſon to be alienated from him, though that be it, which the judaizing ſeducers aim it.

PARAPHRASE.

12. I beſeech you, brethren, let you and I be as if we
were all one. Think yourſelves to be very me;' as I,
in my own mind, put no difference at all between
you

TEXT.

Brethren, I beſeech you, be as I am; for I am as ye are: ye have not injured me at all. 12

TEXT.

13 Ye know how, through infirmity of the fleſh, I preached the goſpel unto you at the firſt.

14 And my temptation, which was in my fleſh, ye deſpiſed not, nor rejected; but received me, as an angel of God, even as Chriſt Jeſus.

15 Where is then the bleſſedneſs you ſpake of; for I bear you record, that if it had been poſſible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me.

16 Am I therefore become your enemy, becauſe I tell you the truth?

17 They zealouſly affect you, but not well; yea, they would exclude me, that you might affect them.

18 But it is good to be zealouſly affected always in a good thing, and not only when I am preſent with you.

19 My little children, of whom I travel in birth again, until Chriſt be formed in you;

20 I deſire to be preſent with you now, and to change my voice; for I ſtand in doubt of you.

PARAPHRASE.

you and myſelf; you have done me no manner of
injury: On the contrary, ye know, that through 13.
infirmity of the fleſh, I heretofore preached the goſpel to you. And yet ye deſpiſed me not, for the 14.
trial I underwent in the fleſh [a], you treated me not
with contempt and ſcorn: but you received me, as
an angel of God, yea, as Jeſus Chriſt himſelf. What 15.
benedictions [b] did you then pour out upon me? For
I bear you witneſs, had it been practicable, you would
have pulled out your very eyes, and given them me.
But is it ſo, that I am become your enemy [c] in con- 16.
tinuing to tell you the truth? They, who would 17.
make you of that mind, ſhew a warmth of affection to you; but it is not well: for their buſineſs is
to exclude me, that they may get into your affection.
It is good to be well and warmly affected towards a 18.
good man [d], at all times, and not barely when I am
preſent with you. My little children, for whom 19.
I have again the pains of a woman in child-birth,
'till Chriſt be formed in you [e], i. e. till the true
doctrine of chriſtianity be ſettled in your minds. But 20.
I would willingly be this very moment with you,
and change [f] my diſcourſe, as I ſhould find occaſion;
for I am at a ſtand about you, and know not what
to think of you.

SECT.

NOTES.

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14 [a] What this weakneſs, and trial in the fleſh, was, ſince it has not pleaſed the apoſtle to mention it, is impoſſible for us to know: but may be remarked here, as an inſtance, once for all, of that unavoidable obſcurity of ſome paſſages, in epiſtolary writings, without any fault in the author. For ſome things, neceſſary to the underſtanding of what is writ, are uſually of courſe, and juſtly omitted, becauſe already known to him the letter is writ to, and it would be ſometimes ungraceful, oftentimes ſuperfluous, particularly to mention them.

15 [b] The context makes this ſenſe of the words ſo neceſſary and viſible, that 'tis to be wondered how any one could overlook it.

16 [c] Your enemy. See chap. i. 6.

18 [d] That by καλῷ here, he means a perſon and himſelf, the ſcope of the context evinces. In the ſix preceding verſes he ſpeaks only of himſelf, and the change of their affection to him, ſince he left them. There is no other thing mentioned, as peculiarly deſerving their affection, to which the rule given in this verſe could refer. He had ſaid, ver. 17. ζηλῦσιν ὑμᾶς, "they affect you;" and ἵνα αὐτὺς ζηλῦτε, "that you might affect them;" this is only of perſons, and therefore ζηλῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ, which immediately follows, may be beſt underſtood of a perſon; elſe the following part of the verſe, tho' joined by the copulative καὶ, and, will make but a disjointed ſenſe with the preceding. But there can be nothing plainer, nor more coherent than this, which ſeems to be St. Paul's ſenſe here: "You were very affectionate to me, when I was with you. You are ſince "eſtranged from me; it is the artifice of the ſeducers, that have cooled you to me. But if I "am the good man, you took me to be, you will do well to continue the warmth of your af"fection to me, when I am abſent, and not to be well affected towards me, only when I am "preſent among you." Though this be his meaning, yet the way he has taken to expreſs it, is much more elegant, modeſt and graceful. Let any one read the original, and ſee whether it be not ſo.

19 [e] If this verſe be taken for an intire ſentence by itſelf, it will be a parentheſis, and that not the moſt neceſſary, or congruous, that is to be found in St. Paul's epiſtles; or δὲ, but, muſt be left out, as we ſee it is in our tranſlation. But if τεκνία μου, "my little children," be joined, by appoſition, to ὑμᾶς, you, the laſt word of the foregoing verſe, and ſo the two verſes 18, and 19, be read as one ſentence, ver. 20. with δὲ, but, in it, follows very naturally. But, as we now read it in our Engliſh bible, δὲ, but, is forced to be left out, and ver. 20. ſtands alone by itſelf, without any connexion with what goes before, or follows.

20 [f] Αλλαξαι φωνὴν, "to change the voice," ſeems to ſignify the ſpeaking higher, or lower; changing the tone of the voice, ſuitably to the matter one delivers, v. g. whether it be advice, or commendation, or reproof, &c. For each of theſe have their diſtinct voices. St. Paul wiſhes himſelf with them, that he might accommodate himſelf to their preſent condition and circumſtances, which he confeſſes himſelf to be ignorant of, and in doubt about.

SECT. IX.

CHAP. IV. 21—V. 1.

CONTENTS.

He exhorts them to ſtand faſt in the liberty, with which Chriſt hath made them free, ſhewing thoſe, who are ſo zealous for the law, that, if they mind what they read in the law, they will there find, that the children of the promiſe, or of the new Jeruſalem, were to be free; but the children after the fleſh, of the earthly Jeruſalem, were to be in bondage, and to be caſt out, and not to have the inheritance.

PARAPHRASE.

21. Tell me, you that would ſo fain be under the
law, do you not acquaint yourſelves with what
is in the law, either by reading [a] it, or having it
read in your aſſemblies? For it is there written [b],
22. Abraham had two ſons, one by a bond-maid, the
23. other by a free-woman. But he that was of the
bond-woman, was born according to the fleſh, in
the ordinary courſe of nature; but he, that was of
the free-woman, Abraham had by virtue of the promiſe,
after he and his wife were paſt the hopes of
24. another child. Theſe things have an allegorical
meaning: for the two women are the two covenants,
the one of them delivered from mount Sinai, and is
repreſented by Agar, who produces her iſſue into
25. bondage. (For Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia, and
anſwers to Jeruſalem, that now is, and is in bondage
26. with her children) But the heavenly Jeruſalem,
which is above, and anſwers to Sarah, the mother
of the promiſed ſeed, is free, the mother of us all,
27. both Jews and Gentiles, who believe. For it was of
her, that it is written [c], "Rejoice, thou barren, that
"beareſt not; break out into loud acclamations of
"joy, thou that haſt not the travails of child-birth;
"for more are the children of the deſolate, than of
28. "her that hath an huſband." And 'tis we, my brethren,
who, as Iſaac was, are the children of pro-
29. miſe. But as then, Iſhmael, who was born in the
ordinary courſe of nature [d], perſecuted Iſaac, who
was born by an extraordinary power from heaven,
30. working miraculouſly; ſo is it now. But what ſaith
the ſcripture [e]? "Caſt out the bond-woman and her
"ſon: For the ſon of the bond-woman ſhall not
"ſhare the inheritance with the ſon of the free-
31. "woman." So then, brethren, we, who believe in
Chriſt, are not the children of the bond-woman, but
of

TEXT.

Tell me, ye that deſire to 21
be under the law, do ye not
hear the law?

For it is written, that Abra- 22
ham had two ſons; the one
by a bond-maid, the other by
a free-woman.

But he, who was of the 23
bond-woman, was born after
the fleſh: but he of the free-woman
was by promiſe.

Which things are an alle- 24
gory; for theſe are the two
covenants; the one from the
mount Sinai, which gendereth
to bondage, which is Agar.

For this Agar is mount 25
Sinai in Arabia, and anſwereth
to Jeruſalem, which now
is, and is in bondage with her
children.

But Jeruſalem which is 26
above, is free, which is the
mother of us all.

For it is written, Rejoice, 27
thou barren, that beareſt not;
break forth and cry, thou that
travaileſt not: for the deſolate
hath many more children,
than ſhe which hath an huſband.

Now we, brethren, as Iſaac 28
was, are the children of promiſe.

But as, then, he that was 29
born after the fleſh, perſecuted
him that was born after the
Spirit, even ſo it is now.

Nevertheleſs, what ſaith 30
the ſcripture? Caſt out the
bond-woman and her ſon: for
the ſon of the bond-woman
ſhall not be heir with the ſon
of the free-woman.

So then, brethren, we are 31

NOTES.

21 [a] The vulgar has, after ſome Greek manuſcripts, Read.

22 [b] Written there, viz. Gen. xvi. 15. and xxi. 1. The term, Law, in the foregoing verſe, comprehends the five books of Moſes.

27 [c] Written, viz. Iſaiah liv. 1.

29 [d] Ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς, born after the fleſh;" and τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα, born after the Spirit." Theſe expreſſions have, in their original brevity, with regard to the whole view, wherein St. Paul uſes them, an admirable beauty and force, which cannot be retained in a paraphraſe.

30 [e] Scripture, viz. Gen. xxi. 10.

An. Ch. 57.
NERONIS 3.

CHAP. V.
Ver. 1.

TEXT.

not children of the bond-woman, but of the free.

1 Stand faſt, therefore, in the liberty, wherewith Chriſt hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.

PARAPHRASE.

of the free [*]. Stand faſt, therefore, in the liberty, wherewith Chriſt hath made you free, and do not put on again a yoke of bondage, by putting yourſelves under the law.

NOTE.

31 [*] The apoſtle, by this allegorical hiſtory, ſhews the Galatians, that they, who are ſons of Agar, i. e. under the law given at mount Sinai, are in bondage, and intended to be caſt out, the inheritance being deſigned for thoſe only, who are the free-born ſons of God, under the ſpiritual covenant of the goſpel. And thereupon he exhorts them, in the following words, to preſerve themſelves in that ſtate of freedom.

SECT. X.

CHAP. V. 2—13.

CONTENTS.

It is evident from verſe 11. that the better to prevail with the Galatians to be circumciſed, it had been reported, that St. Paul himſelf preached up circumciſion. St. Paul, without taking expreſs notice of this calumny, chap. i. 6. and ii. 21. gives an account of his paſt life, in a large train of particulars, which all concur to make ſuch a character of him, as renders it very incredible, that he ſhould ever declare for the circumciſion of the Gentile converts, or for their ſubmiſſion to the law. Having thus prepared the minds of the Galatians, to give him a fair hearing, as a fair man, ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ, he goes on to argue againſt their ſubjecting themſelves to the law. And having eſtabliſhed their freedom from the law, by many ſtrong arguments, he comes here at laſt openly to take notice of the report had been raiſed of him, [that he preached circumciſion] and directly confutes it.

1. By poſitively denouncing to them, himſelf, very ſolemnly, that they, who ſuffered themſelves to be circumciſed, put themſelves into a perfect legal ſtate, out of the covenant of grace, and could receive no benefit by Jeſus Chriſt, ver. 2—4.
2. By aſſuring them, that he, and thoſe that followed him, expected juſtification only by faith, ver. 5, 6.
3. By telling them, that he had put them in the right way, and that this new perſuaſion came not from him, that converted them to chriſtianity, ver. 7, 8.
4. By inſinuating to them, that they ſhould agree to paſs judgment on him, that troubled them with this doctrine, ver. 9, 10.
5. By his being perſecuted, for oppoſing the circumciſion of the Chriſtians. For this was the great offence, which ſtuck with the Jews, even after their converſion, ver. 11.
6. By wiſhing thoſe cut off, that trouble them with this doctrine, ver. 12.

This will, I doubt not, by whoever weighs it, be found a very ſkilful management of the argumentative part of this epiſtle, which ends here. For, though he begins with ſapping the foundation, on which the judaizing ſeducers ſeemed to have laid their main ſtreſs, viz. the report of his preaching circumciſion; yet he reſerves the direct and open confutation of it to the end, and ſo leaves it with them, that it may have the more forcible and laſting impreſſion on their minds.

PARA-

An. Ch. 57.
NERONIS 3.
CHAP. V.

PARAPHRASE.

2. TAke notice that I, Paul [a], who am falſly re-
ported to preach up circumciſion in other
places, ſay unto you, that, if you are circumciſed,
3. Chriſt ſhall be of no advantage to you. For I repeat,
here again, what I have always preached, and ſo-
lemnly teſtify to every one, who yields to be circum-
ciſed, in compliance with thoſe who ſay, That now,
under the goſpel, he cannot be ſaved [b] without it,
that he is under an obligation to the whole law, and
bound to obſerve and perform every tittle of it.
4. Chriſt is of no uſe to you, who ſeek juſtification by
the law: whoſoever do ſo, be ye what you will, ye
5. are fallen from the covenant of grace. But I [c], and
thoſe, who with me are true Chriſtians, we, who
follow the truth of the goſpel, and the doctrine of
the Spirit [d] of God, have no other hope of juſtifica-
6. tion, but by faith in Chriſt. For in the ſtate of the
goſpel, under Jeſus, the Meſſiah, 'tis neither cir-
cumciſion nor uncircumciſion, that is of any mo-
ment; all that is available is faith alone, working
7. by love [e]. When you firſt entered into the pro-
feſſion of the goſpel, you were in a good way, and
went on well: who has put a ſtop to you, and hin-
dered you, that you keep no longer to the truth of
8. the chriſtian doctrine? This perſuaſion, that it is
neceſſary for you to be circumciſed, cometh not
from him [f], by whoſe preaching you were called to
9. the profeſſion of the goſpel. Remember that a little
leaven leaveneth the whole lump; the influence of
one man [g] entertained among you, may miſlead you
10. all. I have confidence in you, that, by the help of
the Lord, you will be all of this ſame mind [h] with

TEXT.

2 Behold; I, Paul, ſay unto you, that if ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing.

3 For I teſtify, again, to every man that is circumciſed, that he is a debtor to do the whole law.

4 Chriſt is become of no effect unto you; whoſoever of you are juſtified by the law, ye are fallen from grace.

5 For we, through the Spirit, wait for the hope of righteouſneſs by faith.

6 For in Jeſus Chriſt, neither circumciſion availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion; but faith, which worketh by love.

7 Ye did run well: who did hinder you, that ye ſhould not obey the truth?

8 This perſuaſion cometh not of him that calleth you.

9 A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.

10 I have confidence in you, through the Lord, that you will be none otherwiſe minded-

NOTES.

2 [a] Ἰδὲ, ἐγὼ Παῦλος, "Behold, I Paul," I the ſame Paul, who am reported to preach circumciſion, μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, v. 3. witneſs again, continue my teſtimony, to every man, to you and all men. This ſo emphatical way of ſpeaking may very well be underſtood to have regard to what he takes notice, ver. 11. to be caſt upon him, viz. his preaching circumciſion, and is a very ſignificant vindication of himſelf.

3 [b] "Cannot be ſaved." This was the ground, upon which the Jews and judaizing Chriſtians urged circumciſion. See Acts xv. i.

5 [c] We. 'Tis evident from the context, that St. Paul here means himſelf. But, We, is a more graceful way of ſpeaking than, I; though he be vindicating himſelf alone from the imputation of ſetting up circumciſion.

[d] "Spirit." The law and the goſpel oppoſed, under the titles of, Fleſh and Spirit, we may ſee, chap. iii. 3. of this epiſtle. The ſame oppoſition it ſtands in here to the law, in the foregoing verſe, points out the ſame ſignification.

6 [e] "which worketh by love." This is added to expreſs the animoſities, which were amongſt them, probably raiſed by this queſtion about circumciſion. See ver. 11—15.

8 [f] This expreſſion of "him that called, or calleth you," he uſed before, chap. i. 6. and, in both places, means himſelf, and here declares, that this πεισμονὴ (whether taken for perſuaſion, or for ſubjection, as it may be in St. Paul's ſtyle, conſidering πείθεσθαι, in the end of the foregoing verſe) came not from him, for he called them to liberty from the law, and not ſubjection to it; ſee ver. 13. "You were going on well, in the liberty of the goſpel; who ſtopped you? I, you may be "ſure, had no hand in it; I, you know, called you to liberty, and not to ſubjection to the law, "and therefore you can, by no means, ſuppoſe that I ſhould preach up circumciſion." Thus St. Paul argues here.

9 [g] By this and the next verſe, it looks as if all this diſorder aroſe from one man.

10 [h] "Will not be otherwiſe minded," will beware of this leaven, ſo as not to be put into a ferment, nor ſhaken in your liberty, which you ought to ſtand faſt in; and to ſecure it, I doubt not, (ſuch confidence I have in you) will with one accord caſt out him that troubles you. For, as for me, you may be ſure I am not for circumciſion, in that the Jews continue to perſecute me. This

TEXT.

ed: but he that troubleth you, ſhall bear his judgment, whoſoever he be.

11 And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumciſion, why do I yet ſuffer perſecution? then is the offence of the croſs ceaſed.

12 I would they were even cut off, which trouble you.

13 For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty.

PARAPHRASE.

me; and conſequently he, that troubles you, ſhall
fall under the cenſure he deſerves for it [a], whoever
he be. But as for me, brethren, if I, at laſt, am 11.
become a preacher of circumciſion, why am I yet
perſecuted [b]? If it be ſo, that the Gentile converts
are to be circumciſed, and ſo ſubjected to the law,
the great offence of the goſpel [c], in relying ſolely on
a crucified Saviour for ſalvation, is removed. But I 12.
am of another mind, and wiſh that they may be cut
off, who trouble you about this matter, and they
ſhall be cut off. For, brethren, ye have been called 13.
by me unto liberty.

NOTES.

is evidently his meaning, though not ſpoken out, but managed warily, with a very ſkilful and moving inſinuation. For as he ſays of himſelf, chap. iv. 20. he knew not, at that diſtance, what temper they were in.

[a] Κρίμα. Judgment, ſeems here to mean expulſion by a church cenſure; ſee ver. 12. We ſhall be the more inclined to this, if we conſider, that the apoſtle uſes the ſame argument of "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," 1 Cor. v. 6. where he would perſuade the Corinthians to purge out the fornicator.

11 [b] Perſecution. The perſecution St. Paul was ſtill under, was a convincing argument, that he was not for circumciſion, and ſubjection to the law; for it was from the Jews, upon that account, that, at this time, roſe all the perſecution, which the Chriſtians ſuffered, as may be ſeen through all the hiſtory of the Acts. Nor are there wanting clear footſteps of it, in ſeveral places of this epiſtle, beſides this here, as chap. iii. 4. and vi. 12.

[c] Offence of the croſs, ſee chap. vi. 12—14.

SECT. XI.

CHAP. V. 13—26.

CONTENTS.

FROM the mention of liberty, which he tells them they are called to, under the goſpel, he takes a riſe to caution them in the uſe of it, and ſo exhorts them to a ſpiritual, or true chriſtian life, ſhewing the difference and contrariety between that and a carnal life, or a life after the fleſh.

TEXT.

Only uſe not liberty for an occaſion to the fleſh, but by love ſerve one another.

14 For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf.

PARAPHRASE.

Though the goſpel, to which ye are called, be a
ſtate of liberty from the bondage of the law, yet
pray take great care you do not miſtake that liberty,
nor think it affords you an opportunity, in the abuſe
of it, to ſatisfy the luſt of the fleſh, but ſerve [a] one
another in love. For the whole law, concerning our 14.
duty to others, is fulfilled in obſerving this one precept [b];
"Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf."
But,

NOTES.

13 [a] Δουλεύετε, ſerve, has a greater force in the Greek, than our Engliſh word, ſerve, does in the common acceptation of it expreſs. For it ſignifies the oppoſite to ἐλευθερία, freedom. And ſo the apoſtle elegantly informs them, that though, by the goſpel, they are called to a ſtate of liberty from the law; yet they were ſtill as much bound and ſubjected to their brethren, in all the offices and duties of love and good-will, as if, in that reſpect, they were their vaſſals and bondmen.

14 [b] Lev. xix. 18.

PARAPHRASE.

15. But, if you bite and tear one another, take heed that
you be not deſtroyed and conſumed by one another.
16. This I ſay to you, conduct yourſelves by the light
that is in your minds[a], and do not give yourſelves
up to the luſts of the fleſh, to obey them, in what
17. they put upon you. For the inclinations and deſires
of the fleſh are contrary to thoſe of the ſpirit: and
the dictates and inclinations of the ſpirit, are contrary to thoſe of the fleſh; ſo that, under theſe contrary impulſes, you do not do the things that you
18. purpoſe to yourſelves[b]. But if you give yourſelves
up to the conduct of the goſpel[c], by faith in Chriſt,
19. ye are not under the law[d]. Now the works of the
fleſh, as is manifeſt, are theſe; adultery, fornication,
20. uncleanneſs, laſciviouſneſs, Idolatry, witchcraft[e], enmities, quarrels, emulations, animoſities, ſtrife, ſedi-
21. tions, ſects, Envyings, murders, drunkenneſs, revellings,

TEXT.

But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not conſumed one of another. 15

This I ſay then, Walk in the ſpirit, and ye ſhall not fulfil the luſt of the fleſh. 16

For the fleſh luſteth againſt the ſpirit, and the ſpirit againſt the fleſh: and theſe are contrary the one to the other; ſo that ye cannot do the things that ye would. 17

But if ye be led by the ſpirit, ye are not under the law. 18

Now the works of the fleſh are manifeſt, which are theſe; adultery, fornication, uncleanneſs, laſciviouſneſs, 19

Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, ſtrife, ſeditions, hereſies, 20

Envyings, murders, drunkenneſs, revellings, and ſuch 21

NOTES.

16 [a] That which he here, and in the next verſe, calls ſpirit, he calls, Rom. vii. 22. the inward man; ver. 23. the law of the mind; ver. 25. the mind.

17 [b] Do not; ſo it is in the Greek, and ours is the only tranſlation that I know, which renders it cannot.

16, 17. There can be nothing plainer, than that the ſtate St. Paul deſcribes here, in theſe two verſes, he points out more at large, Rom. vii. 17, &c. ſpeaking there in the perſon of a Jew. This is evident, that St. Paul ſuppoſes two principles in every man, which draw him different ways; the one he calls Fleſh, the other Spirit. Theſe, though there be no other appellations given them, are the moſt common and uſual names given them in the new teſtament: by fleſh, is meant all thoſe vicious and irregular appetites, inclinations, and habitudes, whereby a man is turned from his obedience to that eternal law of right, the obſervance whereof God always requires, and is pleaſed with. This is very properly called fleſh, this bodily ſtate being the ſource, from which all our deviations from the ſtrait rule of rectitude, do for the moſt part take their riſe, or elſe do ultimately terminate in: on the other ſide, ſpirit is the part of a man, which is endowed with light from God, to know and ſee what is righteous, juſt and good, and which, being conſulted and hearkened to, is always ready to direct and prompt us to that which is good. The fleſh, then, in the goſpel-language, is that principle, which inclines and carries men to ill; the ſpirit, that principle which dictates what is right, and inclines to good. But becauſe, by prevailing cuſtom, and contrary habits, this principle was very much weakened, and almoſt extinct in the Gentiles, ſee Eph. iv. 17—21. he exhorts them to "be renewed in the ſpirit of their minds," ver. 23. and to "put off the old man," i. e. fleſhly corrupt habits, and to "put on the new man," which, he tells them, ver. 24. "is created in righteouſneſs, and true holineſs." This is alſo called "renewing of the mind," Rom. xii. 2. "Renewing of the inward man," 2 Cor. iv. 16. Which is done by the aſſiſtance of the ſpirit of God, Eph. iii. 16.

18 [c] The reaſon of this aſſertion we may find, Rom. viii. 14. viz. Becauſe "they, who are led by the Spirit of God, are the ſons of God," and ſo heirs, and free without the law, as he argues here, chap. iii. and iv.

[d] This is plainly the ſenſe of the apoſtle, who teaches all along in the former part of this epiſtle, and alſo that to the Romans, that thoſe, who put themſelves under the goſpel, are not under the law: the queſtion, then, that remains, is only about the phraſe, "led by the Spirit." And as to that, it is eaſy to obſerve how natural it is for St. Paul, having in the foregoing verſes more than once mentioned the Spirit, to continue the ſame word, though ſomewhat varied in the ſenſe. In St. Paul's phraſeology, as the irregularities of appetite, and the dictates of right reaſon, are oppoſed under the titles of Fleſh and Spirit, as we have ſeen: ſo the covenant of works, and the covenant of grace, law, and goſpel, are oppoſed under the titles of Fleſh and Spirit, 2 Cor. iii. 6, 8. he calls the goſpel Spirit; and Rom. vii. 5. In the fleſh, ſignifies in a legal ſtate. But we need go no further than chap. iii. 3. of this very epiſtle, to ſee the law and the goſpel oppoſed by St. Paul, under the titles of Fleſh and Spirit. The reaſon of thus uſing the word, Spirit, is very apparent in the doctrine of the new teſtament, which teaches, that thoſe who receive Chriſt by faith, with him receive his Spirit, and its aſſiſtance againſt the fleſh; ſee Rom. viii. 9—11. Accordingly, for the attaining of ſalvation, St. Paul joins together belief of the truth, and ſanctification of the Spirit, 2 Theſſ. ii. 13. And ſo Spirit, here, may be taken for "the Spirit of their minds," but renewed and ſtrengthened by the Spirit of God; ſee Eph. iii. 16. and iv. 23.

20 [e] Φαρμακεία ſignifies witchcraft, or poiſoning.

TEXT.

like: of the which I tell you before, as I have alſo told you in time paſt, that they, which do ſuch things, ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God.

22 But the fruit of the ſpirit is love, joy, peace, long ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, faith,

23 Meekneſs, temperance: againſt ſuch there is no law.

24 And they that are Chriſt's, have crucified the fleſh, with the affections and luſts.

25 If we live in the Spirit, let us alſo walk in the Spirit.

26 Let us not be deſirous of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another.

PARAPHRASE.

lings[a], and ſuch like: concerning which I forewarn
you now, as heretofore I have done, that they, who
do ſuch things, ſhall not inherit the kingdom of
God. But, on the other ſide, the fruit of the Spirit 22.
is love, joy, peace, long-ſuffering, ſweetneſs of diſ-
poſition, beneficence, faithfulneſs, Meekneſs, tempe- 23.
rance: againſt theſe and the like there is no law.
Now they who belong[b] to Chriſt, and are his mem- 24.
bers, have[c] crucified the fleſh, with the affections and
luſts thereof. If our life then (our fleſh having been 25.
crucified) be, as we profeſs, by the Spirit, whereby
we are alive from that ſtate of ſin, we were dead in
before, let us regulate our lives and actions by the
light and dictates of the Spirit. Let us not be led, 26.
by an itch of vain glory, to provoke one another, or
to envy one another[d].

NOTES.

21 [a] Κῶμοι, Revellings, were, amongſt the Greeks, diſorderly ſpending of the night in feaſting, with a licentious indulging to wine, good chear, muſick, dancing, &c.

24 [b] 'Οι τῦ Χριςῦ, "Thoſe who are of Chriſt," are the ſame "with thoſe, who are led by the ſpirit," ver. 18. and are oppoſed to "thoſe, who live after the fleſh," Rom. viii. 13. where it is ſaid, conformably to what we find here, "they, through the ſpirit, mortify the deeds of the body."

[c] Crucified the fleſh." That principle in us, from whence ſpring vicious inclinations and actions, is, as we have obſerved above, called ſometimes the Fleſh, ſometimes the Old Man. The ſubduing and mortifying of this evil principle, ſo that the force and power, wherewith it uſed to rule in us, is extinguiſhed, the apoſtle, by a very engaging accommodation to the death of our Saviour, calls, "Crucifying the old man, Rom. vi. 6. Crucifying the fleſh, here. Putting off "the body of the ſins of the fleſh, Col. ii. 11. Putting off the old man, Eph. iv. 22. Col. iii. "8, 9. It is alſo called, Mortifying the members which are on earth, Col. iii. 5. Mortifying "the deeds of the body," Rom. viii. 13.

26 [d] Whether the vain-glory and envying, here, were about their ſpiritual gifts, a fault which the Corinthians were guilty of, as we may ſee at large, 1 Cor. xii. 13, 14. or upon any other occaſion, and ſo contained in ver. 15. of this chapter, I ſhall not curiouſly examine: either way, the ſenſe of the words will be much the ſame, and accordingly this verſe muſt end the 5th, or begin the 6th chapter.

SECT. XII.

CHAP. VI. 1——5.

CONTENTS.

HE here exhorts the ſtronger to gentleneſs and meekneſs towards the weak.

TEXT.

1 BRethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are ſpiritual, reſtore ſuch an one in the ſpirit of meekneſs; conſidering thyſelf, leſt thou alſo be tempted.

PARAPHRASE.

BRethren, if a man, by frailty or ſurpriſe, fall 1.
into a fault, do you, who are eminent in the
church for knowledge, practice, and gifts[a], raiſe
him up again, and ſet him right, with gentleneſs
and meekneſs, conſidering that you yourſelves are
not

NOTE.

1 [a] Πνευματικοὶ, Spiritual, in 1 Cor. iii. 1. and xii. 1. taken together, has this ſenſe.

PARAPHRASE.

not out of the reach of temptations. 2. Bear with one another's infirmities, and help to support each other under your burdens[a], and so fulfil the law of Christ[b]. 3. For if any one be conceited of himself, as if he were something, a man of weight, fit to prescribe to others, when indeed he is not, he deceiveth himself. 4. But let him take care that what he himself doth, be right, and such as will bear the test, and then he will have matter of glorying[c] in himself, and not in another. 5. For every one shall be accountable only for his own actions.

TEXT.

2 Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.

3 For if a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself.

4 But let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another.

5 For every man shall bear his own burden.

NOTES.

2 [a] See a parallel exhortation, 1 Theſſ. v. 14. which will give light to this, as alſo Rom. xv. 1.

[b] See John xiii. 34, 35. and xiv. 2. There were ſome among them very zealous for the obſervation of the law of Moſes; St. Paul, here, puts them in mind of a law, which they were under, and were obliged to obſerve, viz. "the law of Chriſt." And he ſhews them how to do it, viz. by helping to bear one another's burdens, and not increaſing their burdens, by the obſervances of the Levitical law. Though the goſpel contain the law of the kingdom of Chriſt, yet I do not remember that St. Paul any where calls it "the law of Chriſt," but in this place; where he mentions it, in oppoſition to thoſe, who thought a law ſo neceſſary, that they would retain that of Moſes, under the goſpel.

4 [c] Καύχημα, I think, ſhould have been tranſlated here, Glorying, as Καυχήσωνται is, ver. 13, the apoſtle, in both places, meaning the ſame thing, viz. glorying in another, in having brought him to circumciſion, and other ritual obſervances of the Moſaical law. For thus St. Paul ſeems to me to diſcourſe, in this ſection: "Brethren, there be ſome among you, that would bring "others under the ritual obſervances of the Moſaical law, a yoke, which was too heavy for us, "and our fathers, to bear. They would do much better to eaſe the burdens of the weak; this "is ſuitable to the law of Chriſt, which they are under, and is the law, which they ought ſtrictly to obey. If they think, becauſe of their ſpiritual gifts, that they have power to preſcribe "in ſuch matters, I tell them, that they have not, but do deceive themſelves. Let them rather take care of their own particular actions, that they be right, and ſuch as they ought to "be. This will give them matter of glorying in themſelves, and not vainly in others, as they "do, when they prevail with them to be circumciſed. For every man ſhall be anſwerable for his "own actions." Let the reader judge, whether this does not ſeem to be St. Paul's view here, and ſuit with his way of writing.

Ἔχειν καύχημα, is a phraſe whereby St. Paul ſignifies "to have matter of glorying," and to that ſenſe it is rendered, Rom. iv. 2.

SECT. XIII.

CHAP. VI. 6—10.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul having laid ſome reſtraint upon the authority and forwardneſs of the teachers, and leading men amongſt them, who were, as it ſeems, more ready to impoſe on the Galatians, what they ſhould not, than to help them forward in the practice of goſpel-obedience; he here takes care of them, in reſpect of their maintenance, and exhorts the Galatians to liberality towards them, and, in general, towards all men, eſpecially Chriſtians.

PARAPHRASE.

6. LET him, that is taught the doctrine of the goſpel, freely communicate the good things of this world, to him that teaches him. 7. Be not deceived, God will not be mocked: for, as a man ſoweth,

TEXT.

6 Let him, that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things.

7 Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatſoever

TEXT.

a man ſoweth, that ſhall he alſo reap.

8 For he that ſoweth to his fleſh, ſhall of the fleſh reap corruption; but he that ſoweth to the Spirit, ſhall of the Spirit reap life everlaſting.

9 And let us not be weary in well-doing; for in due ſeaſon we ſhall reap, if we faint not.

10 As we have, therefore, opportunity, let us do good unto all men, eſpecially unto them who are of the houſehold of faith.

PARAPHRASE.

ſoweth [a], ſo alſo ſhall ye reap. He, that lays out
the ſtock of good things he has, only for the ſatiſ- 8.
faction of his own bodily neceſſities, conveniencies,
or pleaſures, ſhall, at the harveſt, find the fruit and
product of ſuch huſbandry, to be corruption and periſhing [b]. But he, that lays out his worldly ſubſtance, according to the rules dictated by the Spirit
of God in the goſpel, ſhall, of the Spirit, reap life
everlaſting. In doing, thus, what is good and right, 9.
let us not wax weary; for, in due ſeaſon, when the
time of harveſt comes, we ſhall reap, if we continue
to do good, and flag not. Therefore, as we have 10.
opportunities, let us do good unto all men, eſpecially
to thoſe who profeſs faith in Jeſus Chriſt, i. e. the
Chriſtian religion.

NOTES.

7 [a] Soweth. A metaphor uſed by St. Paul, for mens laying out their worldly goods. See 2 Cor. ix. 6, &c.

8 [b] Rom. viii. 13. and ii. 12.

SECT. XIV.

CHAP. VI. 11—18.

CONTENTS.

ONE may ſee what lay upon St. Paul's Mind, in writing to the Galatians, by what he inculcates to them here, even after he had finiſhed his letter. The like we have in the laſt chapter to the Romans. He here winds up all with admonitions to the Galatians, of a different end and aim they had, to get the Galatians circumciſed, from what he had in preaching the goſpel.

TEXT.

11 Ye ſee how large a letter I have written unto you, with mine own hand.

12 As many as deſire to make a fair ſhew in the fleſh, they conſtrain you to be circumciſed; only leſt they ſhould ſuffer perſecution for the croſs of Chriſt.

13 For neither they themſelves, who are circumciſed, keep the law; but deſire to have you circumciſed, that they may glory in your fleſh.

PARAPHRASE.

You ſee how long a letter I have writ to you with 11.
my own hand [a]. They, who are willing to carry it 12.
ſo fairly, in the ritual part of the law [b], and to make
oſtentation of their compliance therein, conſtrain you
to be circumciſed, only to avoid perſecution, for
owning their dependence for ſalvation ſolely on a
crucified Meſſiah, and not on the obſervance of the
law. For even they themſelves, who are circum- 13.
ciſed, do not keep the law. But they will have you
to be circumciſed, that this mark in your fleſh may
afford them matter of glorying, and of recommending themſelves to the good opinion of the Jews [c].
But

NOTES.

11 [a] St. Paul mentions the "writing with his own hand," as an argument of his great concern for them in the caſe. For it was not uſual for him to write his epiſtles with his own hand, but to dictate them to others, who writ them from his mouth. See Rom. xvi. 22. 1 Cor. xvi. 21.

12 [b] "In the fleſh," i. e. in the ritual obſervances of the law, which, Heb. ix. 10. are called, δικαιώματα σαρκός.

13 [c] See chap. v. 11.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. VI.
14. But as for me, whatever may be ſaid of me[a], God
forbid that I ſhould glory in any thing, but in having
Jeſus Chriſt, who was crucified, for my ſole Lord
and Maſter, whom I am to obey and depend on;
which I ſo entirely do, without regard to any thing
elſe, that I am wholly dead to the world, and the
world dead to me, and it has no more influence on
15. me, than if it were not. For, as to the obtaining a
ſhare in the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the privileges
and advantages of it, neither circumciſion nor
uncircumciſion, ſuch outward differences in the fleſh,
avail any thing, but the new creation, wherein, by
a thorough change, a man is diſpoſed to righteouſneſs,
16. and true holineſs, in good works[b]. And on
all thoſe, who walk by this rule, viz. that it is the
new creation alone, and not circumciſion, that availeth
under the goſpel, peace and mercy ſhall be on
them, they being that Iſrael, which are truly the
17. people of God[c]. From henceforth, let no man give
me trouble by queſtions, or doubt, whether I preach
circumciſion or no? 'Tis true, I am circumciſed.
But yet the marks I now bear in my body, are the
marks of Jeſus Chriſt, that I am his. The marks
of the ſtripes, which I have received from the Jews,
and which I ſtill bear in my body for preaching
Jeſus Chriſt, are an evidence that I am not for circumciſion.
18. "Brethren, the favour of our Lord Jeſus
"Chriſt be with your ſpirit." Amen.

TEXT.

But God forbid that I ſhould glory, ſave in the croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world. 14

For, in Chriſt Jeſus, neither circumciſion availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion, but a new creature. 15

And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Iſrael of God. 16

From henceforth let no man trouble me; for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jeſus. 17

Brethren, the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with your ſpirit. Amen. 18

¶ Unto the Galatians, written from Rome.

NOTES.

14. [a] See chap. v. 11.

15 [b] See Eph. ii. 10. and iv. 24.

16 [c] St. Paul having, in the foregoing verſe, aſſerted, that it is the new creation alone, that puts men into the kingdom of Chriſt, and into the poſſeſſion of the privileges thereof, this verſe may be underſtood alſo, as aſſertory, rather than as a prayer, unleſs there were a verb, that expreſſed it; eſpecially conſidering, that he writes this epiſtle to encourage them to refuſe circumciſion. To which end, the aſſuring them, that thoſe, who do ſo, ſhall have peace and mercy from God, is of more force than to tell them, that he prays that they may have peace and mercy. And, for the ſame reaſon, I underſtand "the Iſrael of God," to be the ſame with "thoſe, who walk by this rule," though joined with them, by the copulative Καὶ, And; no very unuſual way of ſpeaking.

A PARA-

A
PARAPHRASE
AND
NOTES
ON THE
Firſt Epiſtle of St. *Paul*
TO THE
CORINTHIANS.

SYNOPSIS.

SAINT Paul's firſt coming to Corinth was anno Chriſti 52. where he firſt applied himſelf to the ſynagogue, Acts xviii. 4. But finding them obſtinate in their oppoſition to the goſpel, he turned to the Gentiles, ver. 6. out of whom this church at Corinth ſeems chiefly to be gathered, as appears, Acts xviii. and 1 Cor. xii. 2.

HIS ſtay here was about two years, as appears from Acts xviii. 11, 18. compared: in which time it may be concluded he made many converts; for he was not idle there, nor did he uſe to ſtay long in a place, where he was not encouraged by the ſucceſs of his miniſtry. Beſides what his ſo long abode in this one city, and his indefatigable labour every where, might induce one to preſume, of the number of converts, he made in that city; the ſcripture it ſelf, Acts xviii. 10. gives ſufficient evidence of a numerous church gathered there.

CORINTH itſelf was a rich merchant-town, the inhabitants Greeks, a people of quick parts, and inquiſitive, 1 Cor. i. 22. but naturally vain and conceited of themſelves.

THESE things conſidered, may help us, in ſome meaſure, the better to underſtand St. Paul's epiſtles to this church, which ſeems to be in greater diſorder, than any other of the churches which he writ to.

THIS epiſtle was writ to the Corinthians, anno Chriſti 57. between two and three years after St. Paul had left them. In this interval, there was got in amongſt them a new inſtructor, a Jew by nation, who had raiſed a faction againſt St. Paul. With this party, whereof he was the leader, this falſe apoſtle had gained great authority, ſo that they admired and gloried in him, with an apparent diſeſteem and diminiſhing of St. Paul.

WHY I ſuppoſe the oppoſition to be made to St. Paul, in this church, by one party, under one leader, I ſhall give the reaſons, that make it probable to me, as they come in my way, going through theſe two epiſtles; which I ſhall leave to the reader to judge, without poſitively determining on either ſide: and therefore ſhall, as it happens, ſpeak of theſe oppoſers of St. Paul, ſometimes in the ſingular, and ſometimes in the plural number.

This at leaſt is evident, that the main deſign of St. Paul, in this epiſtle, is to ſupport his own authority, dignity, and credit, with that part of the church which ſtuck to him; to vindicate himſelf from the aſperſions and calumnies of the oppoſite party; to leſſen the credit of the chief and leading men in it, by intimating their miſcarriages, and ſhewing their no cauſe of glorying, or being gloried in; that ſo withdrawing their party from the admiration and eſteem of thoſe their leaders, he might break the faction; and putting an end to the diviſion, might re-unite them with the uncorrupted part of the church, that they might all unanimouſly ſubmit to the authority of his divine miſſion, and with one accord receive and keep the doctrine and directions he had delivered to them.

This is the whole ſubject from chap. i. 10. to the end of chap. vi. In the remaining part of this epiſtle, he anſwers ſome queſtions they had propoſed to him, and reſolves ſome doubts; not without a mixture, on all occaſions, of reflections on his oppoſers, and of other things, that might tend to the breaking of their faction.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.
Chap. I.

SECT. I.

CHAP. I. 1—9.

INTRODUCTION.

1. PAUL an apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, called to be ſo
by the will of God[a], and Soſthenes[b] our brother
2. in the Chriſtian faith; To the church of God,
which is at Corinth, to them that are ſeparated from
the reſt of the world, by faith in Chriſt Jeſus[c], called
to be ſaints, with all, that are every where called
by the Name of Jeſus Chriſt[d], their Lord[e], and ours.
3. Favour and peace be unto you, from God our Father,
4. and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. I thank God
always, on your behalf, for the favour of God, which
5. is beſtowed on you, through Jeſus Chriſt; So that,
by him, you are enriched with all knowledge and
6. utterance, and all extraordinary gifts: As at firſt, by
thoſe miraculous gifts, the goſpel of Chriſt was con-
7. firmed among you. So that in no ſpiritual gift are
any of you ſhort, or deficient[f], waiting for the
coming

TEXT.

PAUL, called to be an 1
apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt
through the will of God, and
Soſthenes our brother;

Unto the church of God, 2
which is at Corinth, to them
that are ſanctified in Chriſt
Jeſus, called to be ſaints, with
all that in every place call
upon the name of Jeſus Chriſt,
our Lord, both theirs and
ours.

Grace be unto you, and 3
peace, from God our father,
and from the Lord Jeſus
Chriſt.

I thank my God always, on 4
your behalf, for the grace of
God, which is given you, by
Jeſus Chriſt;

That, in every thing, ye are 5
enriched by him, in all utterance,
and in all knowledge:

Even as the teſtimony of 6
Chriſt was confirmed in you.

So that ye come behind in 7

NOTES.

1 [a] St. Paul, in moſt of his epiſtles, mentions his being "called to be an apoſtle by the will of God;" which way of ſpeaking being peculiar to him, we may ſuppoſe him therein to intimate his extraordinary and miraculous call, Acts ix. and his receiving the goſpel by immediate revelation, Gal. i. 11, 12. For he doubted not of the will and providence of God governing all things.

[b] Acts xviii. 17.

2 [c] Ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, "Sanctified in Chriſt Jeſus," does not ſignify here, whoſe lives are pure and holy; for there were many, amongſt thoſe he writ to, who were quite otherwiſe; but, ſanctified, ſignifies ſeparate from the common ſtate of mankind, to be the people of God, and to ſerve him. The Heathen world had revolted from the true God, to the ſervice of idols and falſe gods, Rom. i. 18—25. The Jews being ſeparated from this corrupted maſs, to be the peculiar people of God, were called holy, Exod. xix. 5, 6. Numb. xv. 40. They being caſt off, the profeſſors of chriſtianity were ſeparated to be the people of God, and ſo became holy, 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10.

[d] Επικαλούμενοι ὄνομα Χριστοῦ, "that are called Chriſtians;" theſe Greek words being a periphraſis for Chriſtians, as is plain from the deſign of this verſe. But he that is not ſatisfied with that, may ſee more proofs of it, in Dr. Hammond upon the place.

[e] What the apoſtle means by, Lord, when he attributes it to Chriſt, vid. ch. viii. 6.

[f] Vid. 2 Cor. xii. 12, 13.

TEXT.

no gift; waiting for the coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt:

8 Who ſhall alſo confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameleſs in the day of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

9 God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowſhip of his Son, Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord.

PARAPHRASE.

coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; Who ſhall alſo confirm you unto the end, that, in the day of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, there may be no charge againſt you. 8 For God, who has called you unto the fellowſhip of his Son, Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord, may be relied on for what is to be done on his ſide. 9

SECT. II.

CHAP. I. 10.—VI. 20.

CONTENTS.

THERE were great diſorders in the church of Corinth, cauſed chiefly by a faction raiſed there, againſt St. Paul: the partiſans of the faction mightily cried up, and gloried in, their leaders, who did all they could to diſparage St. Paul, and leſſen him, in the eſteem of the Corinthians. St. Paul makes it his buſineſs, in this ſection, to take off the Corinthians, from ſiding with, and glorying in, this pretended apoſtle, whoſe followers and ſcholars they profeſſed themſelves to be; and to reduce them into one body, as the ſcholars of Chriſt, united in a belief of the goſpel, which he had preached to them, and in an obedience to it, without any ſuch diſtinction of maſters, or leaders, from whom they denominated themſelves. He alſo, here and there, intermixes a juſtification of himſelf, againſt the aſperſions which were caſt upon him, by his oppoſers. How much St. Paul was ſet againſt their leaders, may be ſeen, 2 Cor. xi. 13—15.

The arguments uſed by St. Paul, to break the oppoſite faction, and put an end to all diviſions amongſt them, being various, we ſhall take notice of them, under their ſeveral heads, as they come in the order of this diſcourſe.

SECT. II. N. 1.

CHAP. I. 10—16.

CONTENTS.

SAint Paul's firſt argument is, That, in Chriſtianity, they all had but one Maſter, viz. Chriſt; and therefore, were not to fall into parties, denominated from diſtinct teachers, as they did, in their ſchools of philoſophy.

TEXT.

10 Now I beſeech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye all ſpeak the ſame thing, and that there be no diviſions

PARAPHRASE.

NOW I beſeech you, brethren, by the name[a] of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye hold the ſame doctrine, and that there be no diviſions among you; 10.

NOTE.

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10 [a] "Of whom the whole family in heaven and in earth, is, and ought to be named." If any one has thought St. Paul a looſe writer, it is only becauſe he was a looſe reader. He that takes notice of St. Paul's deſign, ſhall find that there is not a word ſcarce, or expreſſion, that he makes uſe of, but with relation and tendency to his preſent, main purpoſe: as here, intending to aboliſh the names of leaders, they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by, he beſeeches them, by the name of Chriſt, a form that I do not remember he elſewhere uſes.

PARAPHRASE.

you; but that ye be framed together into one intire
11. body, with one mind, and one affection. For I
underſtand, my brethren [a], by ſome of the houſe
of Chloe, that there are quarrels and diſſenſions
12. amongſt you: So that ye are all fallen into parties,
ranking yourſelves under different leaders or maſters,
one ſaying, "I am of Paul; another, I of Apollos,
13. "I of Cephas, I of Chriſt." Is Chriſt, who is our
only Head and Maſter, divided? Was Paul crucified
14. for you? Or were you baptized into [b] the name of
Paul? I thank God, that I baptized none of you,
15. but Criſpus and Gaius; Leſt any one ſhould ſay, I
16. had baptized in my own name. I baptized alſo
the houſhold of Stephanas, farther, I know not
whether I baptized any other.

TEXT.

among you; but that ye be
perfectly joined together, in
the ſame mind, and in the
ſame judgment.

For it hath been declared 11
unto me, of you, my bre-
thren, by them, which are of
the houſe of Chloe, that there
are contentions among you.

Now this I ſay, that every 12
one of you ſaith, "I am of
"Paul, and I of Apollos, and
"I of Cephas, and I of Chriſt."

Is Chriſt divided? was Paul 13
crucified for you? or were
ye baptized in the name of
Paul?

I thank God that I baptized 14
none of you, but Criſpus and
Gaius:

Leſt any ſhould ſay, that I 15
had baptized in mine own
name.

And I baptized alſo the 16
houſhold of Stephanas: be-
ſides, I know not whether I
baptized any other.

NOTES.

11 [a] "Brethren," a name of union and friendſhip, uſed here, twice together, by St. Paul, in the entrance of his perſuaſion to them, to put an end to their diviſions.

13 [b] Εἰς properly ſignifies, into; ſo the French tranſlate it here: the phraſe Βαπτισθῆναι εἰς, "to be baptized into any one's name, or into any one," is ſolemnly, by that ceremony, to enter himſelf a diſciple of him, into whoſe name he is baptized, with profeſſion to receive his doctrine and rules, and ſubmit to his authority; a very good argument here, why they ſhould be called by no one's name, but Chriſt's.

SECT. II. N. 2.

CHAP. I. 17—31.

CONTENTS.

THE next argument of St. Paul, to ſtop their followers from glorying in theſe falſe apoſtles, is, that neither any advantage of extraction, nor ſkill in the learning of the Jews, nor in the philoſophy and eloquence of the Greeks, was that, for which God choſe men to be preachers of the goſpel. Thoſe, whom he made choice of, for overturning the mighty and the learned, were mean, plain, illiterate men.

PARAPHRASE.

17. For Chriſt ſent me not to baptize, but to preach
the goſpel: not with learned and eloquent harangues,
leſt thereby the virtue and efficacy of Chriſt's ſuffer-
ings and death ſhould be over-looked and neglected,
if the ſtreſs of our perſuaſion ſhould be laid on the
18. learning and quaintneſs of our preaching. For the
plain inſiſting on the death of a crucified Saviour is,
by thoſe, who periſh, received as a fooliſh, contemp-
tible thing; though to us, who are ſaved, it be the
19. power of God, Conformable to what is propheſied
by

TEXT.

For Chriſt ſent me not to 17
baptize, but to preach the
goſpel: not with wiſdom of
words, leſt the croſs of Chriſt
ſhould be made of none effect.

For the preaching of the 18
croſs is to them that periſh,
fooliſhneſs: but unto us, which
are ſaved, it is the power of
God.

For it is written, I will 19

TEXT.

deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe, and will bring to nothing the underſtanding of the prudent.

20 Where is the wiſe? where is the ſcribe? where is the diſputer of this world? hath not God made fooliſh the wiſdom of this world?

21 For after that, in the wiſdom of God, the world, by wiſdom, knew not God, it pleaſed God, by the fooliſhneſs of preaching, to ſave them that believe.

22 For the Jews require a ſign, and the Greeks ſeek after wiſdom:

23 But we preach Chriſt crucified, unto the Jews a ſtumbling block, and unto the Greeks fooliſhneſs;

24 But unto them, which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Chriſt, the power of God, and the wiſdom of God:

25 Becauſe the fooliſhneſs of God is wiſer than men; and the weakneſs of God is ſtronger than men.

26 For ye ſee your calling, brethren, how that not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many noble are called.

27 But God hath choſen the fooliſh things of the world, to confound the wiſe; and God hath choſen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty:

28 And baſe things of the world, and things which are deſpiſed,

PARAPHRASE.

by Iſaiah: "I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe,
and I will bring to nothing the underſtanding of the
prudent." Where is the philoſopher, ſkilled in the
wiſdom of the Greeks? Where the ſcribe [a], ſtudied 20.
in the learning of the Jews? Where the profeſſor of
human arts and ſciences? Hath not God rendered all
the learning and wiſdom of this world fooliſh, and
uſeleſs for the diſcovery of the truths of the goſpel?
For ſince the world, by their natural parts, and im- 21.
provements in what, with them, paſſed for wiſdom,
acknowledged not the one, only, true God, tho' he
had manifeſted himſelf to them, in the wiſe contri-
vance and admirable frame of the viſible works of
the creation; it pleaſed God, by the plain, and (as
the world eſteems it) fooliſh doctrine of the goſpel,
to ſave thoſe, who receive and believe it. Since [b] 22.
both the Jews demand extraordinary ſigns and mira-
cles; and the Greeks ſeek wiſdom: But I have no- 23.
thing elſe to preach to them, but Chriſt crucified, a
doctrine offenſive to the hopes and expectations of
the Jews; and fooliſh to the acute men of learn-
ing, the Greeks; But yet it is to theſe, both Jews 24.
and Greeks, (when they are converted) Chriſt, the
power of God, and Chriſt the wiſdom of God: Be- 25.
cauſe that, which ſeems fooliſhneſs in thoſe, who
came from God, ſurpaſſes the wiſdom of man; and
that, which ſeems weakneſs in thoſe ſent by God,
ſurpaſſes the power of men. For reflect upon your- 26.
ſelves, brethren, and you may obſerve, that there are
not many of the wiſe and learned men, not many of
power, or of birth, among you, that are called. But 27.
God hath choſen the fooliſh men, in the account of
the world, to confound the wiſe; and God hath
choſen the weak men of the world, to confound the
mighty: The mean men of the world, and con- 28.
temptible,

NOTES.

20 [a] Scribe, was the title of a learned man amongſt the Jews; one verſed in their laws and rites, which was the ſtudy of their doctors and rabbies. It is likely the falſe apoſtle, ſo much concerned in theſe two epiſtles to the Corinthians, who was a Jew, pretended to ſomething of this kind, and magnified himſelf thereupon; otherwiſe it is not probable, that St. Paul ſhould name, to the Corinthians, a ſort of men not much known, or valued, amongſt the Greeks. This, therefore, may be ſuppoſed to be ſaid to take off their glorying in their falſe apoſtle.

22 [b] Ἐπειδὴ καὶ, ſince both." Theſe words uſed here, by St. Paul, are not certainly idle and inſignificant, and therefore I ſee not how they can be omitted in the tranſlation.

Ἐπειδὴ is a word of reaſoning, and, if minded, will lead us into one of St. Paul's reaſonings here, which the neglect of this word makes the reader overlook. St. Paul, in ver. 21. argues thus in general: "Since the world, by their natural parts and improvements, did not attain to a right "and ſaving knowledge of God, God, by the preaching of the goſpel, which ſeems fooliſhneſs "to them, was pleaſed to communicate that knowledge, to thoſe who believed."

In the three following verſes, he repeats the ſame reaſoning, a little more expreſly applied to the people, he had here in his view, viz. Jews and Greeks: and his ſenſe ſeems to be this; "Since the "Jews, to make any doctrine go down with them, require extraordinary ſigns of the power of "God to accompany it, and nothing will pleaſe the nice palates of the learned Greeks, but wiſdom; "and, though our preaching of a crucified Meſſiah be a ſcandal to the Jews, and fooliſhneſs to the "Greeks, yet we have, what they both ſeek; for both Jew and Gentile, when they are called, find "the Meſſiah, whom we preach, to be the power of God, and the wiſdom of God."

25, 27, 28. He that will read the context, cannot doubt but that St. Paul, by what he expreſſes in theſe verſes, in the neuter gender, means perſons, the whole argument of the place being about perſons, and their glorying; and not about things.

PARAPHRASE.

temptible, has God choſen, and thoſe that are of no account, are nothing [a], to diſplace thoſe that are:
29. That ſo there might be no room, or pretence, for
30. any one to glory in his preſence. Natural, human abilities, parts or wiſdom, could never have reached this way to happineſs: 'tis to his wiſdom alone, that ye owe the contrivance of it; to his revealing of it, that ye owe the knowledge of it; and 'tis from him alone, that you are in Chriſt Jeſus, whom God has made to us, Chriſtians, wiſdom, and righteouſneſs, and ſanctification, and redemption, which is all the dignity and pre-eminence, all that is of any value,
31. amongſt us Chriſtians: That, as it is written, He that glorieth, ſhould glory only in the Lord.

TEXT.

hath God choſen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are:

That no fleſh ſhould glory 29 in his preſence.

But of him are ye, in Chriſt 30 Jeſus, who, of God, is made unto us wiſdom, and righteouſneſs, and ſanctification, and redemption:

That, according as it is 31 written, "He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord."

NOTE.

28 [a] Τὰ μὴ ὄντα, "Things that are not," I think may well be underſtood of the Gentiles, who were not the people of God, and were counted as nothing, by the Jews; and we are pointed to this meaning, by the words καταισχύνῃ & καταργήσῃ, by "the fooliſh and weak things," i. e. by ſimple, illiterate and mean men, God would make aſhamed, the learned philoſophers, and great men of the nations; but, by the μὴ ὄντα, "things that are not," he would aboliſh the things that are, as, in effect, he did aboliſh the Jewiſh church, by the Chriſtian, taking in the Gentiles to be his people, in the place of the rejected Jews, who, 'till then, were his people. This St. Paul mentions here, not by chance, but purſuant to his main deſign, to ſtay their glorying in their falſe apoſtle, who was a Jew; by ſhewing that, whatever that head of the faction might claim, under that pretence, as it is plain he did ſtand upon it, (ſee 2 Cor. xi. 21, 22.) he had not any the leaſt title to any eſteem, or reſpect, upon that account; ſince the Jewiſh nation was laid aſide, and God had choſen the Gentiles to take their place, and to be his church and people inſtead of them; vid. note on ch. ii. ver. 6. There one may ſee, who are the καταργούμενοι, "the aboliſhed," whom God ſays here, καταργήσῃ, he will aboliſh.

SECT. II. N. 3.

CHAP. II. 1—5.

CONTENTS.

Farther to keep them from glorying in their leaders, he tells them, that as the preachers of the goſpel, of God's chooſing, were mean and illiterate men, ſo the goſpel was not to be propagated, nor men to be eſtabliſhed in the faith, by human learning and eloquence, but by the evidence it had, from the revelation contained in the old teſtament, and from the power of God, accompanying and confirming it with miracles.

PARAPHRASE.

1. And I, brethren, when I came and preached the goſpel to you, I did not endeavour to ſet it off, with any ornaments of rhetorick, or the mixture of human learning, or philoſophy; but plainly declared it to you, as a doctrine coming from God,
2. revealed and atteſted [a] by him. For I reſolved to

TEXT.

And I, brethren, when I 1 came to you, came not with excellency of ſpeech, or of wiſdom, declaring unto you the teſtimony of God.

For I determined not to 2

NOTE.

1 [a] Τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Θεοῦ, "The teſtimony of God," i. e. what God hath revealed and teſtifies in the old teſtament; the apoſtle here declares to the Corinthians, that, when he brought the goſpel to them, he made no uſe of any human ſcience, improvement, or ſkill, no inſinuations of eloquence, no philoſophical ſpeculations, or ornaments of human learning, appeared in any thing he ſaid to perſuade

TEXT.

know any thing among you, ſave Jeſus Chriſt, and him crucified.

3 And I was with you in weakneſs, and in fear, and in much trembling.

4 And my ſpeech, and my preaching, was not with enticing words of man's wiſdom, but in demonſtration of the Spirit, and of power:

5 That your faith ſhould not ſtand in the wiſdom of men, but in the power of God.

PARAPHRASE.

own, or ſhew, no other knowledge among you, but
the knowledge [a], or doctrine, of Jeſus Chriſt, and of
him crucified. All my carriage among you had no- 3.
thing in it, but the appearance of weakneſs and hu-
mility, and fear of offending you [b]. Neither did I 4.
in my diſcourſes, or preaching, make uſe of any hu-
man art of perſuaſion, to inveigle you. But the 5.
doctrine of the goſpel, which I propoſed, I confirmed,
and inforced by what the Spirit [c] had revealed and
demonſtrated of it, in the old teſtament, and by the
power of God, accompanying it with miraculous
operations: That your faith might have its founda-
tion, not in the wiſdom and endowments of men,
but in the power of God [d].

NOTES.

ſuade them: all his arguments were, as he tells them, ver. 4. from the revelation of the Spirit of God, in the predictions of the old teſtament, and the miracles, which he (Paul) did among them, that their faith might be built wholly upon the Spirit of God, and not upon the abilities and wiſdom of man; tho' μαρτύριον τοῦ Θεοῦ, "The teſtimony of God," agrees very well with ſo much of St. Paul's meaning, as relates to his founding his preaching, on the teſtimony of God, yet thoſe copies, which read μυστήριον, myſtery, for μαρτύριον, teſtimony, ſeem more perfectly to correſpond with St. Paul's ſenſe, in the whole latitude of it. For tho' he owns the doctrine of the goſpel, dictated by the Spirit of God, to be contained in the ſcriptures of the old teſtament, and builds upon revelation; yet he, every where, teaches, that it remained a ſecret there, not underſtood, till they were led into the hidden, evangelical meaning of thoſe paſſages, by the coming of Jeſus Chriſt, and by the aſſiſtance of the Spirit, in the times of the Meſſiah, and then publiſhed to the world, by the preaching of the goſpel: and therefore he calls it, eſpecially that part of it, which relates to the Gentiles, almoſt every where, μυστήριον, myſtery. See particularly, Rom. xvi. 25, 26.

2 [a] St. Paul, who was himſelf a learned man, eſpecially in the Jewiſh knowledge, having, in the foregoing chapter, told them, that neither the Jewiſh learning, nor Grecian ſciences, give a man any advantage, as a miniſter of the goſpel; he here reminds them, that he made no ſhew, or uſe, of either, when he planted the goſpel amongſt them; intimating thereby, that thoſe were not things for which their teachers were to be valued, or followed.

3 [b] St. Paul, by thus ſetting forth his own modeſt and humble behaviour amongſt them, reflects on the contrary carriage of their falſe apoſtle, which he deſcribes in words at length, 2 Cor. xi. 20.

4 [c] There were two ſorts of arguments, wherewith the apoſtle confirmed the goſpel; the one was the revelations made, concerning our Saviour, by types and figures, and prophecies of him, under the law; the other, miracles and miraculous gifts accompanying the firſt preachers of the goſpel, in the publiſhing and propagating of it. The latter of theſe, St Paul here calls Power; the former, in this chapter, he terms Spirit; ſo ver. 12, 14. "Things of the Spirit of God, and ſpiritual things," are things, which are revealed by the Spirit of God, and not diſcoverable by our natural faculties.

5 [d] Their faith being built wholly on divine revelation and miracles, whereby all human abilities were ſhut out, there could be no reaſon, for any of them, to boaſt themſelves of their teachers, or value themſelves, upon their being the followers of this or that preacher, which St. Paul hereby obviates.

SECT. II. N. 4.

CHAP. II. 6—16.

CONTENTS.

THE next argument the apoſtle uſes, to ſhew them, that they had no reaſon to glory in their teachers, is, that the knowledge of the goſpel was not attainable by our natural parts, however they were improved by arts and philoſophy, but was wholly owing to revelation.

PARAPHRASE.

6. Howbeit that which we preach, is wiſdom, and known to be ſo, among thoſe who are throughly inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, and take it upon its true principles [a]: but not the wiſdom of this world [b], nor of the princes [c], or great men of this world [d], who will quickly be brought to nought [e].

7. But we ſpeak the wiſdom of God [f], contained in the

TEXT.

6 Howbeit we ſpeak wiſdom among them that are perfect: yet not the wiſdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to nought.

7 But we ſpeak the wiſdom of God in a myſtery, even the

NOTES.

6 [a] [Perfect] here is the ſame with ſpiritual, ver. 15. one, that is ſo perfectly well appriſed of the divine nature and original of the Chriſtian religion, that he ſees and acknowledges it to be all a pure revelation from God, and not, in the leaſt, the product of human diſcovery, parts, or learning; and ſo, deriving it wholly from what God hath taught, by his Spirit, in the ſacred ſcriptures, allows not the leaſt part of it to be aſcribed to the ſkill or abilities of men, as authors of it, but received as a doctrine coming from God alone. And thus, Perfect, is oppoſed to, Carnal, ch. iii. 1, 3. i. e. ſuch babes in Chriſtianity, ſuch weak and miſtaken Chriſtians, that they thought the goſpel was to be managed, as human arts and ſciences amongſt men of the world; and thoſe were better inſtructed, and were more in the right, who followed this maſter or teacher, rather than another; and ſo glorying in being the ſcholars, one of Paul, and another of Apollos, fell into diviſions and parties about it, and vaunted one over another: whereas, in the ſchool of Chriſt, all was to be built on the authority of God alone, and the revelation of his Spirit in the ſacred ſcriptures.

[b] "Wiſdom of this world," i. e. the knowledge, arts and ſciences attainable by man's natural parts and faculties; ſuch as man's wit could find out, cultivate and improve; "or of the princes of this world," i. e. ſuch doctrines, arts and ſciences, as the princes of the world approve, encourage, and endeavour to propagate.

[c] Though by Ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, may here be underſtood the princes, or great men, of this world, in the ordinary ſenſe of theſe words; yet he that well conſiders ver. 28. of the foregoing chapter, and ver. 8. of this chapter, may find reaſon to think, that the apoſtle here principally deſigns the rulers and great men of the Jewiſh nation. If it be objected, that there is little ground to think that St. Paul, by the wiſdom he diſowns, ſhould mean that of his own nation, which the Greeks of Corinth (whom he was writing to) had little acquaintance with, and had very little eſteem for; I reply, that to underſtand this right, and the pertinency of it, we muſt remember, that the great deſign of St. Paul, in writing to the Corinthians, was to take them off, from the reſpect and eſteem that many of them had for a falſe apoſtle, that was got in among them, and had there raiſed a faction againſt St. Paul. This pretended apoſtle, 'tis plain from 2 Cor. xi. 22. was a Jew, and as it ſeems, 2 Cor. v. 16, 17. valued himſelf upon that account, and poſſibly boaſted himſelf to be a man of note, either by birth, or alliance, or place, or learning, among that people, who counted themſelves the holy and illuminated people of God; and, therefore, to have a right to ſway among theſe new heathen converts. To obviate this claim of his, to any authority, St. Paul here tells the Corinthians, that the wiſdom and learning of the Jewiſh nation led them not into the knowledge of the wiſdom of God, i. e. the goſpel revealed in the old teſtament, evident in this, that it was their rulers and rabbies, who ſtiffly adhering to the notions and prejudices of their nation, had crucified Jeſus, the Lord of glory, and were now themſelves, with their ſtate and religion, upon the point to be ſwept away and aboliſhed. 'Tis to the ſame purpoſe, that 2 Cor. v. 16—19. he tells the Corinthians, That "he knows no man after the fleſh," i. e. that he acknowledges no dignity of birth, or deſcent, or outward national privileges. The old things of the Jewiſh conſtitution are paſt and gone; whoever is in Chriſt, and entered into his kingdom, is in a new creation, wherein all things are new, all things are from God: no right, no claim, or preference, derived to any one, from any former inſtitution; but every one's dignity conſiſts ſolely in this, that God had reconciled him to himſelf, not imputing his former treſpaſſes to him.

6 [d] Αἰὼν οὗτος, which we tranſlate "this world," ſeems to me to ſignify commonly, if not conſtantly, in the new teſtament, that ſtate which, during the Moſaical conſtitution, men, either Jews or Gentiles, were in, as contradiſtinguiſhed to the evangelical ſtate, or conſtitution, which is commonly called, Αἰὼν μέλλων, or ἐρχόμενος, "the world to come."

[e] Τῶν καταργουμένων, "who are brought to nought," i. e. who are vaniſhing. If "the wiſdom of this world, and of the princes of this world," be to be underſtood, of the wiſdom and learning of the world in general, as contradiſtinguiſhed to the doctrine of the goſpel, then the words are added, to ſhew what folly it is for them to glory, as they do, in their teachers, when all that worldly wiſdom, and learning, and the great men, the ſupporters of it, would quickly be gone; whereas all true and laſting glory came only from Jeſus Chriſt, the Lord of glory. But if theſe words are to be underſtood of the Jews, as ſeems moſt conſonant, both to the main deſign of the epiſtle, and to St. Paul's expreſſions here; then his telling them, that the princes of the Jewiſh nation are brought to nought, is to take them off from glorying in their judaizing, falſe apoſtle; ſince the authority of the rulers of that nation, in matters of religion, was now at an end, and they, with all their pretences, and their very conſtitution itſelf, were upon the point of being aboliſhed and ſwept away, for having rejected and crucified the Lord of glory.

7 [f] "Wiſdom of God," is uſed here for the doctrine of the goſpel, coming immediately from God, by the revelation of his Spirit; and, in this chapter, is ſet in oppoſition to all knowledge, diſcoveries and improvements whatſoever, attainable by human induſtry, parts and ſtudy; all which

TEXT.

hidden wiſdom, which God ordained, before the world, unto our glory.

8 Which none of the princes of this world knew; for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.

9 But, as it is written, "Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him."

10 But God hath revealed them unto us, by his Spirit; for the Spirit ſearcheth all things; yea, the deep things of God.

PARAPHRASE.

the myſterious and the obſcure prophecies of the old teſtament [a], which has been therein concealed and hid: tho' it be what God predetermined, in his own purpoſe, before the Jewiſh conſtitution [b], to the glory of us [c], who underſtand, receive, and preach it: Which none of the rulers amongſt the Jews underſtood; for, if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord Chriſt, who has in his hands the diſpoſing of all true glory. But they knew it not, as it is written, "Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, "nor have the things, that God hath prepared for "them that love him, entered into the heart or "thoughts of man." But theſe things, which are not diſcoverable by man's natural faculties and powers, God hath revealed to us, by his Spirit, which ſearcheth out all things, even the deep counſels 8. 9. 10.

NOTES.

which he calls, "the wiſdom of the world, and man's wiſdom." Thus diſtinguiſhing the knowledge of the goſpel, which was derived wholly from revelation, and could be had no other way, from all other knowledge whatſoever.

[a] What the Spirit of God had revealed of the goſpel, during the times of the law, was ſo little underſtood by the Jews, in whoſe ſacred writings it was contained, that it might well be called the "wiſdom of God in a myſtery," i. e. declared in obſcure prophecies, and myſterious expreſſions, and types. Though this be undoubtedly ſo, as appears by what the Jews both thought and did, when Jeſus the Meſſiah, exactly anſwering what was foretold of him, came amongſt them, yet by "the wiſdom of God, in the myſtery, wherein it was hid, though purpoſed by "God, before the ſettling of the Jewiſh œconomy," St. Paul ſeems more particularly to mean, what the Gentiles, and conſequently the Corinthians, were more peculiarly concerned in, viz. God's purpoſe of calling the Gentiles to be his people under the Meſſiah; which, tho' revealed in the old teſtament, yet was not in the leaſt underſtood, 'till the times of the goſpel, and the preaching of St. Paul, the apoſtle of the Gentiles, which, therefore, he ſo frequently calls a myſtery. The reading and comparing Rom. xvi. 25, 26. Eph. iii. 3—9. chap. vi. 19, 20. Col. i. 26, 27. and ii. 1—8. and iv. 3, 4. will give light to this. To which, give me leave to obſerve, upon the uſe of the word Wiſdom, here, that St. Paul, ſpeaking of God's calling the Gentiles, cannot, in mentioning it, forbear expreſſions of his admiration of the great and incomprehenſible wiſdom of God therein. See Eph. iii. 8, 10. Rom. xi. 33.

[b] Πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, ſignifies properly before the ages," and I think it may be doubted, whether theſe words, "before the world," do exactly render the ſenſe of the place. That αἰὼν, or αἰῶνες, ſhould not be tranſlated, "the world," as in many places they are, I ſhall give one convincing inſtance, among many, that may be brought, viz. Eph. iii. 9. compared with Col. i. 26. The words in Coloſſians are, τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, thus rendered in the Engliſh tranſlation, "which hath been hidden from ages;" but in Eph. iii. 9. a parallel place, the ſame words, τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, are tranſlated, "The myſtery which, from the beginning of the world, hath been hid." Whereas it is plain from Col. i. 26. ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, does not ſignify the epoch, or commencement of the concealment, but thoſe from whom it was concealed. 'Tis plain, the apoſtle, in the verſe immediately preceding, and that following this, which we have before us, ſpeaks of the Jews;" and therefore πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, here may be well underſtood to mean, "Before the ages of the Jews;" and ſo ἀπ' αἰώνων, "from the ages of the Jews," in the other two mentioned texts. Why αἰῶνες in theſe, and other places, as Luke i. 70. and Acts iii. 21. and elſewhere, ſhould be appropriated to the ages of the Jews, may be owing to their counting by ages, or jubilees, vid. Dr. Burthogge in his judicious treatiſe, "chriſtianity a revealed myſtery," cap. 2. pag. 17.

[c] St. Paul here oppoſes the true glory of a chriſtian, to the glorying, which was amongſt the Corinthians, in the eloquence, learning, or any other quality of their factious leaders; for St. Paul, in all his expreſſions, has an eye on his main purpoſe; as if he ſhould have ſaid, "Why do you "make diviſions, by glorying, as you do, in your diſtinct teachers; the Glory that God has or"dained us Chriſtian teachers and profeſſors to, is to be expounders, preachers, and believers of "thoſe revealed truths and purpoſes of God, which, though contained in the ſacred ſcriptures of "the old teſtament, were not underſtood in former ages. This is all the glory, that belongs to "us, the diſciples of Chriſt, who is the Lord of all power and glory, and herein has given us, "what far excels all, that either Jews, or Gentiles, had any expectation of, from what they "gloried in:" vid. ver. 9. Thus St. Paul takes away all matter of glorying from the falſe apoſtle, and his factious followers among the Corinthians. The excellency of the goſpel-miniſtration, ſee alſo 2 Cor. iii. 6—11.

PARAPHRASE.

ſels of God, which are beyond the reach of our
11. abilities to diſcover. For, as no man knoweth
what is in the mind of another man, but only the
ſpirit of the man himſelf, that is in him; ſo, much
leſs doth any man know, or can diſcover, the
thoughts and counſels of God, but only the Spirit
12. of God. But we[a] have received, not the ſpirit of
the world[b], but the Spirit, which is of God, that
we might know what things are in the purpoſe of
God, out of his free bounty to beſtow upon us.
13. Which things we not only know, but declare alſo;
not in the language and learning, taught by human
eloquence and philoſophy, but in the language and
expreſſions, which the Holy Ghoſt teacheth, in the
revelations contained in the holy ſcriptures, com-
14. paring one part of revelation[c] with another. [d] But
a man, who hath no other help, but his own natural faculties, how much ſoever improved by human
arts and ſciences, cannot receive the truths of the
goſpel, which are made known by another principle
only, viz. the Spirit of God revealing them; and
therefore ſeem fooliſh and abſurd to ſuch a man:
nor can he, by the bare uſe of his natural faculties,
and the principles of human reaſon, ever come to
the knowledge of them; becauſe it is, by the ſtudy-
15. ing of divine revelation alone, that we can attain the knowledge of them. But
he, that lays his foundation in divine revelation[c], can judge what is, and what
is not, the doctrine of the goſpel, and of ſalvation; he can judge who is, and
who is not, a good miniſter and preacher of the word of God: but others, who
are bare animal men, that go not beyond the diſcoveries, made by the natural
faculties of human underſtanding, without the help and ſtudy of revelation,
16. cannot judge of ſuch an one, whether he preacheth right and well, or not. For
who, by the bare uſe of his natural parts, can come to know the mind of the
Lord, in the deſign of the goſpel, ſo as to be able to inſtruct him[e] [the ſpiritual

TEXT.

For what man knoweth the things of a man, ſave the ſpirit of a man, which is in him? even ſo, the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. 11

Now we have received, not the ſpirit of the world, but the Spirit, which is of God; that we might know the things, that are freely given to us of God. 12

Which things alſo we ſpeak, not in the words, which man's wiſdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghoſt teacheth; comparing ſpiritual things with ſpiritual. 13

But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are fooliſhneſs unto him; neither can he know them; becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned. 14

But he, that is ſpiritual, judgeth all things, yet he himſelf is judged of no man. 15

For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may inſtruct him? but we have the mind of Chriſt. 16

NOTES.

12 [a] We, the true apoſtles, or rather I; for tho' he ſpeaks in the plural number, to avoid oſtentation, as it might be interpreted; yet he is here juſtifying himſelf, and ſhewing the Corinthians, that none of them had reaſon to forſake and ſlight him, to follow and cry up their falſe apoſtle. And that he ſpeaks of himſelf, is plain from the next verſe, where he ſaith, "We ſpeak not in the words which man's wiſdom teacheth," the ſame which he ſays of himſelf, chap. i. ver. 17. "I was ſent to preach, not with wiſdom of words." And chap. ii. ver. 1. "I came "to you, not with excellency of ſpeech, or of wiſdom."

[b] As he puts princes of the world, ver. 6, 8. for the rulers of the Jews, ſo here he puts "Spirit of the world," for the notions of the Jews, that worldly ſpirit, wherewith they interpreted the old teſtament, and the prophecies of the Meſſiah and his kingdom; which ſpirit, in contradiſtinction to the Spirit of God, which the Roman converts had received, he calls the ſpirit of bondage, Rom. viii. 15.

13 [c] 'Tis plain "the ſpiritual things," he here ſpeaks of, are the unſearchable counſels of God, revealed by the Spirit of God, which therefore he calls "ſpiritual things."

14, 15 [c] Ψυχικὸς, "the animal man, and πνευματικὸς, the ſpiritual man," are oppoſed by St. Paul in ver. 14, 15. the one ſignifying a man, that has no higher principles to build on, than thoſe of natural reaſon; the other, a man, that founds his faith and religion on divine revelation. This is what appears to be meant by natural, or rather animal man, and ſpiritual, as they ſtand oppoſed, in theſe two verſes.

16 [e] Αὐτὸν, him, refers here to ſpiritual man, in the former verſe, and not to Lord, in this. For St. Paul is ſhewing here, not that a natural man, and a mere philoſopher, cannot inſtruct Chriſt; this no body, pretending to be a Chriſtian, could own; but that a man, by his bare natural parts, not knowing the mind of the Lord, could not inſtruct, could not judge, could not correct a preacher of the goſpel, who built upon revelation, as he did, and therefore 'twas ſure he had the mind of Chriſt.

tual man] in it? But I who, renouncing all human learning and knowledge in the caſe, take all, that I preach, from divine revelation alone, I am ſure, that therein I have the mind of Chriſt; and, therefore, there is no reaſon, why any of you ſhould prefer other teachers to me; glory in them who oppoſe and vilify me; and count it an honour to go for their ſcholars, and be of their party.

SECT. II. N. 5.

CHAP. III. 1—IV. 20.

CONTENTS.

THE next matter of boaſting, which the faction made uſe of, to give the pre-eminence and preference to their leader, above St. Paul, ſeems to have been this, that their new teacher had led them further, and given them a deeper inſight into the myſteries of the goſpel, than St. Paul had done. To take away their glorying on this account, St. Paul tells them, that they were carnal, and not capable of thoſe more advanced truths, or any thing, beyond the firſt principles of Chriſtianity, which he had taught them; and, tho' another had come and watered what he had planted, yet neither planter, nor waterer, could aſſume to himſelf any glory from thence, becauſe it was God alone, that gave the increaſe. But, whatever new doctrines they might pretend to receive, from their magnified, new apoſtle, yet no man could lay any other foundation, in a Chriſtian church, but what he, St. Paul, had laid, viz. that "Jeſus is the Chriſt;" and, therefore, there was no reaſon to glory in their teachers; becauſe, upon this foundation, they, poſſibly, might build falſe, or unſound doctrines, for which they ſhould receive no thanks from God; tho', continuing in the faith, they might be ſaved. Some of the particular hay and ſtubble, which this leader brought into the church at Corinth, he ſeems particularly to point at, chap. iii. 16, 17, viz. their defiling the church, by retaining, and, as it may be ſuppoſed, patronizing the fornicator, who ſhould have been turned out, ch. v. 7,——13. He further adds, that theſe extolled heads of their party were, at beſt, but men; and none of the church ought to glory in men; for even Paul, and Apollos, and Peter, and all the other preachers of the goſpel, were for the uſe, and benefit, and glory of the church, as the church was for the glory of Chriſt.

MOREOVER, he ſhews them, that they ought not to be puffed up, upon the account of theſe their new teachers, to the undervaluing of him, tho' it ſhould be true, that they had learned more from them, than from himſelf, for theſe reaſons:

1. BECAUSE all the preachers of the goſpel are but ſtewards of the myſteries of God; and, whether they have been faithful in their ſtewardſhip, cannot be now known; and, therefore, they ought not to be ſome of them magnified and extolled, and others depreſſed and blamed by their hearers here, 'till Chriſt their Lord come; and then he, knowing how they have behaved themſelves in their miniſtry, will give them their due praiſes. Beſides, theſe ſtewards have nothing, but what they have received; and, therefore, no glory belongs to them for it.

2. BECAUSE, if theſe leaders were (as was pretended) apoſtles, glory, and honour, and outward affluence here, was not their portion, the apoſtles being deſtined to want, contempt and perſecution.

3. THEY ought not to be honoured, followed and gloried in, as apoſtles, becauſe they had not the power of miracles, which he intended ſhortly to come, and ſhew, they had not.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

Chap. III.

PARAPHRASE.

AND I, brethren, found you ſo given up to pride
1. and vain-glory, in affectation of learning and
philoſophical knowledge [a], that I could not ſpeak
to you as ſpiritual [b], i. e. as to men not wholly depending
on philoſophy, and the diſcoveries of natural
reaſon; as to men, who had reſigned themſelves
up, in matters of religion, to revelation, and the
knowledge, which comes only from the Spirit of
God; but as to carnal [c], even as to babes, who yet
retained a great many childiſh and wrong notions
about it: this hindered me, that I could not go ſo
far, as I deſired, in the myſteries of the Chriſtian
religion; But was fain to content myſelf with inſtructing
you in the firſt principles [d], and more obvious
2. and eaſy doctrines of it. I could not apply myſelf
to you, as to ſpiritual men [e], that could compare ſpiritual
things with ſpiritual, one part of ſcripture with
another, and thereby underſtand the truths, revealed
by the Spirit of God, diſcerning true from falſe
doctrines, good and uſeful, from evil [f] and vain opinions.
A further diſcovery of the truths and myſteries
of Chriſtianity, depending wholly on revelation,
you were not able to bear, then; nor are you
3. yet able to bear; Becauſe you are carnal, full of envyings,
and ſtrife, and factions, upon the account of
your knowledge, and the orthodoxy of your particular
4. parties [g]. For, whilſt you ſay, one, "I am of
Paul;" and another, "I am of Apollos [h]," are ye
not carnal, and manage yourſelves in the conduct,
both of your minds and actions, according to barely
human

TEXT.

AND I, brethren, could not ſpeak unto you as unto ſpiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Chriſt. 1

I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able. 2

For ye are yet carnal: for whereas there is among you envying, and ſtrife, and diviſions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men? 3

For while one ſaith, I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos, are ye not carnal? 4

NOTES.

1 [a] Vid. ch. i. 22. and iii. 18.

[b] Here πνευματικὸς, ſpiritual, is here oppoſed to σαρκικὸς, carnal, as chap. ii. 14. it is to ψυχικὸς, natural, or rather animal; ſo that here we have three ſorts of men, 1. Carnal, i. e. ſuch as are ſwayed by fleſhly paſſions and intereſts. 2. Animal, ſuch as ſeek wiſdom, or a way to happineſs, only by the ſtrength and guidance of their own natural parts, without any ſupernatural light, coming from the Spirit of God, i. e. by reaſon without revelation, by philoſophy without ſcripture. 3. Spiritual, i. e. ſuch as ſeek their direction to happineſs, not in the dictates of natural reaſon and philoſophy, but in the revelations of the Spirit of God, in the holy ſcriptures.

1 [c] Here σαρκικὸς, carnal, is oppoſed to πνευματικὸς, ſpiritual, in the ſame ſenſe, that ψυχικὸς, natural, or animal, is oppoſed to πνευματικὸς, ſpiritual, chap. ii. 14. as appears by the explication, which St. Paul himſelf gives here to σαρκικὸς, carnal: for he makes the carnal, to be all one with babes in Chriſt, v. 1. i. e. ſuch as had not their underſtandings yet fully opened to the true grounds of the Chriſtian religion, but retained a great many childiſh thoughts about it, as appeared by their diviſions; one for the doctrine of his maſter, Paul; another for that of his maſter, Apollos; which, if they had been ſpiritual, i. e. had looked upon the doctrine of the goſpel to have come ſolely from the Spirit of God, and to be had only from revelation, they could not have done. For then, all human mixtures, of any thing derived, either from Paul or Apollos, or any other man, had been wholly excluded. But they, in theſe diviſions, profeſſed to hold their religion, one from one man, and another from another; and were thereupon divided into parties. This, he tells them, was to be carnal, and περιπατεῖν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, to be held by principles purely human, i. e. to found their religion upon mens natural parts and diſcoveries, whereas the goſpel was wholly built upon divine revelation, and nothing elſe; and from thence alone thoſe, who were πνευματικοὶ, took it.

[d] That this is the meaning of the apoſtle's metaphor of milk and babes, may be ſeen Heb. v. 12—14.

2 [e] Vid. chap. ii. 13.

[f] Vid. Heb. v. 14.

3 [g] Κατ' ἄνθρωπον, "ſpeaking according to man," ſignifies ſpeaking according to the principles of natural reaſon, in contradiſtinction to revelation: vid. 1 Cor. ix. 8. Gal. i. 11. And ſo "walking according to man," muſt here be underſtood.

4 [h] From this 4th verſe, compared with chap. iv. 6. it may be no improbable conjecture, that the diviſion in this church was only into two oppoſite parties, whereof the one adhered to St. Paul, the other ſtood up for their head, a falſe apoſtle, who oppoſed St. Paul. For the Apollos, whom

5 Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but miniſters, by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man?

6 I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increaſe.

7 So then, neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth; but God, that giveth the increaſe.

8 Now he that planteth, and he that watereth, are one; and every man ſhall receive his own reward, according to his own labour.

9 For we are labourers together with God: ye are God's huſbandry, ye are God's building.

10 According to the grace of God, which is given unto me, as a wiſe maſter-builder,

human principles, and do not, as ſpiritual men, acknowledge all that information, and all thoſe gifts,
wherewith the miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt are furniſhed,
for the propagation of the goſpel, to come wholly from the Spirit of God?

What, then, are any of the preachers of the goſ- 5.
pel, that you ſhould glory in them, and divide into
parties, under their names? Who, for example, is
Paul, or who Apollos? What are they elſe, but bare
miniſters, by whoſe miniſtry, according to thoſe ſeveral abilities and gifts, which God has beſtowed upon
each of them, ye have received the goſpel? They
are only ſervants, employed to bring unto you a religion, derived entirely from divine revelation, wherein human abilities, or wiſdom, had nothing to do.
The preachers of it are only inſtruments, by whom
this doctrine is conveyed to you, which, whether you
look on it in its original, it is not a thing of human
invention or diſcovery; or whether you look upon
the gifts of the teachers, who inſtruct you in it, all is
entirely from God alone, and affords you not the leaſt
ground to attribute any thing to your teachers. For 6.
example, I planted it amongſt you, and Apollos watered it: but nothing can from thence be aſcribed to
either of us: there is no reaſon for your calling yourſelves, ſome of Paul, and others of Apollos. For 7.
neither the planter, nor the waterer, have any power
to make it take root and grow in your hearts; they
are as nothing, in that reſpect; the growth and ſucceſs is owing to God alone. The planter and the 8.
waterer, on this account, are all one, neither of them
to be magnified, or preferred, before the other; they
are but inſtruments, concurring to the ſame end, and
therefore ought not to be diſtinguiſhed, and ſet in
oppoſition one to another, or cried up, as more deſerving, one than another. We, the preachers of the 9.
goſpel, are but labourers, employed by God, about that
which is his work, and from him ſhall receive reward
hereafter, every one according to his own labour;
and not from men here, who are liable to make a
wrong eſtimate of the labours of their teachers, preferring thoſe, who do not labour together with God,
who do not carry on the deſign, or work of God, in
the goſpel, or perhaps do not carry it on, equally
with others, who are undervalued by them. Ye 10.
who are the church of God, are God's building, in
which

NOTE.

St. Paul mentions here, was one (as he tells us, ver. 6.) who came in, and watered what he had planted; i. e. when St. Paul had planted a church at Corinth, this Apollos got into it, and pretended to inſtruct them further, and boaſted in his performances amongſt them, which St. Paul takes notice of again, 2 Cor. x. 15, 16. Now the Apollos, that he here ſpeaks of, he himſelf tells us, chap. iv. 6. was another man, under that borrowed name. 'Tis true, St. Paul, in his epiſtles to the Corinthians, generally ſpeaks of theſe his oppoſers in the plural number; but it is to be remember'd, that he ſpeaks ſo of himſelf too, which, as it was the leſs invidious way, in regard of himſelf, ſo it was the ſofter way towards his oppoſers, though he ſeems to intimate plainly, that it was one leader that was ſet up againſt him.

PARAPHRASE.

which I, according to the ſkill and knowledge which
God, of his free bounty, has been pleaſed to give me,
and, therefore, ought not to be to me, or any other,
matter of glorying, as a ſkilful architect, have laid a
ſure foundation, which is Jeſus, the Meſſiah, the ſole
11. and only foundation of chriſtianity, Beſides which, no
man can lay any other. But, tho' no man, who pretends
to be a preacher of the goſpel, can build upon
any other foundation, yet you ought not to cry up
your new inſtructor[a] (who has come and built upon
the foundation, that I laid) for the doctrines, he
builds thereon, as if there were no other miniſter
12. of the goſpel but he. For 'tis poſſible a man may
build, upon that true foundation, wood, hay, and
ſtubble, things that will not bear the teſt, when the
13. trial by fire, at the laſt day[b], ſhall come. At that
day, every man's work ſhall be tried and diſcovered,
14. of what ſort it is. If what he hath taught be ſound
and good, and will ſtand the trial, as ſilver and gold,
and precious ſtones abide in the fire, he ſhall be rewarded
15. for his labour in the goſpel. But, if he hath
introduced falſe or unſound doctrines into chriſtianity,
he ſhall be like a man, whoſe building, being
of wood, hay, and ſtubble, is conſumed by the fire,
all his pains in building is loſt, and his works deſtroyed
and gone, tho' he himſelf ſhould eſcape and
16. be ſaved. I told you, that ye are God's building[c];
yea, more than that, ye are the temple of God, in
17. which his Spirit dwelleth. If any man, by corrupt
doctrine or diſcipline, defileth[d] the temple of God,
he ſhall not be ſaved with loſs, as by fire; but him
will God deſtroy: for the temple of God is holy,
18. which temple ye are. Let no man deceive himſelf,
by his ſucceſs in carrying his point[e]: if any one
ſeemeth to himſelf, or others, wiſe[f], in worldly wiſdom,
ſo as to pride himſelf in his parts and dexterity,
in compaſſing his ends, let him renounce all his natural
and acquired parts, all his knowledge and ability,
that

TEXT.

I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon.

For other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jeſus Chriſt. 11

Now, if any man build upon this foundation, gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, wood, hay, ſtubble; 12

Every man's work ſhall be made manifeſt. For the day ſhall declare it, becauſe it ſhall be revealed by fire; and the fire will try every man's work, of what ſort it is. 13

If any man's work abide, which he hath built thereupon, he ſhall receive a reward. 14

If any man's work ſhall be burnt, he ſhall ſuffer loſs: but he himſelf ſhall be ſaved; yet ſo, as by fire. 15

Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? 16

If any man defile the temple of God, him ſhall God deſtroy: for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are. 17

Let no man deceive himſelf: if any man among you ſeemeth to be wiſe in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wiſe. 18

NOTES.

11 [a] Chap. iv. 15. In this he reflects on the falſe apoſtle, 2 Cor. x. 15, 16.

12 [b] When the day of trial and recompence ſhall be; ſee chap. iv. 5. where he ſpeaks of the ſame thing.

16. [c] Vid. ver. 9.

17 [d] It is not incongruous to think, that by any man, here, St. Paul deſigns one particular man, viz. the falſe apoſtle, who, 'tis probable, by the ſtrength of his party, ſupporting and retaining the fornicator, mentioned chap. v. in the church, had defiled it; which may be the reaſon, why St. Paul ſo often mentions fornication, in this epiſtle, and that, in ſome places, with particular emphaſis, as chap. v. 9. and vi. 13—20. Moſt of the diſorders, in this church, we may look on, as owing to this falſe apoſtle; which is the reaſon, why St. Paul ſets himſelf ſo much againſt him, in both theſe epiſtles, and makes almoſt the whole buſineſs of them, to draw the Corinthians off from this leader, judging, as 'tis like, that this church could not be reformed, as long as that perſon was in credit, and had a party among them.

18 [e] What it was, wherein the craftineſs of the perſon mentioned had appeared, it was not neceſſary for St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, who knew the matter of fact, to particularize to us: therefore it is left to gueſs, and poſſibly we ſhall not be much out, if we take it to be the keeping the fornicator from cenſure, ſo much inſiſted on by St. Paul, chap. v.

[f] That by σοφὸς here, the apoſtle means, a cunning man in buſineſs, is plain from his quotation in the next verſe, where the Wiſe, ſpoken of, are the crafty.

19 For the wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs with God: for it is written, He taketh the wiſe in their own craftineſs.

20 And again, The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wiſe, that they are vain.

21 Therefore let no man glory in men: for all things are yours:

22 Whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things preſent, or things to come; all are yours:

23 And ye are Chriſt's; and Chriſt is God's.

that he may become truly wiſe, in embracing and
owning no other knowledge, but the ſimplicity of
the Goſpel. For all other wiſdom, all the wiſdom 19.
of the world, is fooliſhneſs with God: for it is written,
"He taketh the wiſe in their own craftineſs."
And again, "The Lord knoweth the thoughts of 20.
the wiſe, that they are vain." Therefore, let none 21.
of you glory in any of your teachers; for they are
but men. For all your teachers, whether Paul, or 22.
Apollos, or Peter, even the apoſtles themſelves, nay,
all the world, and even the world to come, all things
are yours, for your ſake and uſe:
As you are Chriſt's, ſubjects of his kingdom, for his 23.
glory; and Chriſt, and his kingdom, for the glory of
God. Therefore, if all your teachers, and ſo many
other greater things, are for you, and for your ſakes,
you can have no reaſon to make it a glory to you,
that you belong to this, or that, particular teacher
amongſt you: your true glory is, that you are Chriſt's,
and Chriſt and all his are God's; and not, that you
are this, or that, man's ſcholar or follower.

CHAP. IV.

1 Let a man ſo account of us, as of the miniſters of Chriſt, and ſtewards of the myſteries of God.

2 Moreover, it is required in ſtewards, that a man be found faithful.

3 But with me it is a very ſmall thing, that I ſhould be judged of you, or of man's judgment: yea, I judge not mine own ſelf.

4 For I know nothing by myſelf, yet am I not hereby juſtified: but he that judgeth me, is the Lord.

5 Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkneſs, and will make manifeſt the counſels of the hearts: and then ſhall every man have praiſe of God.

6 And theſe things, brethren, I have in a figure transferred to myſelf, and to Apollos, for your ſakes; that ye might learn in us, not to think of men

As for me, I pretend not to ſet up a ſchool amongſt
you, and as a maſter to have my ſcholars denominated 1.
from me; no, let no man have higher thoughts
of me, than as a miniſter of Chriſt, employed as his
ſteward, to diſpenſe the truths and doctrines of the
goſpel, which are the myſteries which God wrapped
up, in types, and obſcure predictions, where they have
lain hid, till by us, his apoſtles, he now reveals them.
Now that, which is principally required and regarded 2.
in a ſteward, is, that he be faithful in diſpenſing what
is committed to his charge. But as for me, I value 3.
it not, if I am cenſured by ſome of you, or by any
man, as not being a faithful ſteward: nay, as to
this, I paſs no judgment on myſelf. For tho' I can 4.
truly ſay, that I know nothing by myſelf, yet am I
not hereby juſtified to you: but the Lord, whoſe
ſteward I am, at the laſt day will pronounce ſentence
on my behaviour in my ſtewardſhip, and then you
will know what to think of me. Then judge not 5.
either me, or others, before the time, until the
Lord come, who will bring to light the dark and
ſecret counſels of men's hearts, in preaching the
goſpel: and then ſhall every one have that praiſe,
that eſtimate ſet upon him, by God himſelf, which
he truly deſerves. But praiſe ought not to be given
them, before the time, by their hearers, who are
ignorant, fallible men. On this occaſion I have 6.
named Apollos and myſelf [a], as the magnified and
oppoſed heads of diſtinct factions amongſt you; not
that we are ſo, but out of reſpect to you, that I
might

NOTE.

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6 [a] Vid. chap. iii. 4.

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PARAPHRASE.

Chap. IV. might offend no body, by naming them; and that
you might learn by us, of whom I have written [a],
that we are but planters, waterers, and ſtewards, not
to think of the miniſters of the goſpel, above what
I have written to you of them, that you be not puffed
up, each party, in the vain glory of their own extolled
leader, to the crying down and contempt of
7. any other, who is well eſteemed of by others. For
what maketh one to differ from another? or what
gifts of the Spirit, what knowledge of the goſpel has
any leader amongſt you, which he received not, as
intruſted to him of God, and not acquired by his
own abilities? And if he received it as a ſteward,
why does he glory in that, which is not his own?
8. However, you are mightily ſatisfied with your preſent
ſtate; you now are full, you now are rich, and
abound in every thing you deſire; you have not need
of me, but have reigned like princes without me;
and I wiſh truly you did reign, that I might come
and ſhare in the protection and proſperity you enjoy,
9. now you are in your kingdom. For I being made
an apoſtle laſt of all, it ſeems to me as if I were
brought laſt [b] upon the ſtage, to be, in my ſufferings
and death, a ſpectacle to the world, and to angels,
10. and to men. I am a fool for Chriſt's ſake, but you
manage your Chriſtian concerns with wiſdom. I am
weak, and in a ſuffering condition [c]; you are ſtrong
and flouriſhing; you are honourable, but I am deſpiſed.
11. Even to this preſent hour, I both hunger
and thirſt, and want cloaths, and am buffeted, wandering
12. without houſe or home; And maintain myſelf
with the labour of my hands. Being reviled,
13. I bleſs: being perſecuted, I ſuffer patiently: Being
defamed, I intreat: I am made as the filth of the
world, and the off-ſcouring of all things unto this
14. day. I write not theſe things to ſhame you; but
as a father to warn you, my children, that ye be not
the devoted zealous partiſans and followers of ſuch,
whoſe carriage is not like this; under whom, however
you may flatter yourſelves, in truth, you do
not reign; but on the contrary, ye are domineered
15. over, and fleeced by them [d]. I warn you, I ſay,
as your father: for how many teachers ſoever you
may have, you can have but one father; it was I,
that begot you in Chriſt, i. e. I converted you to
16. Chriſtianity. Wherefore I beſeech you, be ye followers
17. of me [e]. To this purpoſe I have ſent my
beloved

TEXT.

above that which is written, that no one of you be puffed up, for one againſt another.

7 For who maketh thee to differ from another? and what haſt thou that thou didſt not receive? Now, if thou didſt receive it, why doſt thou glory, as if thou hadſt not received it?

8 Now ye are full, now ye are rich, ye have reigned as kings without us: and I would to God ye did reign, that we alſo might reign with you.

9 For I think that God hath ſet forth us the apoſtles laſt, as it were, appointed to death. For we are made a ſpectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men.

10 We are fools for Chriſt's ſake, but ye are wiſe in Chriſt: we are weak, but ye are ſtrong: ye are honourable, but we are deſpiſed.

11 Even unto this preſent hour, we both hunger and thirſt, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place;

12 And labour, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bleſs: being perſecuted, we ſuffer it:

13 Being defamed, we intreat: we are made as the filth of the world, and are the off-ſcouring of all things unto this day.

14 I write not theſe things to ſhame you; but, as my beloved ſons, I warn you.

15 For, though you have ten thouſand inſtructors in Chriſt, yet have ye not many fathers: for, in Chriſt Jeſus, I have begotten you, through the goſpel.

16 Wherefore I beſeech you, be ye followers of me.

17 For this cauſe have I ſent

NOTES.

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[a] Vid. chap. iii. 6, 9. chap. iv. 1.

9 [b] The apoſtle ſeems here to allude to the cuſtom of bringing thoſe laſt upon the theatre, who were to be deſtroyed by wild beaſts.

10 [c] So he uſes the word weakneſs, often, in his epiſtle to the Corinthians, applied to himſelf: vid. 2 Cor. xii. 10.

14 [d] Vid. 2 Cor. xi. 20. St. Paul here, from ver. 8, to 17. by giving an account of his own carriage, gently rebukes them for following men of a different character, and exhorts them to be followers of himſelf.

16 [e] This he preſſes again, chap. xi. 1. and 'tis not likely he would have propoſed himſelf, over and over again, to them, to be followed by them, had the queſtion and conteſt amongſt them been only,

TEXT.

unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved ſon, and faithful in the Lord, who ſhall bring you into remembrance of my ways, which be in Chriſt, as I teach every where in every church.

18 Now ſome are puffed up, as though I would not come to you.

19 But I will come to you ſhortly, if the Lord will, and will know, not the ſpeech of them which are puffed up, but the power.

20 For the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power.

PARAPHRASE.

beloved ſon Timothy to you, who may be relied
upon: he ſhall put you in mind, and inform you,
how I behave myſelf every where in the miniſtry
of the goſpel[a]. Some, indeed, are puffed up, and 18.
make their boaſts, as if I would not come to you.
But I intend, God willing, to come ſhortly; and 19.
then will make trial, not of the rhetorick, or talking,
of thoſe boaſters, but of what miraculous
power of the Holy Ghoſt is in them. For the 20.
doctrine and prevalency of the goſpel, the propagation
and ſupport of Chriſt's kingdom, by the converſion
and eſtabliſhment of believers, does not conſiſt
in talking, nor in the fluency of a glib tongue,
and a fine diſcourſe, but in the miraculous operations
of the Holy Ghoſt.

NOTES.

only, whoſe name they ſhould have borne, his, or their new teacher's. His propoſing himſelf, therefore, thus to be followed, muſt be underſtood, in direct oppoſition to the falſe apoſtle, who miſled them, and was not to be ſuffered to have any credit, or followers, amongſt them.

17 [a] This he does to ſhew, that what he taught them, and preſſed them to, was not in a pique againſt his oppoſer, but to convince them, that all he did, at Corinth, was the very ſame, and no other, than what he did every where, as a faithful ſteward and miniſter of the goſpel.

SECT. II. N. 6.

CHAP. IV. 21.—VI. 20.

CONTENTS.

ANother means, which St. Paul makes uſe of, to bring off the Corinthians from their falſe apoſtle, and to ſtop the veneration of him, and their glorying in him, is by repreſenting to them the fault and diſorder, which was committed in that church, by not judging and expelling the fornicator; which neglect, as may be gueſſed, was owing to that faction.

1. BECAUSE it is natural for a faction, to ſupport and protect an offender, that is of their ſide.

2. FROM the great fear St. Paul was in, whether they would obey him, in cenſuring the offender, as appears by the ſecond epiſtle; which he could not fear, but from the oppoſite faction; they, who had preſerved their reſpect to him, being ſure to follow his orders.

3. FROM what he ſays, ch. iv. 16. After he had told them, ver. 6. of that chapter, that they ſhould not be puffed up, for any other, againſt him, (for ſo the whole ſcope of his diſcourſe here imports) he beſeeches them to be his followers, i. e. leaving their other guides, to follow him, in puniſhing the offender. For that we may conclude, from his immediately inſiſting on it ſo earneſtly, he had in his view, when he beſeeches them to be followers of him, and conſequently that they might join with him, and take him for their leader, chap. v. 3, 4. he makes himſelf by his ſpirit, as his proxy, the preſident of their aſſembly, to be convened for the puniſhing that criminal.

4 IT may further be ſuſpected, from what St. Paul ſays, ch. vi. 1. that the oppoſite party, to ſtop the church-cenſure, pretended that this was a matter to be judged by the civil magiſtrate: nay, poſſibly, from what is ſaid, ver. 6. of that chapter, it may be gathered, that they had got it brought before the

heathen judge; or at leaſt from ver. 12. that they pleaded, that what he had done was lawful, and might be juſtified before the magiſtrate. For the judging ſpoken of, chap. vi. muſt be underſtood to relate to the ſame matter it does, chap. v. it being a continuation of the ſame diſcourſe and argument: as is eaſy to be obſerved by any one, who will read it without regarding the diviſions into chapters and verſes, whereby ordinary people (not to ſay others) are often diſturbed in reading the holy ſcripture, and hindered from obſerving the true ſenſe and coherence of it. The whole 6th chapter is ſpent in proſecuting the buſineſs of the fornicator, begun in the 5th. That this is ſo, is evident from the latter end, as well as beginning of the 6th chapter. And therefore, what St. Paul ſays of lawful, chap. vi. 12. may, without any violence, be ſuppoſed to be ſaid, in anſwer to ſome, who might have alledged in favour of the fornicator, that what he had done was lawful, and might be juſtified by the laws of the country, which he was under: why elſe ſhould St. Paul ſubjoin ſo many arguments (wherewith he concludes this 6th chapter, and this ſubject) to prove the fornication, in queſtion, to be, by the law of the goſpel, a great ſin, and conſequently fit for a Chriſtian church to cenſure, in one of its members, however it might paſs for lawful, in the eſteem, and by the laws of Gentiles?

There is one objection, which, at firſt ſight, ſeems to be a ſtrong argument againſt this ſuppoſition; that the fornication, here ſpoken of, was held lawful by the Gentiles of Corinth, and that, poſſibly, this very caſe had been brought before the magiſtrate there, and not condemned. The objection ſeems to lie in theſe words; ch. v. 1. "There is fornication heard of amongſt you, and ſuch fornication, as is not heard of, amongſt the Gentiles, that one ſhould have his father's wife." But yet I conceive, the words, duly conſidered, have nothing in them, contrary to my ſuppoſition.

To clear this, I take liberty to ſay, it cannot be thought that this man had his father's wife, whilſt, by the laws of the place, ſhe actually was his father's wife; for then it had been μοιχεία and adultery, and ſo the apoſtle would have called it, which was a crime in Greece; nor could it be tolerated in any civil ſociety, that one man ſhould have the uſe of a woman, whilſt ſhe was another man's wife, i. e. another man's right and poſſeſſion.

The caſe, therefore, here ſeems to be this; the woman had parted from her huſband; which it is plain, from chap. vii. 10, 11, 13. at Corinth, women could do. For if, by the law of that country, a woman could not divorce herſelf from her huſband, the apoſtle had there, in vain, bid her not leave her huſband.

But, however known and allowed a practice it might be, amongſt the Corinthians, for a woman to part from her huſband; yet this was the firſt time, it was ever known that her huſband's own ſon ſhould marry her. This is that, which the apoſtle takes notice of in theſe words, "Such a fornication, as is not named amongſt the Gentiles." Such a fornication this was, ſo little known in practice amongſt them, that it was not ſo much as heard, named, or ſpoken of, by any of them. But, whether they held it unlawful, that a woman, ſo ſeparated, ſhould marry her huſband's ſon, when ſhe was looked upon, to be at liberty from her former huſband, and free to marry whom ſhe pleaſed, that the apoſtle ſays not. This, indeed, he declares, that, by the law of Chriſt, a woman's leaving her huſband, and marrying another, is unlawful, ch. vii. 11. and this woman's marrying her huſband's ſon, he declares, ch. v. 1. (the place before us) to be fornication, a peculiar ſort of fornication, whatever the Corinthians, or their law, might determine in the caſe: and, therefore, a Chriſtian church might and ought to have cenſured it, within themſelves, it being an offence againſt the rule of the goſpel; which is the law of their ſociety: and they might, and ſhould, have expelled this fornicator, out of their ſociety, for not ſubmitting to the law of it; notwithſtanding that the civil laws of the country, and the judgment of the heathen magiſtrate, might acquit him. Suitably hereunto, it is very remarkable, that the arguments, that St. Paul uſes, in the cloſe of this diſcourſe, chap. vi. 13—20.

to prove fornication unlawful, are all drawn ſolely from the Chriſtian inſtitution, ver. 9. That our bodies are made for the Lord, ver. 13. That our bodies are members of Chriſt, ver. 15. That our bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghoſt, ver. 19. That we are not our own, but bought with a price, ver. 20. All which arguments concern Chriſtians only; and there is not, in all this diſcourſe againſt fornication, one word to declare it to be unlawful, by the law of nature, to mankind in general. That was altogether needleſs, and beſides the apoſtle's purpoſe here, where he was teaching and exhorting Chriſtians, what they were to do, as Chriſtians, within their own ſociety, by the law of Chriſt, which was to be their rule, and was ſufficient to oblige them, whatever other laws the reſt of mankind obſerved, or were under. Thoſe he profeſſes, chap. v. 12, 13. not to meddle with, nor to judge: for having no authority amongſt them, he leaves them to the judgment of God, under whoſe government they are.

These conſiderations afford ground to conjecture, that the faction, which oppoſed St. Paul, had hindered the church of Corinth from cenſuring the fornicator, and that St. Paul ſhewing them their miſcarriage herein, aims thereby to leſſen the credit of their leader, by whoſe influence they were drawn into it. For, as ſoon as they had unanimouſly ſhewn their obedience to St. Paul, in this matter, we ſee his ſeverity ceaſes, and he is all ſoftneſs and gentleneſs to the offender, 2 Cor. ii. 5—8. And he tells them in expreſs words, ver. 9. that his end, in writing to them of it, was to try their obedience: to which let me add, that this ſuppoſition, though it had not all the evidence for it, which it has, yet being ſuited to St. Paul's principal deſign in this epiſtle, and helping us the better to underſtand theſe two chapters, may deſerve to be mentioned.

TEXT.

21 What will ye? ſhall I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the ſpirit of meekneſs?

1 It is reported commonly, that there is fornication among you, and ſuch fornication, as is not ſo much as named amongſt the Gentiles, that one ſhould have his father's wife.

2 And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed, might be taken away from among you.

3 For I verily, as abſent in body, but preſent in ſpirit, have judged already, as though I were preſent, concerning him, that hath ſo done this deed:

4 In the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when ye are

PARAPHRASE.

I Purpoſed to come unto you: But what would you have me do? Shall I come to you, with a rod, to chaſtiſe you? Or with kindneſs, and a peaceable diſpoſition of mind [a]? 21.

Chap. V. In ſhort, it is commonly reported, that there is fornication [b] among you, and ſuch fornication, as is not known [c] ordinarily among the heathen, that one ſhould have his father's wife. 1.

And yet ye remain puffed up, though it would better have become you to have been dejected, for this ſcandalous fact amongſt you; and in a mournful ſenſe of it, to have removed the offender out of the church. 2.

For I truly, though abſent in body, yet as preſent in ſpirit, have thus already judged, as if I were perſonally with you, him that committed this fact: 3.

When, in the name of the Lord Jeſus, ye are aſſembled, and my ſpirit, i. e. my vote, as if I were preſent, making one, by the Spirit of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 4.

NOTES.

21 [a] He that ſhall carefully read 2 Cor. i. 20.—ii. 11. will eaſily perceive that this laſt verſe here, of this 4th chapter, is an introduction to the ſevere act of diſcipline, which St. Paul was going to exerciſe amongſt them, though abſent, as if he had been preſent. And, therefore, this verſe ought not to have been ſeparated from the following chapter, as if it belonged not to that diſcourſe.

1 [b] Vid. chap. iv. 8, 10. The writers of the new teſtament ſeem to uſe the Greek word πορνεία, which we tranſlate, fornication, in the ſame ſenſe that the Hebrews uſed זנות, which we alſo tranſlate, fornication; tho' it be certain, both theſe words, in ſacred ſcripture, have a larger ſenſe than the word, fornication, has in our language; for זנות, amongſt the Hebrews, ſignified, "Turpitudinem," or "Rem turpem," uncleanneſs, or any flagitious ſcandalous crime, but more eſpecially, the uncleanneſs of unlawful copulation and idolatry; and not preciſely fornication, in our ſenſe of the word, i. e. the unlawful mixture of an unmarried couple.

[c] [Not known] That the marrying of a ſon-in-law, and a mother-in-law, was not prohibited by the laws of the Roman empire, may be ſeen in Tully; but yet it was looked on, as ſo ſcandalous and infamous, that it never had any countenance from practice. His words in his oration

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. V.
5. Chriſt, Deliver the offender up to Satan, that, being
put thus into the hands and power of the devil, his
body may be afflicted, and brought down, that his
ſoul may be ſaved, when the Lord Jeſus comes to
6. judge the world. Your glorying [a], as you do, in a
leader, who drew you into this ſcandalous indulgence [b]
in this caſe, is a fault in you: ye that are
knowing, know you not that a little leaven leaveneth
7. the whole [c] lump? Therefore, laying by that deference
and veneration ye had, for thoſe leaders you
gloried in, turn out from among you that fornicator,
that the church may receive no taint from him,
that you may be a pure, new lump, or ſociety, free
from ſuch a dangerous mixture, which may corrupt
8. you. For Chriſt, our paſſover, is ſlain for us. Therefore
let us, in commemoration of his death, and our
9. deliverance by him, be a holy people to him [d]. I
wrote to you before, that you ſhould not keep company
10. with fornicators. You are not to underſtand by
it, as if I meant, that you are to avoid all unconverted
heathens, that are fornicators, or covetous, or
rapacious, or idolaters, for, then, you muſt go out
11. of the world. But that, which I now write unto
you, is, that you ſhould not keep company, no, nor
eat, with a Chriſtian by profeſſion, who is laſcivious,
covetous, idolatrous, a railer, drunkard, or rapacious.
12. For what have I to do to judge thoſe, who
are out of the church? Have ye not a power to judge
13. thoſe, who are members of your church? But, as
for thoſe who are out of the church, leave them to
God; to judge them belongs to him. Therefore do
ye what is your part; remove that wicked one, the
Chap. VI. fornicator, out of the church. Dare any of you,
1. having a controverſy with another, bring it before an
heathen judge, to be tried, and not let it be decided
2. by Chriſtians [e]? Know ye not that Chriſtians ſhall
judge the world? And, if the world ſhall be judged
by you, are ye unworthy to judge ordinary ſmall
matters?

TEXT.

gathered together, and my ſpirit, with the power of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

To deliver ſuch an one unto Satan, for the deſtruction of the fleſh, that the ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord Jeſus. 5

Your glorying is not good: know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? 6

Purge out, therefore, the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For even Chriſt, our paſſover, is ſacrificed for us. 7

Therefore, let us keep the feaſt, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedneſs; but with the unleavened bread of ſincerity and truth. 8

I wrote unto you, in an epiſtle, not to company with fornicators. 9

Yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters: for then muſt ye needs go out of the world. 10

But now I have written unto you, not to keep company, if any man, that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with ſuch an one, no not to eat. 11

For what have I to do to judge them alſo, that are without? do not ye judge them that are within? 12

But them that are without, God judgeth. Therefore put away from among yourſelves that wicked perſon. 13

Dare any of you, having a matter againſt another, go to law before the unjuſt, and not before the ſaints? 1

Do ye not know, that the ſaints ſhall judge the world? and, if the world ſhall be judged by you, are ye un- 2

NOTES.

pro Cluentio, §. 4. are ſo agreeable to the preſent caſe, that it may not be amiſs to ſet them down: "Nubit genero ſocrus, nullis auſpiciis, nullis auctoribus. O ſcelus incredibile, &, præter hanc unam, in omni vita inauditum!"

6 [a] Glorying is all along, in the beginning of this epiſtle, ſpoken of the preference they gave to their new leader, in oppoſition to St. Paul.

[b] If their leader had not been guilty of this miſcarriage, it had been out of St. Paul's way here to have reproved them, for their glorying in him. But St. Paul is a cloſe writer, and uſes not to mention things, where they are impertinent to his ſubject.

[c] What reaſon he had to ſay this, vid. 2 Cor. xii. 21.——"Grex totus in agris
Unius ſcabie cadit, & porrigine porci."

7 and 8 [d] In theſe two verſes, he alludes to the Jews cleanſing their houſes, at the feaſt of the paſſover, from all leaven, the ſymbol of corruption and wickedneſs.

1 [e] Ἅγιοι, Saints, is put for Chriſtians; ἄδικοι, unjuſt, for heathens.

TEXT.

worthy to judge the ſmalleſt matters?

3 Know ye not, that we ſhall judge angels? how much more things that pertain to this life?

4 If, then, ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, ſet them to judge, who are leaſt eſteemed in the church.

5 I ſpeak to your ſhame. Is it ſo, that there is not a wiſe man amongſt you? no, not one, that ſhall be able to judge between his brethren?

6 But brother goeth to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers.

7 Now, therefore, there is utterly a fault among you, becauſe ye go to law one with another: why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather ſuffer yourſelves to be defrauded?

8 Nay, you do wrong and defraud, and that your brethren.

9 Know ye not, that the unrighteous ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abuſers of themſelves with mankind,

10 Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, ſhall inherit the kingdom of God.

11 And ſuch were ſome of you: but ye are waſhed, but ye are ſanctified, but ye are juſtified in the name of the

PARAPHRASE.

matters? Know ye not, that we, Chriſtians, have 3.
power over evil ſpirits? how much more over the
little things relating to this animal life? If, then, 4.
ye have at any time controverſies amongſt you, concerning
things pertaining to this life, let the parties
contending chooſe arbitrators [a] in the church, i. e.
out of church-members. Is there not among you, 5.
I ſpeak it to your ſhame, who ſtand ſo much upon
your wiſdom, one [b] wiſe man, whom ye can think
able enough to refer your controverſies to? But one 6.
Chriſtian goeth to law with another, and that before
the unbelievers, in the heathen courts of juſtice.
Nay, verily, it is a failure and defect in you, that 7.
you ſo far conteſt matters of right, one with another,
as to bring them to trial, or judgment: Why do ye
not rather ſuffer loſs and wrong? But it is plain, by 8.
the man's having his father's wife, that ye are guilty
of doing wrong [c], one to another, and ſtick not to do
injuſtice, even to your Chriſtian brethren. Know 9.
ye not, that the tranſgreſſors of the law of Chriſt
ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God? Deceive not
yourſelves, neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers,
nor effeminate, nor abuſers of themſelves with
mankind, Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, 10.
nor revilers, nor extortioners, ſhall inherit the kingdom
of God. And ſuch were ſome of you: but 11.
your paſt ſins are waſhed away, and forgiven you,
upon your receiving of the goſpel by baptiſm: but
ye are ſanctified [d], i. e. ye are members of Chriſt's
church, which conſiſts of ſaints, and have made
ſome advances in the reformation of your lives [e], by
the doctrine of Chriſt, confirmed to you by the extraordinary

NOTES.

4 [a] Ἐξουθενημένους, judices non authenticos." Among the Jews there was "conſeſſus triumviralis, authenticus," who had authority, and could hear and determine cauſes, "ex officio;" there was another "conſeſſus triumviralis," which were choſen by the parties; theſe, tho' they were not authentick, yet could judge and determine the cauſes referred to them; theſe were thoſe, whom St. Paul calls here, ἐξουθενημένους, "judices non authenticos," i. e. referees choſen by the parties. See de Dieu. That St. Paul does not mean by ἐξουθενημένους, "thoſe who are leaſt eſteemed, as our Engliſh tranſlation reads it, is plain from the next verſe.

5 [b] Σοφὸς, "wiſe man." If St. Paul uſes this word, in the ſenſe of the ſynagogue, it ſignifies one ordained, or a rabbi, and ſo capacitated to be a judge; for ſuch were called "wiſe men." If in the ſenſe of the Greek ſchools, then it ſignifies a man of learning, ſtudy and parts: if it be taken in the latter ſenſe, it may ſeem to be with ſome reflection, on their pretending to wiſdom.

8 [c] That the wrong, here ſpoken of, was the fornicator's taking and keeping his father's wife, the words of St. Paul, 2 Cor. vii. 12. inſtancing this very wrong, are a ſufficient evidence. And it is not wholly improbable, there had been ſome hearing of this matter, before an heathen judge, or at leaſt talked of; which, if ſuppoſed, will give a great light to this whole paſſage, and ſeveral other in theſe chapters. For thus viſibly runs St. Paul's argument, chap. v. 12, 13. chap. vi. 1, 2, 3. &c. coherent and eaſy to be underſtood, if it ſtood together as it ſhould, and were not chop'd in pieces, by a diviſion into two chapters. Ye have a power to judge thoſe, who are of your church; therefore put away from among you that fornicator: you do ill, to let it come before a heathen migiſtrate. Are you, who are to judge the world and angels, not worthy to judge ſuch a matter as this¿

11 [d] Ἡγιάσθητε, "Sanctified," i. e. have remiſſion of your ſins, ſo ſanctified, ſignifies Heb. x. 10, & 18. compared. He that would perfectly comprehend, and be ſatisfied in the meaning of this place, let him read Heb. ix. 10. particularly ix. 13—23.

[e] Ἐδικαιώθητε, "ye are become juſt," i. e. are reformed in your lives. See it ſo uſed, Rev. xxii. 11.

PARAPHRASE.

ordinary operations of the Holy Ghoſt. But [a] ſuppoſing fornication were in itſelf as lawful, as eating promiſcuouſly all ſorts of meat, that are made for the belly, on purpoſe to be eaten; yet I would not ſo far indulge either cuſtom, or my appetite, as to bring my body thereby, into any diſadvantageous ſtate of ſubjection.

12.

13. As in eating and drinking, though meat be made purpoſely for the belly, and the belly for meat; yet, becauſe it may not be expedient [b] for me, I will not, in ſo evidently a lawful thing as that, go to the utmoſt bounds of my liberty, though there be no danger, that I ſhould thereby bring any laſting damage upon my belly, ſince God will ſpeedily put an end both to belly and food. But the caſe of the body, in reference to women, is far different from that of the belly, in reference to meats. For the body is not made to be joined to a woman [c], much leſs to be joined to an harlot in fornication, as the belly is made for meat, and then to be put an end to, when that uſe ceaſes. But the body is for a much nobler purpoſe, and ſhall ſubſiſt, when the belly and food ſhall be deſtroyed. The body

TEXT.

Lord Jeſus, and by the Spirit of our God.

12 All things are lawful unto me; but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me; but I will not be brought under the power of any.

13 Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats: but God ſhall deſtroy both it and them. Now the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body.

NOTES.

12 [a] St. Paul having, upon occaſion of injuſtice amongſt them, particularly in the matter of the fornicator, warned them againſt that and other ſins, that exclude men from ſalvation, he here reaſſumes his former argument, about fornication; and, by his reaſoning here, it looks as if ſome among them had pleaded, that fornication was lawful. To which he anſwers, that granting it to be ſo, yet the lawfulneſs of all wholeſome food reaches not the caſe of fornication, and ſhews by ſeveral inſtances, (as particularly the degrading the body, and making what, in a chriſtian, is the member of Chriſt, the member of a harlot) that fornication, upon ſeveral accounts, might be ſo unſuitable to the ſtate of a Chriſtian man, that a Chriſtian ſociety might have reaſon to animadvert upon a fornicator, though fornication might paſs for an indifferent action in another man.

13 [b] "Expedient, and brought under power," in this verſe, ſeems to refer to the two parts of the following verſe: the firſt of them to eating, in the firſt part of the 13th verſe, and the latter of them to fornication, in the latter part of the 13th verſe. To make this the more intelligible, it may be fit to remark, that St. Paul here ſeems to obviate ſuch a ſort of reaſoning as this, in behalf of the fornicator: "All ſorts of meats are lawful to Chriſtians, who are ſet free from the law "of Moſes; and why are they not ſo, in regard of women, who are at their own diſpoſals? To "which St. Paul replies, Though my belly was made only for eating, and all ſorts of meat were "made to be eaten, and ſo are lawful for me; yet I will abſtain from what is lawful, if it be not "convenient for me, though my belly will be certain to receive no prejudice by it, which will "affect it, in the other world; ſince God will there put an end to the belly, and all uſe of food. "But, as to the body of a Chriſtian, the caſe is quite otherwiſe; that was not made for the en-"joyment of women, but for a much nobler end, to be a member of Chriſt's body; and ſo ſhall "laſt for ever, and not be deſtroyed, as the belly ſhall be. Therefore, ſuppoſing fornication to "be lawful in itſelf, I will not ſo debaſe and ſubject my body, and do it that prejudice, as to take "that, which is a member of Chriſt, and make it the member of an harlot; this ought to be "had in deteſtation by all Chriſtians." The context is ſo plain in the caſe, that interpreters allow St. Paul to diſcourſe here, upon a ſuppoſition of the lawfulneſs of fornication. Nor will it appear at all ſtrange, that he does ſo, if we conſider the argument he is upon. He is here convincing the Corinthians, that though fornication were to them an indifferent thing, and were not condemned in their country, more than eating any ſort of meat; yet there might be reaſons, why a Chriſtian ſociety might puniſh it, in their own members, by church-cenſures, and expulſion of the guilty. Conformably hereunto we ſee, in what follows here, that all the arguments uſed by St. Paul, againſt fornication, are brought from the incongruity it hath, with the ſtate of a Chriſtian, as a Chriſtian; but nothing is ſaid againſt it as a fault in a man, as a man, no plea uſed, that it is a ſin, in all men, by the law of nature. A Chriſtian ſociety, without entring into that enquiry, or going ſo far as that, had reaſon to condemn and cenſure it, as not comporting with the dignity and principles of that religion, which was the foundation of their ſociety.

13 [c] "Woman." I have put in this, to make the apoſtle's ſenſe underſtood the eaſier. For he arguing here, as he does, upon the ſuppoſition, that fornication is in itſelf lawful, fornication, in theſe words, muſt mean the ſuppoſed, lawful enjoyment of a woman; otherwiſe it will not anſwer the foregoing inſtance, of the belly and eating.

TEXT.

14 And God hath both raiſed up the Lord, and will alſo raiſe us up, by his own power.

15 Know ye not, that your bodies are the members of Chriſt? Shall I then take the members of Chriſt, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid.

16 What, know ye not, that he, which is joined to an harlot, is one body? For two (ſaith he) ſhall be one fleſh.

17 But he, that is joined unto the Lord, is one ſpirit.

18 Flee fornication. Every ſin that a man doth, is without the body: but he that committeth fornication, ſinneth againſt his own body.

19 What! know ye not, that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghoſt, which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?

20 For ye are bought with a price: therefore, glorify God in your body, and in your ſpirit, which are God's.

PARAPHRASE.

body is for our Lord Chriſt, to be a member of him,
as our Lord Chriſt has taken a body[a], that he might
partake of our nature, and be our head. So that, as 14.
God has already raiſed him up, and given him all
power, ſo he will raiſe us up likewiſe, who are his
members, to [b] the partaking in the nature of his
glorious body, and the power he is veſted with in it.
Know ye not, ye, who are ſo knowing, that our bodies 15.
are the members of Chriſt? Will ye, then, take
the members of Chriſt, and make them the members
of an harlot? What! know ye not, that he, 16.
who is joined to an harlot, is one body with her?
For two, ſaith God, ſhall be united into one fleſh.
But he, who is joined to the Lord, is one with him, 17.
by that one Spirit, that unites the members to the
head, which is a nearer and ſtricter union, whereby
what indignity is done to the one, equally affects the
other. Flee fornication: all other ſins, that a man 18.
commits, debaſe only the ſoul; but are in that reſpect,
as if they were done out of the body; the
body is not debaſed, ſuffers no loſs of its dignity by
them: but he, who committeth fornication, ſinneth
againſt the end, for which his body was made,
degrading his body from the dignity and honour it
was deſigned to, making that the member of an
harlot, which was made to be a member of Chriſt.
What! know ye not [c], that your body is the temple 19.
of the Holy Ghoſt, that is in you, which body you
have from God, and ſo it is not your own, to beſtow
on harlots? Beſides, ye are bought with a price, 20.
viz. the precious blood of Chriſt; and therefore, are
not at your own diſpoſal: but are bound to glorify
God with both body and ſoul. For both body and
ſoul are from him, and are God's.

SECT.

NOTES.

[a] "And the Lord for the body;" ſee Heb. ii. 5——18.

14 [b] Διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, To his power." The context and deſign of St. Paul in this place, ſtrongly incline one to take διά here, to ſignify as it does, 2 Pet. i. 3. to, and not, by. St. Paul is here making out to the Corinthian converts, that they have a power to judge. He tells them, that they ſhall judge the world, ver. 2. And that they ſhall judge angels; much more, then, things of this life, ver. 3. And for their not judging he blames them, and tells them, 'tis a leſſening to them, not to exerciſe this power, ver. 7. And for it, he gives a reaſon, in this verſe, viz. That Chriſt is raiſed up into the power of God, and ſo ſhall they be. Unleſs it be taken in this ſenſe, this verſe ſeems to ſtand alone here. For what connection has the mention of the reſurrection, in the ordinary ſenſe of this verſe, with what the apoſtle is ſaying here, but raiſing us up with bodies to be members of his glorious body, and to partake in his power, in judging the world? This adds a great honour and dignity to our bodies, and is a reaſon, why we ſhould not debaſe them into the members of an harlot. Theſe words alſo give a reaſon of his ſaying, "He would not be brought under the power of any thing," ver. 12. viz. "Shall I, whoſe body is a member of Chriſt, and "ſhall be raiſed to the power, he has now in heaven, ſuffer my body to be a member, and under "the power of an harlot; That I will never do, let fornication itſelf be ever ſo lawful." If this be not the meaning of St. Paul here, I deſire to know, to what purpoſe it is, that he ſo expreſly declares, that the belly and meat ſhall be deſtroyed, and does ſo manifeſtly put an oppoſition between the body and the belly? ver. 13.

19 [c] This queſtion, "Know ye not?" is repeated ſix times in this one chapter, which may ſeem to carry with it a juſt reproach to the Corinthians, who had got a new and better inſtructor than himſelf, in whom they ſo much gloried, and may not unfitly be thought to ſet on his irony, ch. iv. 10. where he tells them, they are wiſe.

SECT. III.

CHAP. VII. 1—40.

CONTENTS.

THE chief buſineſs of the foregoing chapters, we have ſeen to be the leſſening the falſe apoſtle's credit, and the extinguiſhing that faction. What follows, is in anſwer to ſome queſtions they had propoſed to St. Paul. This ſection contains conjugal matters, wherein he diſſuades from marriage thoſe, who have the gift of continence. But, marriage being appointed as a remedy againſt fornication, thoſe, who cannot forbear, ſhould marry, and render to each other due benevolence. Next, he teaches that converts ought not to forſake their unconverted mates, inſomuch as Chriſtianity changes nothing in men's civil eſtate, but leaves them under the ſame obligations, they were tied by before. And, laſt of all, he gives directions about marrying, or not marrying, their daughters.

PARAPHRASE.

1. CONCERNING thoſe things, that ye have writ to me
about, I anſwer, it is moſt convenient not to
2. have to do with a woman. But, becauſe every one
cannot forbear, therefore, they that cannot contain,
ſhould, both men and women, each have their own
peculiar huſband and wife, to avoid fornication.
3. And thoſe that are married, for the ſame reaſon, are
to regulate themſelves by the diſpoſition and exigency
of their reſpective mates; and, therefore, let
the huſband render to the wife that benevolence [a],
which is her due; and ſo, likewiſe, the wife to the
4. huſband, "& vice verſâ." For the wife has not
power or dominion, over her own body, to refuſe
the huſband, when he deſires: but this power and
right to her body is in the huſband. And, on the
other ſide, the huſband has not the power and dominion
over his own body, to refuſe his wife, when ſhe
ſhews an inclination; but this power and right to
his body, when ſhe has occaſion, is in the wife [b].
5. Do not, in this matter, be wanting, one to another,
unleſs it be by mutual conſent, for a ſhort time,
that you may wholly attend to acts of devotion,
when ye faſt, upon ſome ſolemn occaſion: and when
this time of ſolemn devotion is over, return to your
former freedom, and conjugal ſociety, leſt the devil,
taking advantage of your inability to contain, ſhould
6. tempt you to a violation of your marriage-bed. As
to marrying in general. I wiſh that you were all
unmarried,

TEXT.

1 NOW concerning the things, whereof ye wrote unto me: it is good for a man not to touch a woman.

2 Nevertheleſs, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own huſband.

3 Let the huſband render unto the wife due benevolence: and likewiſe, alſo, the wife unto the huſband.

4 The wife hath not power of her own body, but the huſband: and likewiſe, alſo, the huſband hath not power of his own body, but the wife.

5 Defraud you not one the other, except it be with conſent, for a time, that ye may give yourſelves to faſting and prayer; and come together again, that Satan tempt you not, for your incontinency.

6 But I ſpeak this by permiſſion, and not of commandment.

NOTES.

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3 [a] Εὔνοια, "Benevolence," ſignifies here that complaiſance and compliance, which every married couple ought to have for each other, when either of them ſhew an inclination to conjugal enjoyments.

4 [b] The woman (who in all other rights is inferior) has here the ſame power given her, over the man's body, that the man has over her's. The reaſon whereof is plain: becauſe, if ſhe had not her man, when ſhe had need of him, as well as the man his woman, when he had need of her, marriage would be no remedy againſt fornication.

TEXT.

7 For I would that all men were, even as I myſelf: but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.

8 I ſay, therefore, to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them, if they abide, even as I.

9 But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn.

10 And unto the married I command; yet not I, but the Lord; let not the wife depart from her huſband:

11 But and if ſhe depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her huſband: and let not the huſband put away his wife.

12 But to the reſt ſpeak I, not the Lord, If any brother hath a wife, that believeth not, and ſhe be pleaſed to dwell with him, let him not put her away.

13 And the woman, which hath an huſband, that believeth not, and if he be pleaſed to dwell with her, let her not leave him.

14 For the unbelieving huſband is ſanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is ſanctified by the huſband: elſe were your children unclean; but now are they holy.

15 But, if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a ſiſter is not under bondage in ſuch caſes: but God hath called us to peace.

16 For what knoweſt thou, O wife, whether thou ſhalt ſave thy huſband? or how knoweſt thou, O man, whether thou ſhalt ſave thy wife?

17 But, as God hath diſtributed to every man, as the Lorld hath called every one, ſo let him walk: and ſo ordain I, in all churches.

PARAPHRASE.

unmarried, as I am; but this I ſay to you, by way
of advice, not of command. Every one has from 7.
God his own proper gift, ſome one way, and ſome
another, whereby he muſt govern himſelf. To the 8.
unmarried and widows, I ſay, it is my opinion,
that it is beſt for them to remain unmarried, as I am.
But if they have not the gift of continency, let them 9.
marry, for the inconveniencies of marriage are to
be preferred to the flames of luſt. But to the mar- 10.
ried, I ſay, not by way of counſel from myſelf,
but of command from the Lord, that a woman
ſhould not leave her huſband: But, if ſhe has ſepa- 11.
rated herſelf from him, let her return, and be recon-
ciled to him again; or, at leaſt, let her remain un-
married: and let not the huſband put away his wife.
But, as to others, 'tis my advice, not a command- 12.
ment from the Lord, That, if a Chriſtian man hath
an heathen wife, that is content to live with him,
let him not break company with her, and diſſolve
the marriage. And, if a Chriſtian woman hath an 13.
heathen huſband, that is content to live with her,
let her not break company with him[a], and diſſolve
the marriage. You need have no ſcruple concern- 14.
ing this matter; for the heathen huſband or wife,
in reſpect of conjugal duty, can be no more refuſed,
than if they were Chriſtian. For in this caſe, the
unbelieving huſband is ſanctified[b], or made a Chriſ-
tian, as to his iſſue, in his wife, and the wife ſanc-
tified in her huſband. If it were not ſo, the child-
ren of ſuch parents would be unclean[b], i. e. in the
ſtate of heathens, but now are they holy[b], i. e. born
members of the Chriſtian church. But, if the un- 15.
believing party will ſeparate, let them ſeparate. A
Chriſtian man, or woman, is not inſlaved in ſuch a
caſe: only it is to be remembered, that it is incum-
bent on us, whom God, in the goſpel, has called to
be Chriſtians, to live peaceably with all men, as
much as in us lieth; and, therefore, the Chriſtian
huſband, or wife, is not to make a breach in the
family, by leaving the unbelieving party, who is con-
tent to ſtay. For what knoweſt thou, O woman, but 16.
thou mayeſt be the means of converting, and ſo ſav-
ing thy unbelieving huſband, if thou continueſt
peaceably, as a loving wife, with him? or what
knoweſt thou, O man, but, after the ſame manner,
thou mayſt ſave thy wife? On this occaſion, let me 17.
give you this general rule; whatever condition God
has allotted to any of you, let him continue, and go
on

NOTES.

12 and 13 [a] Ἀφιέτω, the Greek word in the original, ſignifying, put away, being directed here, in theſe two verſes, both to the man and the woman, ſeems to intimate the ſame power, and the ſame act of diſmiſſing in both; and, therefore, ought in both places to be tranſlated alike.

14 [b] Ἡγίασται, "ſanctified, ἅγια, holy, and ἀκάθαρτα, unclean," are uſed here, by the apoſtle, in the Jewiſh ſenſe. The Jews called all that were Jews, holy, and all others they called, unclean. Thus, "proles genita extra ſanctitatem," was a child begot by parents, whilſt they were yet heathens; "genita intra ſanctitatem," was a child begot by parents, after they were proſelytes. This way

PARAPHRASE.

on contentedly in the ſame [a] ſtate, wherein he was
called, not looking on himſelf as ſet free from it
by his converſion to Chriſtianity. And this is no
more, than what I order in all the churches. For
18. example, Was any one converted to Chriſtianity, be-
ing circumciſed? Let him not become uncircum-
ciſed: Was any one called, being uncircumciſed?
19. Let him not be circumciſed. Circumciſion or un-
circumciſion are nothing in the ſight of God, but
that which he has a regard to, is an obedience to his
20. commands. Chriſtianity gives not any one any
new privilege to change the ſtate, or put off [b] the
obligations of civil life, which he was in before.
21. Wert thou called, being a ſlave? Think thyſelf not
the leſs a Chriſtian, for being a ſlave; but yet pre-
22. fer freedom to ſlavery, if thou canſt obtain it. For
he that is converted to Chriſtianity, being a bond-
man, is Chriſt's freed-man [c]. And he that is con-
verted, being a free-man, is Chriſt's bond-man, un-
23. der his command and dominion. Ye are bought
with a price [d], and ſo belong to Chriſt; be not, if
24. you can avoid it, ſlaves to any body. In whatſo-
ever ſtate a man is called, in the ſame he is to re-
main, notwithſtanding any privileges of the goſpel,
which gives him no diſpenſation, or exemption,
from any obligation he was in, before, to the laws
25. of his country. Now, concerning virgins [e], I have
no expreſs command from Chriſt to give you: but
I

TEXT.

Is any man called, being 18
circumciſed? let him not be-
come uncircumciſed: Is any
called, in uncircumciſion? let
him not become circumciſed.

Circumciſion is nothing, 19
and uncircumciſion is nothing,
but the keeping of the com-
mandments of God.

Let every man abide in the 20
ſame calling, wherein he was
called.

Art thou called, being a 21
ſervant? Care not for it; but,
if thou mayſt be made free,
uſe it rather.

For he that is called in the 22
Lord, being a ſervant, is the
Lord's free-man: likewiſe alſo
he, that is called being free,
is Chriſt's ſervant.

Ye are bought with a price; 23
be not ye the ſervants of men.

Brethren, let every man, 24
wherein he is called, therein
abide with God.

Now, concerning virgins, 25
I have no commandment of

NOTES.

way of ſpeaking St. Paul transfers from the Jewiſh, into the Chriſtian church, calling all, that are of the Chriſtian church, ſaints, or holy; by which reaſon, all that were out of it, were unclean. See note, chap. i. 2.

17 [a] Ὡς ſignifies here, not the manner of his calling, but the ſtate and condition of life he was in, when called; and therefore οὕτως muſt ſignify the ſame too, as the next verſe ſhews.

20 [b] Μενέτω, "Let him abide." 'Tis plain, from what immediately follows, that this is not an abſolute command; but only ſignifies, that a man ſhould not think himſelf diſcharged, by the privilege of his Chriſtian ſtate, and the franchiſes of the kingdom of Chriſt, which he was entered into, from any ties or obligations, he was in, as a member of the civil ſociety. And, therefore, for the ſettling a true notion thereof, in the mind of the reader, it has been thought convenient to give that, which is the apoſtle's ſenſe, to ver. 17, 20, and 24. of this chapter, in words ſomewhat different from the apoſtle's. The thinking themſelves freed by Chriſtianity, from the ties of civil ſociety and government, was a fault, it ſeems, that thoſe Chriſtians were very apt to run into. For St. Paul, for their preventing their thoughts of any change, of any thing, of their civil ſtate, upon their embracing Chriſtianity, thinks it neceſſary to warn them againſt it three times, in the compaſs of ſeven verſes; and that, in the form of a direct command, not to change their condition, or ſtate of life. Whereby he intends, that they ſhould not change upon a preſumption that Chriſtianity gave them a new, or peculiar liberty ſo to do. For, notwithſtanding the apoſtle's poſitively bidding them remain in the ſame condition, in which they were at their converſion; yet it is certain, it was lawful for them, as well as others, to change, where it was lawful for them to change, without being Chriſtians.

22 [c] Ἀπελεύθερος, in Latin, "libertus," ſignifies not ſimply a free-man, but one who having been a ſlave, has had his freedom given him by his maſter.

23 [d] Slaves were bought and ſold in the market, as cattle are; and ſo, by the price paid, there was a propriety acquired in them. This, therefore, here is a reaſon for what he adviſed, ver. 21. that they ſhould not be ſlaves to men, becauſe Chriſt had paid a price for them, and they belonged to him. The ſlavery he ſpeaks of, is civil ſlavery, which he makes uſe of here, to convince the Corinthians, that the civil ties of marriage were not diſſolved by a man's becoming a Chriſtian, ſince ſlavery itſelf was not; and, in general, in the next verſe, he tells them, that nothing in any man's civil eſtate, or rights, is altered by his becoming a Chriſtian.

25 [e] By virgins, 'tis plain St. Paul here means thoſe of both ſexes, who are in a celibate ſtate. 'Tis probable he had formerly diſſuaded them from marriage, in the preſent ſtate of the church. This, it ſeems, they were uneaſy under, ver. 28, and 35. and therefore ſent ſome queſtions to
St,

4

TEXT.

the Lord: yet I give my judgment, as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful.

26 I ſuppoſe, therefore, that this is good for the preſent diſtreſs; I ſay, that it is good for a man ſo to be.

27 Art thou bound unto a wife? Seek not to be looſed. Art thou looſed from a wife? Seek not a wife.

28 But and if thou marry, thou haſt not ſinned; and if a virgin marry, ſhe hath not ſinned: nevertheleſs, ſuch ſhall have trouble in the fleſh; but I ſpare you.

29 But this I ſay, brethren, the time is ſhort. It remaineth, that both they that have wives, be as tho' they had none;

30 And they that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as tho' they poſſeſſed not;

31 And they that uſe this world, as not abuſing it: for the faſhion of this world paſſeth away.

32 But I would have you without carefulneſs. He, that is unmarried, careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may pleaſe the Lord:

33 But he that is married, careth for the things that are of the world, how he may pleaſe his wife.

34 There is difference alſo between a wife and a virgin: the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that ſhe may be holy, both in body, and in ſpirit: but ſhe that is married, careth for the things of the world, how ſhe may pleaſe her huſband.

35 And this I ſpeak for your own profit, not that I may caſt a ſnare upon you, but

PARAPHRASE.

I tell you my opinion, as one whom the Lord has
been graciouſly pleaſed to make credible[a], and ſo
you may truſt and rely on, in this matter. I tell 26.
you, therefore, that I judge a ſingle life to be convenient,
becauſe of the preſent ſtraits of the
church; and that it is beſt for a man to be unmarried.
Art thou in the bonds of wedlock? Seek not 27.
to be looſed: Art thou looſed from a wife? Seek
not a wife. But if thou marrieſt, thou ſinneſt not; 28.
or, if a virgin marry, ſhe ſins not: but thoſe that
are married, ſhall have worldly troubles; but I
ſpare you, by not repreſenting to you, how little
enjoyment Chriſtians are like to have from a married
life, in the preſent ſtate of things, and ſo I
leave you to the liberty of marrying. But give me 29.
leave to tell you, that the time for enjoying huſbands
and wives, is but ſhort[b]. But, be that as it
will, this is certain, that thoſe who have wives,
ſhould be, as if they had them not, and not ſet
their hearts upon them; And they that weep, as if 30.
they wept not; and they that rejoice, as if they
rejoiced not; and they that buy, as if they poſſeſſed
not: all theſe things ſhould be done with reſignation,
and a Chriſtian indifferency. And thoſe who 31.
uſe this world, ſhould uſe it without an over-reliſh
of it[c], without giving themſelves up to the enjoyment
of it. For the ſcene of things is always
changing in this world, and nothing can be relied
on in it[d]. All the reaſon why I diſſuade you from 32.
marriage, is, that I would have you free from anxious
cares. He that is unmarried, has time and
liberty to mind things of religion, how he may pleaſe
the Lord: But he that is married, is taken up with 33.
the cares of the world, how he may pleaſe his wife.
The like difference there is, between a married 34.
woman and a maid: ſhe that is unmarried, has opportunity
to mind the things of religion, that ſhe
may be holy in mind and body; but the married
woman is taken up with the cares of the world,
how to pleaſe her huſband. This I ſay to you, for 35.
your particular advantage, not to lay any conſtraint
upon you[e], but to put you in a way, wherein you
may

NOTES.

St. Paul about it, and particularly, What, then, ſhould men do with their daughters; Upon which occaſion, ver. 25—37. he gives directions to the unmarried, about their marrying, or not marrying; and in the cloſe, ver. 38. anſwers to the parents, about marrying their daughters; and then, ver. 39 and 40. he ſpeaks of widows.

[a] In this ſenſe he uſes πιστὸς ἄνθρωπος, and πιστὸς λόγος, 2 Tim. ii. 2.

29 [b] Said, poſſibly, out of a prophetical foreſight of the approaching perſecution under Nero.

31 [c] Καταχρώμενοι, does not here ſignify "abuſing," in our Engliſh ſenſe of the word, but "intently uſing."

[d] All, from the beginning of ver. 28, to the end of ver. 31. I think, may be looked on, as a parentheſis.

35 [e] Βρόχος, which we tranſlate, a ſnare, ſignifies a cord, which poſſibly the apoſtle might, according to the language of the Hebrew ſchool, uſe here for binding; and then his diſcourſe runs thus: Though I have declared it my opinion, that it is beſt for a virgin to remain unmarried, yet I bind it not, i. e. I do not declare it to be unlawful to marry.

PARAPHRASE.

may moſt ſuitably, and as beſt becomes Chriſti-
anity, apply yourſelves to the ſtudy and duties of
36. the goſpel, without diſtraction. But, if any one
thinks that he carries not himſelf as becomes him,
to his virgin, if he lets her paſs the flower of her
age unmarried, and need ſo requires, let him do, as
37. he thinks fit; he ſins not, if he marry her. But,
whoever is ſettled in a firm reſolution of mind, and
finds himſelf under no neceſſity of marrying, and
is maſter of his own will, or is at his own diſpoſal,
and has ſo determined in his thoughts, that he
will keep his virginity [a], he chooſes the better
38. ſide [b]. So then he that marrieth, doth well; but
39. he that marrieth [c] not, doth better. It is unlawful
for a woman to leave her huſband, as long as he
lives: but, when he is dead, ſhe is at liberty to
marry, or not marry, as ſhe pleaſes, and to whom
ſhe pleaſes; which virgins cannot do, being under
the diſpoſal of their parents; only ſhe muſt take
40. care ſo marry, as a Chriſtian, fearing God. But,
in my opinion, ſhe is happier, if ſhe remain a
widow; and permit me to ſay, that whatever any
among you may think, or ſay, of me, "I have the
Spirit of God, ſo that I may be relied on in this my
advice, that I do not miſlead you."

TEXT.

for that which is comely, and that you may attend upon the Lord without diſtraction.

But if any man think that he behaveth himſelf uncomely towards his virgin, if ſhe paſs the flower of her age, and need ſo require, let him do what he will: he ſinneth not: let them marry. 36

Nevertheleſs, he that ſtandeth ſtedfaſt in his heart, having no neceſſity, but hath power over his own will, and hath ſo decreed in his heart, that he will keep his virgin, doth well. 37

So then, he that giveth her in marriage, doth well: but he that giveth her not in marriage, doth better. 38

The wife is bound by the law, as long as her huſband liveth: but, if her huſband be dead, ſhe is at liberty to be married to whom ſhe will; only in the Lord. 39

But ſhe is happier, if ſhe ſo abide, after my judgment: and I think alſo that I have the Spirit of God. 40

NOTES.

37 [a] Παρθένον ſeems uſed here for the virgin ſtate, and not the perſon of a virgin; whether there be examples of the like uſe of it, I know not; and therefore I propoſe it as my conjecture, upon theſe grounds: 1. Becauſe the reſolution of mind, here ſpoken of, muſt be in the perſon to be married, and not in the father, that has the power over the perſon concerned: for how will the firmneſs of mind, of the father, hinder fornication in the child, who has not that firmneſs? 2. The neceſſity of marriage can only be judged of by the perſons themſelves. A father cannot feel the child's flames, which make the need of marriage. The perſons themſelves only know, whether they burn, or have the gift of continence. 3. Ἐξουσίαν ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος, "hath the power over his own will," muſt either ſignify, "can govern his own deſires, is maſter of his own will: but this cannot be meant here, becauſe it is ſufficiently expreſſed before, by ἑδραῖος τῇ καρδίᾳ, "ſtedfaſt in heart;" and afterwards too, by κέκρικεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, "decreed in heart:" or muſt ſignify, "has the diſpoſal of himſelf" i. e. is free from his father's power, of diſpoſing their children in marriage. For, I think, the words ſhould be tranſlated, "hath a power concerning his own will, i. e. concerning what he willeth. For, if, by it, St. Paul meant a power over his own will, one might think he would have expreſſed that thought, as he does, chap. ix. 12. and Rom. ix. 21. without περὶ, or the prepoſition ἐπὶ, as it is, Luke ix. 1. 4. Becauſe, if "keep his virgin," had here ſignified, keep his children from marrying, the expreſſion had been more natural to have uſed the word τέκνα, which ſignifies both ſexes, than παρθένος, which belongs only to the female. If therefore παρθένος be taken abſtractly, for virginity, the precedent verſe muſt be underſtood thus: "But if any one think it a ſhame to paſs the flower of his age unmarried, and he "finds it neceſſary to marry, let him do as he pleaſes; he ſins not: let ſuch marry." I confeſs it is hard to bring theſe two verſes to the ſame ſenſe, and both of them to the deſign of the apoſtle here, without taking the words in one, or both of them, very figuratively. St. Paul here ſeems to obviate an objection, that might be made againſt his diſſuaſion from marriage, viz. that it might be an indecency one ſhould be guilty of, if one ſhould live unmarried paſt one's prime, and afterwards be forced to marry. To which he anſwers, That no body ſhould abſtain, upon the account of being a Chriſtian, but thoſe, who are of ſteady reſolutions, are at their own diſpoſal, and have fully determined it in their own minds.

37 [b] Καλῶς here, as in ver. 1, 8, and 26. ſignifies not ſimply good, but preferable.

38 [c] Παρθένος being taken in the ſenſe before-mentioned, it is neceſſary, in this verſe, to follow the copies, which read γαμίζων, "marrying," for ἐκγαμίζων, "giving in marriage."

SECT. IV.

CHAP. VIII. 1—13.

CONTENTS.

THIS ſection is concerning the eating things offered to idols; wherein one may gueſs, by St. Paul's anſwer, that they had writ to him, that they knew their Chriſtian liberty herein, that they knew that an idol was nothing; and, therefore, that they did well to ſhew their knowledge of the nullity of the heathen gods, and their diſregard of them, by eating promiſcuouſly, and without ſcruple, things offered to them. Upon which, the deſign of the apoſtle here ſeems to be, to take down their opinion of their knowledge, by ſhewing them, that, notwithſtanding all the knowledge, they preſumed on, and were puffed up with, yet the eating of thoſe ſacrifices did not recommend them to God: vid. ver. 8. and that they might ſin in their want of charity, by offending their weak brother. This ſeems plainly, from ver. 1—3, and 11, 12. to be the deſign of the apoſtle's anſwer here, and not to reſolve the caſe, of eating things offered to idols, in its full latitude. For then he would have proſecuted it more at large here, and not have deferred the doing of it to chap. x. where, under another head, he treats of it more particularly.

TEXT.

1 NOW, as touching things offered unto idols, we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.

2 (And if any man think, that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet, as he ought to know.

3 But if any man love God, the ſame is known of him.

4 As concerning, therefore, the eating of thoſe things, that are offered in ſacrifice unto idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one.

5 For, though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven, or in earth, as there be gods many, and lords many.

6 But to us there is but one

PARAPHRASE.

AS for things offered up unto idols, it muſt not 1.
be queſtioned, but that every one of you, who
ſtand ſo much upon your knowledge, know that the
imaginary gods, to whom the Gentiles ſacrifice, are
not in reality gods, but mere fictions; but, with this,
pray remember, that ſuch a knowledge, or opinion
of their knowledge, ſwells men with pride and
vanity. But charity it is, that improves and advances
men in Chriſtianity [a]. (But, if any one be conceited 2.
of his own knowledge, as if Chriſtianity were a ſcience
for ſpeculation and diſpute, he knows nothing
yet of Chriſtianity, as he ought to know it. But if 3.
any one love God, and conſequently his neighbour
for God's ſake, ſuch an one is made to know [b], or
has got true knowledge from God himſelf. To the 4.
queſtion, then, of eating things offered to idols, I
know, as well as you, that an idol, i. e. that the
fictitious gods, whoſe images are in the heathen
temples, are no real beings in the world; and there
is in truth no other but one God. For tho' there be 5.
many imaginary nominal gods, both in heaven and
earth [c], as are indeed all their many gods, and many
lords, which are merely titular; Yet to us Chriſtians, 6.

NOTES.

1 [a] To continue the thread of the apoſtle's diſcourſe, the 7th verſe muſt be read as joined to the 1ſt, and all between looked on as a parentheſis.

3 [b] Ἔγνωσται, "is made to know, or is taught." The apoſtle, tho' writing in Greek, yet often uſes the Greek verbs, according to the Hebrew conjugations. So chap. xiii. 12. ἐπιγνώσομαι, which, according to the Greek propriety, ſignifies, "I ſhall be known," is uſed for, "I ſhall be made to know; and ſo, Gal. iv. 9. γνωσθέντες is put to ſignify, "being taught."

5 [c] "In heaven and earth." The heathens had ſupreme ſovereign gods, whom they ſuppoſed eternal, remaining always in the heavens; theſe were called Θεοὶ, gods: they had beſides another order of inferior gods, "gods upon earth," who, by the will and direction of the heavenly gods, governed terreſtrial things, and were the mediators between the ſupreme, heavenly Gods and men, without

PARAPHRASE.

ſtians, there is but one God, the Father and Author
of all things, to whom alone we addreſs all our
worſhip and ſervice; and but one Lord, viz. Jeſus
Chriſt, by whom all things come from God to us,
7. and by whom we have acceſs to the Father). For
notwithſtanding all the great pretences to know-
ledge, that are amongſt you, every one doth not
know, that the gods of the heathens are but imagi-
nations of the fancy, mere nothing. Some, to this
day, conſcious to themſelves, that they think thoſe
idols to be real deities, eat things ſacrificed to them,
as ſacrificed to real deities; whereby doing that which
they, in their conſciences, not yet ſufficiently en-
lightened, think to be unlawful, are guilty of ſin.
8. Food, of what kind ſoever, makes not God regard
us [a]. For neither, if in knowledge, and full perſua-
ſion, that an idol is nothing, we eat things offered
to idols, do we thereby add any thing to Chriſtianity:
or, if, not being ſo well informed, we are ſcrupu-
lous, and forbear, are we the worſe Chriſtians, or
9. are leſſened by it [b]. But this you knowing men
ought to take ſpecial care of: that the power of
freedom you have to eat, be not made ſuch an uſe
of, as to become a ſtumbling-block to weaker Chri-
10. ſtians, who are not convinced of that liberty. For
if ſuch an one ſhall ſee thee, who haſt this know-
ledge of thy liberty, ſit feaſting in an idol-temple,
ſhall not his weak conſcience, not throughly inſtruct-
ed in the matter of idols, be drawn in by thy
example, to eat what is offered to idols, tho' he, in
11. his conſcience, doubt of its lawfulneſs? And thus
thy weak brother, for whom Chriſt died, is de-
ſtroyed by thy knowledge, wherewith thou juſtifieſt
12. thy eating. But when you ſin thus againſt your
brethren, and wound their weak conſciences, you
13. ſin againſt Chriſt. Wherefore, if meat make my
brother offend, I will never more eat fleſh, to avoid
making my brother offend.

TEXT.

God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him)

Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge: for ſome, with conſcience of the idol, unto this hour, eat it as a thing offered unto an idol; and their conſcience, being weak, is defiled. 7

But meat commendeth us not to God: for neither, if we eat, are we the better; neither, if we eat not, are we the worſe. 8

But take heed, leſt, by any means, this liberty of yours become a ſtumbling-block to them that are weak. 9

For, if any man ſee thee, which haſt knowledge, ſit at meat in the idol's temple, ſhall not the conſcience of him, which is weak, be emboldened to eat thoſe things, which are offered to idols? 10

And, through thy knowledge, ſhall the weak brother periſh, for whom Chriſt died? 11

But, when ye ſin ſo againſt the brethren, and wound their weak conſcience, ye ſin againſt Chriſt. 12

Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no fleſh, while the world ſtandeth, leſt I make my brother to offend. 13

NOTES.

without whom there could be no communication between them. Theſe were called in ſcripture, Baalim, i. e. Lords; and by the Greeks, Δαίμονες. To this the apoſtle alludes here, ſaying, tho' there be, in the opinion of the heathens, "gods many," i. e. many celeſtial, ſovereign gods, in heaven: and "lords many, i. e. many baalim," or Lords-agent, and preſidents over earthly things; yet to us, Chriſtians, there is but one ſovereign God, the Father, of whom are all things, and to whom, as ſupreme, we are to direct all our ſervices: and but one Lord-agent, Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, that come from the Father to us, and, through whom alone, we find acceſs unto him. Mede's diſc. on 2 Pet. ii. 1. or diſc. 43. p. 242.

8 [a] Οὐ παρίστησι, ſets us not before God, i. e. to be taken notice of by him.

[b] It cannot be ſuppoſed, that St. Paul, in anſwer to a letter of the Corinthians, ſhould tell them, that, if they eat things offered to idols, they were not the better; or, if they eat not, were not the worſe, unleſs they had expreſſed ſome opinion of good in eating.

SECT. V.

CHAP. IX. 1—27.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul had preached the goſpel at Corinth, about two years; in all which time, he had taken nothing of them, 2 Cor. xi. 7—9. This, by ſome of the oppoſite faction, and particularly as we may ſuppoſe, by their leader, was made uſe of, to call in queſtion his apoſtleſhip, 2 Cor. xi. 5, 6. For why, if he were an apoſtle, ſhould he not uſe the power of an apoſtle, to demand maintenance, where he preached? In this ſection St. Paul vindicates his apoſtleſhip: and, in anſwer to theſe inquiries, gives the reaſon why, tho' he had a right to maintenance, yet he preached gratis to the Corinthians. My anſwer, ſays he, to theſe inquiſitors, is, that though, as being an apoſtle, I know, that I have a right to maintenance, as well as Peter, or any other of the apoſtles, who all have a right, as is evident from reaſon, and from ſcripture; yet I never have, nor ſhall make uſe of my privilege amongſt you, for fear that, if it coſt you any thing, that ſhould hinder the effect of my preaching: I would neglect nothing, that might promote the goſpel. For I do not content myſelf with doing barely what is my duty; for, by my extraordinary call and commiſſion, it is now incumbent on me to preach the goſpel; but I endeavour to excel in my miniſtry, and not to execute my commiſſion overtly, and juſt enough to ſerve the turn. For if thoſe, who, in the agoniſtic games, aiming at victory, to obtain only a corruptible crown, deny themſelves in eating and drinking, and other pleaſures, how much more does the eternal crown of glory deſerve, that we ſhould do our utmoſt to obtain it? To be as careful, in not indulging our bodies, in denying our pleaſures, in doing every thing we could, in order to get it, as if there were but one that ſhould have it? Wonder not therefore, if I, having this in view, neglect my body, and thoſe outward conveniencies, that I, as an apoſtle, ſent to preach the goſpel, might claim, and make uſe of: wonder not that I prefer the propagating of the goſpel, and making of converts, to all care and regard of myſelf. This ſeems the deſign of the apoſtle, and will give light to the following diſcourſe, which we ſhall now take, in the order St. Paul writ it.

TEXT.

1 AM I not an apoſtle? Am I not free? Have I not ſeen Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord? Are not you my work in the Lord?

2 If I be not an apoſtle unto others, yet doubtleſs I am to you: for the ſeal of mine apoſtleſhip are ye in the Lord.

3 Mine anſwer to them that do examine me, is this:

4 Have we not power to eat, and to drink?

5 Have we not power to lead about a ſiſter, a wife, as well

PARAPHRASE.

AM I not an apoſtle? And am I not at liberty, 1
[a] as much as any other of the apoſtles, to
make uſe of the privilege due to that office? Have I
not had the favour to ſee Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord,
after an extraordinary manner? And are not you
yourſelves, whom I have converted, an evidence of
the ſucceſs of my imployment in the goſpel? If 2
others ſhould queſtion my being an apoſtle, you at
leaſt cannot doubt of it: your converſion to Chri-
ſtianity is, as it were, a ſeal ſet to it, to make good
the truth of my apoſtleſhip. This, then, is my 3
anſwer to thoſe, who ſet up an inquiſition upon me:
Have not I a right to meat and drink, where I 4
preach? Have not I, and Barnabas, a power to take 5
along with us, in our travelling to propagate the
goſpel

NOTE.

1 [a] It was a law amongſt the Jews, not to receive alms from the Gentiles.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. IX. goſpel, a Chriſtian woman[a], to provide our conve-
niencies, and be ſerviceable to us, as well as Peter,
and the brethren of the Lord, and the reſt of the
6. apoſtles? Or is it I only, and Barnabas, who are
excluded from the privilege of being maintained with-
7. out working? Who goes to the war any where, and
ſerves as a ſoldier at his own charges? Who planteth
a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Who
feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk? This is
allowed to be reaſon, that thoſe, who are ſo employ-
ed, ſhould be maintained by their employments;
8. and ſo likewiſe a preacher of the goſpel. But I ſay
not this, barely upon the principles of human reaſon;
revelation teaches the ſame thing, in the law of
9. Moſes: Where it is ſaid, "Thou ſhalt not muzzle
the mouth of the ox, that treadeth out the corn."
Doth God take care to provide ſo particularly for
10. oxen, by a law? No, certainly; it is ſaid particu-
larly for our ſakes, and not for oxen: that he, who
ſows, may ſow in hope of enjoying the fruits of his
labour at harveſt; and may then threſh out, and eat
11. the corn he hoped for. If we have ſowed to you
ſpiritual things, in preaching the goſpel to you, is it
unreaſonable, that we ſhould expect a little meat and
drink from you, a little ſhare of your carnal things?
12. If any partake of this power over you[b], why not
we much rather? But I made no uſe of it; but bear
with any thing, that I may avoid all hindrance to
13. the progreſs of the goſpel. Do ye not know, that
they, who in the temple ſerve about holy things,
live upon thoſe holy things? And they, who wait
14. at the altar, are partakers with the altar? So has the
Lord ordained, that they, who preach the goſpel,
15. ſhould live of the goſpel. But though, as an apo-
ſtle, and preacher of the goſpel, I have, as you ſee,
a right to maintenance, yet I have not taken it: nei-
ther have I written this to demand it. For I had
rather periſh for want, than be deprived of what

I

TEXT.

as other apoſtles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?

Or I only, and Barnabas, have not we power to forbear working? 6

Who goeth a warfare, any time, at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Or who feedeth the flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? 7

Say I theſe things, as a man? or ſaith not the law the ſame alſo? 8

For it is written, in the law of Moſes, "Thou ſhalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn." Doth God take care for oxen? 9

Or ſaith he it altogether for our ſakes? For our ſakes, no doubt, this is written: that he, that ploughеth, ſhould plough in hope; and that he, that threſheth in hope, ſhould be partaker of his hope. 10

If we have ſown unto you ſpiritual things, is it a great thing, if we ſhall reap your carnal things? 11

If others be partakers of this power over you, are not we rather? Nevertheleſs, we have not uſed this power; but ſuffer all things, leſt we ſhould hinder the goſpel of Chriſt. 12

Do ye not know, that they which miniſter about holy things, live of the things of the temple? And they, which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? 13

Even ſo, hath the Lord ordained, that they, which preach the goſpel, ſhould live of the goſpel. 14

But I have uſed none of theſe things: neither have I written theſe things, that it ſhould be ſo done unto me. For it were better for me to die, than that any man ſhould make my glorying void. 15

NOTES.

5 [a] There were not in thoſe parts, as among us, inns, where travellers might have their conveniencies: and ſtrangers could not be accommodated with neceſſaries, unleſs they had ſomebody with them to take that care, and provide for them. They, who would make it their buſineſs to preach, and neglect this, muſt needs ſuffer great hardſhips.

12 [b] For τῆς ἐξουσίας, I ſhould incline to read, τῆς οὐσίας, if there be, as Voſſius ſays, any MSS. to authoriſe it; and then the words will run thus: "If any partake of your ſubſtance." This better ſuits the foregoing words, and needs not the addition of the word, this, to be inſerted in the tranſlation, which with difficulty enough makes it refer to a power, which he was not here ſpeaking of, but ſtands eight verſes off: beſides, in theſe words, St. Paul ſeems to glance at what they ſuffered from the falſe apoſtle, who did not only pretend to power of maintenance, but did actually devour them: vid. 2 Cor. xi. 20.

I

TEXT.

16 For, though I preach the goſpel, I have nothing to glory of: for neceſſity is laid upon me; yea, wo is unto me, if I preach not the goſpel.

17 For, if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward: but if againſt my will, a diſpenſation of the goſpel is committed unto me.

18 What is my reward then? Verily, that, when I preach the goſpel, I may make the goſpel of Chriſt without charge, that I abuſe not my power in the goſpel.

19 For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myſelf ſervant unto all, that I might gain the more.

20 And unto the Jews, I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law;

21 To them, that are without law, as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law to Chriſt) that I might gain them, that are without law.

22 To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might, by all means, ſave ſome.

23 And this I do for the goſpel's ſake, that I might be partaker thereof with you.

24 Know ye not, that they, which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain.

25 And every man, that ſtriveth for the maſtery, is temperate in all things: now, they do it to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible.

26 I therefore ſo run, not as uncertainly: ſo fight I, not as one that beateth the air.

27 But I keep under my body, and bring it into ſubjection; leſt that, by any means, when I have preached to others, I myſelf ſhould be a caſt-away.

PARAPHRASE.

I glory in, viz. preaching the goſpel freely. For if 16.
I preach the goſpel, I do barely my duty, but have
nothing to glory in: for I am under an obligation
and command to preach[a]; and wo be to me, if I
preach not the goſpel. Which if I do willingly, I 17.
ſhall have a reward: if unwillingly, the diſpenſation
is nevertheleſs intruſted to me, and ye ought to hear
me as an apoſtle. How, therefore, do I make it 18.
turn to account to myſelf? Even thus; if I preach
the goſpel of Chriſt of free coſt, ſo that I exact not
the maintenance I have a right to, by the goſpel.
For being under no obligation to any man, I yet ſubject 19.
myſelf to every one, to the end that I may make
the more converts to Chriſt. To the Jews, and 20.
thoſe under the law of Moſes, I became as a Jew,
and one under that law, that I might gain the Jews,
and thoſe under the law; To thoſe without the law 21.
of Moſes, I applied myſelf, as one not under that
law, (not, indeed, as if I were under no law to God,
but as obeying and following the law of Chriſt) that
I might gain thoſe, who were without the law. To 22.
the weak I became as weak, that I might gain the
weak: I became all things to all men, that I might
leave no lawful thing untried, whereby I might ſave
people of all ſorts. And this I do for the goſpel's 23.
ſake, that I myſelf may ſhare in the benefits of the
goſpel. Know ye not that they, who run a race, run 24.
not lazily, but with their utmoſt force? They all
endeavour to be firſt, becauſe there is but one that
gets the prize. It is not enough for you to run, but
ſo to run, that ye may obtain: which they cannot do,
who running only, becauſe they are bid, do not run
with all their might. They, who propoſe to themſelves 25.
the getting the garland in your games, readily
ſubmit themſelves to ſevere rules of exerciſe and
abſtinence: and yet their's is but a fading, tranſitory
crown; that, which we propoſe to ourſelves, is everlaſting;
and therefore deſerves, that we ſhould endure
greater hardſhips for it. I therefore ſo run, as not to 26.
leave it to uncertainty. I do what I do, not as one
who fences for exerciſe, or oſtentation; But I really 27.
and in earneſt keep under my body, and entirely enſlave
it to the ſervice of the goſpel, without allowing
any thing to the exigencies of this animal life, which
may be the leaſt hindrance to the propagation of the
goſpel; leſt that I, who preach to bring others into
the kingdom of heaven, ſhould be diſapproved of,
and rejected myſelf.

NOTE.

16. [a] Vid. Acts xxii. 15—21.

SECT. VI. N. I.

CHAP. X. 1—22.

CONTENTS.

IT ſeems, by what he here ſays, as if the Corinthians had told St. Paul, that the temptations and conſtraints, they were under, of going to their heathen neighbours feaſts upon their ſacrifices, were ſo many, and ſo great, that there was no avoiding it: and, therefore, they thought they might go to them without any offence to God, or danger to themſelves; ſince they were the people of God, purged from ſin by baptiſm, and fenced againſt it, by partaking of the body and blood of Chriſt, in the Lord's ſupper. To which St. Paul anſwers, that, notwithſtanding their baptiſm, and partaking of that ſpiritual meat and drink, yet they, as well as the Jews of old did, might ſin, and draw on themſelves deſtruction from the hand of God: That eating of things, that were known, and owned, to be offered to idols, was partaking in the idolatrous worſhip; and, therefore, they were to prefer even the danger of perſecution before ſuch a compliance; for God would find a way for them to eſcape.

PARAPHRASE.

1. I Would not have you ignorant, brethren, that all
our fathers, the whole congregation of the chil-
dren of Iſrael, at their coming out of Egypt, were,
all to a man, under the cloud, and all paſſed through
2. the ſea; And were all, by this baptiſm [a], in the
cloud, and paſſing through the water, initiated into
the Moſaical inſtitution and government, by theſe
3. two miracles of the cloud and the ſea. And they
all eat the ſame meat, which had a typical and ſpi-
4. ritual ſignification; And they all drank the ſame ſpi-
ritual, typical drink, which came out of the rock,
and followed them, which rock typified Chriſt: all
which were typical repreſentations of Chriſt, as well
as the bread and wine, which we eat and drink in
the Lord's ſupper, are typical repreſentations of him.
5. But yet, tho' every one of the children of Iſrael,
that came out of Egypt, were thus ſolemnly ſepa-
rated from the reſt of the profane, idolatrous world,
and were made God's peculiar people, ſanctified and
holy, every one of them to himſelf, and members
of his church: nay, tho' they did all [b] partake of
the ſame meat, and the ſame drink, which did
typically

TEXT.

MOreover, brethren, I would not, that ye ſhould be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all paſſed through the ſea; 1

And were all baptized, unto Moſes, in the cloud, and in the ſea; 2

And did all eat the ſame ſpiritual meat; 3

And did all drink the ſame ſpiritual drink (for they drank of that ſpiritual rock, that followed them: and that rock was Chriſt.) 4

But with many of them God was not well pleaſed: for they were overthrown in the wilderneſs. 5

NOTES.

2 [a] The apoſtle calls it, Baptiſm, which is the initiating ceremony into both the Jewiſh and chriſtian church: and the cloud and ſea, both being nothing but water, are well ſuited to that typical repreſentation; and that the children of Iſrael were waſhed with rain from the cloud, may be collected from Pſal. lxviii. 9.

5 [b] It may be obſerved here, that St. Paul, ſpeaking of the Iſraelites, uſes the word ϖάντες, all, five times in the four foregoing verſes; beſides that, he carefully ſays, τὸ αὐτὸ βρῶμα, the ſame meat, and τὸ αὐτὸ ϖόμα, the ſame drink, which we cannot ſuppoſe to be done by chance, but emphatically to ſignify to the Corinthians, who, probably, preſumed too much upon their baptiſm, and eating the Lord's ſupper, as if that were enough to keep them right in the ſight of God: that tho' the Iſraelites, all to a man, eat the very ſame ſpiritual food, and, all to a man, drank the very ſame ſpiritual drink; yet they were not all to a man preſerved; but many of them, for all that, ſinned, and fell under the avenging hand of God, in the wilderneſs.

TEXT.

6 Now theſe things were our examples, to the intent we ſhould not luſt after evil things, as they alſo luſted.

7 Neither be ye idolaters, as were ſome of them; as it is written, The people ſat down to eat and drink, and roſe up to play.

8 Neither let us commit fornication, as ſome of them committed; and fell in one day three and twenty thouſand.

9 Neither let us tempt Chriſt, as ſome of them alſo tempted, and were deſtroyed of ſerpents.

10 Neither murmur ye, as ſome of them alſo murmured, and were deſtroyed of the deſtroyer.

11 Now all theſe things happened unto them for enſamples: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.

12 Wherefore, let him that thinketh he ſtandeth, take heed leſt he fall.

13 There hath no temptation taken you, but ſuch as is common to man: but God is faithful, who will not ſuffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will, with the temptation, alſo make a way to eſcape, that ye may be able to bear it.

14 Wherefore, my dearly beloved, flee from idolatry.

15 I ſpeak as to wiſe men: judge ye what I ſay.

16 The cup of bleſſing, which we bleſs, is it not the communion of the blood of

PARAPHRASE.

typically repreſent Chriſt, yet they were not thereby
privileged from ſin: but great numbers of them
provoked God, and were deſtroyed in the wilderneſs,
for their diſobedience. Now theſe things were 6.
ſet as patterns to us, that we, warned by theſe examples,
ſhould not ſet our minds a-longing, as they
did, after meats [a], that would be ſafer let alone.
Neither be ye idolaters, as were ſome of them; as 7.
it is written, "The people ſat down to eat and
drink, and roſe up to play [b]." Neither let us com- 8.
mit fornication, as ſome of them committed, and fell
in one day three and twenty thouſand. Neither let 9.
us provoke Chriſt, as ſome of them provoked, and
were deſtroyed of ſerpents. Neither murmur ye, as 10.
ſome of them murmured, and were deſtroyed of the
deſtroyer [c]. Now all theſe things [d] happened to the 11.
Jews for examples, and are written for our admonition,
upon whom the ends of the ages are come [e].
Wherefore, taught by theſe examples, let him that 12.
thinks himſelf ſafe, by being in the church, and partaking
of the Chriſtian ſacraments, take heed leſt he
fall into ſin, and ſo deſtruction from God overtake
him. Hitherto the temptations, you have met with, 13.
have been but light and ordinary; if you ſhould come
to be preſſed harder, God, who is faithful, and
never forſakes thoſe, who forſake not him, will not
ſuffer you to be tempted above your ſtrength; but
will either enable you to bear the perſecution, or
open you a way out of it. Therefore, my beloved, 14.
take care to keep off from idolatry, and be not drawn
to any approaches near it, by any temptation, or
perſecution, whatſoever. You are ſatisfied that you 15.
want not knowledge [f]: and therefore, as to knowing
men, I appeal to you, and make you judges of
what I am going to ſay in the caſe. They, who 16.
drink of the cup of bleſſing [g], which we bleſs in the
Lord's

NOTES.

6 [a] Κακῶν, "evil things:" the fault of the Iſraelites, which this place refers to, ſeems to be their longing for fleſh, Numb. xi. which coſt many of them their lives: and that, which he warns the Corinthians of, here, is their great propenſion to the pagan ſacrifice feaſts.

7 [b] Play, i. e. dance; feaſting and dancing uſually accompanied the heathen ſacrifices.

10 [c] Ὀλοθρευτὸς, "Deſtroyer," was an angel, that had the power to deſtroy, mentioned Exod. xii. 23. Heb. xi. 28.

11 [d] It is to be obſerved, that all theſe inſtances, mentioned by the apoſtle, of deſtruction, which came upon the Iſraelites, who were in covenant with God, and partakers in thoſe typical ſacraments abovementioned, were occaſioned by their luxurious appetites, about meat and drink, by fornication, and by idolatry, ſins, which the Corinthians were inclined to; and which he here warns them againſt.

[e] So I think τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων, ſhould be rendered, and not, contrary to grammar, "the end of the world;" becauſe it is certain, that τέλη and συντέλεια τȣ̃ αἰῶνος, or τῶν αἰώνων, cannot ſignify every where, as we render it, "the end of the world;" which denotes but one certain period of time, for the world can have but one end; whereas thoſe words ſignify, in different places, different periods of time; as will be manifeſt to any one, who will compare theſe texts, where they occur, viz. Matt. xiii. 39, 40. and xxiv. 3. and xxviii. 20. 1 Cor. x. 11. Heb. ix. 26. It may be worth while, therefore, to conſider, whether αἰὼν hath not ordinarily a more natural ſignification in the new teſtament, by ſtanding for a conſiderable length of time, paſſing under ſome one remarkable diſpenſation.

15 [f] Vid. chap. viii. 1.

16 [g] "Cup of bleſſing," was a name given by the Jews, to a cup of wine, which they ſolemnly drank in the paſſover, with thankſgiving.

PARAPHRASE.

Lord's ſupper, do they not thereby partake of the
benefits, purchaſed by Chriſt's blood, ſhed for them
upon the croſs, which they here ſymbolically drink?
And they, who eat of the bread broken [a] there, do
they not partake in the ſacrifice of the body of Chriſt,
17. and profeſs to be members of him? For, by eating
of that bread, we, though many in number, are all
united, and make but one body, as many grains of
18. corn are united into one loaf. See how it is among
the Jews, who are outwardly, according to the fleſh,
by circumciſion, the people of God. Among them,
they, who eat of the ſacrifice, are partakers of God's
table, the altar, have fellowſhip with him, and ſhare
in the benefit of the ſacrifice, as if it were offered
19. for them. Do not miſtake me, as if I hereby ſaid,
that the idols of the Gentiles are gods in reality; or
that the things, offered to them, change their nature,
and are any thing really different from what they
were before, ſo as to affect us, in our uſe of them [b].
20. No: but this I ſay, that the things, which the Gentiles
ſacrifice, they ſacrifice to devils, and not to God;
and I would not that you ſhould have fellowſhip,
and be in league with devils, as they, who, by eating
of the things offered to them, enter into covenant,
21. alliance, and friendſhip with them. You cannot eat
and drink with God, as friends at his table, in the
euchariſt, add entertain familiarity and friendſhip
with devils, by eating with them, and partaking of
the ſacrifices offered to them [c]:" you cannot be
Chriſtians and idolaters too: nor, if you ſhould endeavour
to join theſe inconſiſtent rites, will it avail
you any thing. For your partaking in the ſacraments
of the Chriſtian church, will no more exempt
you from the anger of God, and puniſhment due to
your idolatry, than the eating of the ſpiritual food,
and drinking of the ſpiritual rock, kept the baptized
Iſraelites, who offended God by their idolatry, or
other ſins, from being deſtroyed in the wilderneſs.
22. Dare you, then, being eſpouſed to Chriſt, provoke
the Lord to jealouſy, by idolatry, which is ſpiritual
whoredom? Are you ſtronger than he, and able to
reſiſt him, when he lets looſe his fury againſt you?

TEXT.

Chriſt? The bread, which 17
we break, is it not the communion
of the body of Chriſt?

For we, being many, are 18
one bread, and one body: for
we are all partakers of that one
bread.

Behold Iſrael after the fleſh:
are not they, which eat of the
ſacrifices, partakers of the altar?

What ſay I then? that the 19
idol is any thing, or that
which is offered in ſacrifice to
idols, is any thing?

But I ſay, that the things 20
which the Gentiles ſacrifice,
they ſacrifice to devils, and
not to God: and I would not
that ye ſhould have fellowſhip
with devils.

Ye cannot drink the cup of 21
the Lord, and the cup of
devils: ye cannot be partakers
of the Lord's table, and
of the table of devils.

Do we provoke the Lord 22
to jealouſy? Are we ſtronger
than he?

NOTES.

[a] This was alſo taken from the cuſtom of the Jews, in the paſſover, to break a cake of unleavened bread.

19 [b] This is evident from what he ſays, ver. 25, 27. that things offered to idols may be eaten, as well as any other meat, ſo it be without partaking in the ſacrifice, and without ſcandal.

21 [c] 'Tis plain by what the apoſtle ſays, that the thing, he ſpeaks againſt, here, is, their aſſiſting at the heathen ſacrifices, or at leaſt at the feaſts, in their temples, upon the ſacrifice, which was a federal rite.

SECT. VI. N. 2.

CHAP. X. 23—XI. 1.

CONTENTS.

WE have, here, another of his arguments againſt things offered to idols, wherein he ſhews the danger, that might be in it, from the ſcandal it might give: ſuppoſing it a thing lawful in itſelf. He had formerly treated of this ſubject, ch. viii. ſo far as to let them ſee, that there was no good, nor virtue, in eating things offered to idols, notwithſtanding they knew that idols were nothing, and they might think, that their free eating, without ſcruple, ſhewed that they knew their freedom in the goſpel, that they knew, that idols were in reality nothing; and, therefore, they ſlighted and diſregarded them, and their worſhip, as nothing; but that there might be evil in eating, by the offence it might give to weak Chriſtians, who had not that knowledge. He here takes up the argument of ſcandal again, and extends it to Jews and Gentiles; vid. ver. 32. and ſhews, that it is not enough to juſtify them, in any action, that the thing, they do, is in itſelf lawful, unleſs they ſeek in it the glory of God, and the good of others.

TEXT.

23 All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but all things edify not.

24 Let no man ſeek his own: but every man another's wealth.

25 Whatſoever is ſold in the ſhambles, that eat, aſking no queſtion for conſcience ſake.

26 For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulneſs thereof.

27 If any of them, that believe not, bid you to a feaſt, and ye be diſpoſed to go; whatſoever is ſet before you, eat, aſking no queſtion for conſcience ſake.

28 But if any man ſay unto you, "This is offered in ſacrifice unto idols," eat not, for his ſake that ſhewed it, and for conſcience ſake. For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulneſs thereof.

29 Conſcience, I ſay, not thine own, but of the others: for why is my liberty judged of another man's conſcience?

30 For, if I, by grace, be a partaker, why am I evil ſpoken of, for that, for which I give thanks?

31 Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatſoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.

32 Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gen-

PARAPHRASE.

FArther, ſuppoſing it lawful to eat things offered 23.
to idols, yet all things that are lawful, are not
expedient: things that, in themſelves, are lawful
for me, may not tend to the edification of others,
and ſo may be fit to be forborn. No one muſt ſeek 24.
barely his own private, particular intereſt alone, but
let every one ſeek the good of others alſo. Eat 25.
whatever is ſold in the ſhambles, without any inquiry,
or ſcruple, whether it had been offered to any
idol, or no. For the earth, and all therein, are the 26.
good creatures of the true God, given by him to
men, for their uſe. If an heathen invite you to an 27.
entertainment, and you go, eat whatever is ſet before
you, without making any queſtion or ſcruple
about it, whether it had been offered in ſacrifice,
or no. But if any one ſay to you, "This was 28.
offered in ſacrifice to an idol," eat it not, for his
ſake that mentioned it, and for conſcience ſake[a].
Conſcience, I ſay, not thine own, (for thou knoweſt 29.
thy liberty, and that an idol is nothing) but the
conſcience of the other. For why ſhould I uſe my
liberty ſo, that another man ſhould in conſcience
think I offended? And if I, with thankſgiving, partake 30.
of what is lawful for me to eat, why do I order
the matter ſo, that I am ill ſpoken of, for that which
I bleſs God for? Whether, therefore, ye eat or 31.
drink, or whatever you do, let your care and aim be
the glory of God. Give no offence to the Jews, by 32.
giving them occaſion to think, that Chriſtians are
permitted to worſhip heathen idols; nor to the Gentiles,
by giving them occaſion to think, that you
allow

NOTES.

28 [a] The repetition of theſe words, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulneſs thereof," does ſo manifeſtly diſturb the ſenſe, that the Syriac, Arabic, Vulgar and French tranſlations, have omitted them, and are juſtified in it by the Alexandrian, and ſome other Greek Copies.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. X.
allow their idolatry, by partaking of their ſacrifices;
nor to weak members of the church of God, by
drawing them, by your examples, to eat of things
offered to idols, of the lawfulneſs whereof they are not
33. fully ſatisfied. As I myſelf do, who abridge myſelf
of many conveniencies of life, to comply with the
different judgments of men, and gain the good opinion
of others, that I may be inſtrumental to the
Chap. XI. salvation of as many as is poſſible. Imitate herein
1. my example, as I do that of our Lord Chriſt, who
neglected himſelf for the ſalvation of others[a].

TEXT.

tiles, nor to the church of God:

Even as I pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be ſaved. 33

Be ye followers of me, even as I alſo am of Chriſt. 1

NOTE.

1 [a] Rom. xv. 3. This verſe ſeems to belong to the precedent, wherein he had propoſed himſelf as an example, and therefore this verſe ſhould not be cut off from the former chapter. In what St. Paul ſays, in this and the preceding verſe, taken together, we may ſuppoſe, he makes ſome reflection on the falſe apoſtle, whom many of the Corinthians followed, as their leader. At leaſt it is for St. Paul's juſtification, that he propoſes himſelf to be followed, no further than as he ſought the good of others, and not his own, and had Chriſt for his pattern. Vid. ch. iv. 16.

SECT. VII.

CHAP. XI. 2—16.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul commends them for obſerving the orders, he had left with them, and uſes arguments to juſtify the rule he had given them, that women ſhould not pray, or propheſy, in their aſſemblies, uncovered; which, it ſeems, there was ſome contention about, and they had writ to him to be reſolved in it.

PARAPHRASE.

2. I Commend you, brethren, for remembring all my
orders, and for retaining thoſe rules I delivered to
3. you, when I was with you. But, for your better underſtanding
what concerns women[a], in your aſſemblies,
you are to take notice, that Chriſt is the head
to

TEXT.

NOW I praiſe you, brethren, that you remember me, in all things, and keep the ordinances, as I delivered them to you. 2

But I would have you know, that the head of every 3

NOTES.

3 [a] This, about women, ſeeming as difficult a paſſage, as moſt in St. Paul's epiſtles, I crave leave to premiſe ſome few conſiderations, which I hope may conduce to the clearing of it.

(1.) It is to be obſerved, that it was the cuſtom for women, who appeared in publick, to be veiled, ver. 13—16. Therefore it could be no queſtion at all, whether they ought to be veiled, when they aſſiſted at the prayers and praiſes in the publick aſſemblies; or, if that were the thing intended by the apoſtle, it had been much eaſier, ſhorter, and plainer, for him to have ſaid, that "Women ſhould be covered in the aſſemblies."

(2.) It is plain, that this covering the head, in women, is reſtrained to ſome particular actions, which they performed in the aſſembly, expreſſed by the words, "Praying and propheſying," ver. 4, and 5. which, whatever they ſignify, muſt have the ſame meaning, when applied to the women, in the 5th verſe, that they have, when applied to the men in the 4th verſe.

It will poſſibly be objected, "If women were to be veiled in the aſſemblies, let thoſe actions be what they will, the women, joining in them, were ſtill to be veiled."

Anſw. This would be plainly ſo, if their interpretation were to be followed, who are of opinion, that by "praying and propheſying" here, was meant, to be preſent in the aſſembly, and joining with the congregation, in the prayers that were made, or hymns that were ſung, or in hearing the reading and expoſition of the holy ſcriptures there. But againſt this, that the hearing of preaching, or propheſying, was never called "preaching, or propheſying," is ſo unanſwerable an objection, that I think there can be no reply to it.

The

4

Chap. XI.

man is Chriſt; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Chriſt is God.

to which every man is ſubjected, and the man is the head, to which every woman is ſubjected; and that the head, or ſuperior, to Chriſt himſelf, is God. Every

NOTES.

The caſe, in ſhort, ſeems to be this: The men prayed and propheſied in the aſſemblies, and did it, with their heads uncovered; the women alſo, ſometimes, prayed and propheſied too, in the aſſemblies, which, when they did, they thought, during their performing that action, they were excuſed from being veiled, and might be bare-headed, or at leaſt open-faced, as well as the men. This was that, which the apoſtle reſtrains in them, and directs, that, tho' they prayed or propheſied, they were ſtill to remain veiled.

(3.) The next thing to be conſidered, is, what is here to be underſtood by "praying and propheſying." And that ſeems to me to be the performing of ſome particular, public action, in the aſſembly, by ſome one perſon, which was, for that time, peculiar to that perſon; and, whilſt it laſted, the reſt of the aſſembly ſilently aſſiſted. For it cannot be ſuppoſed, that, when the apoſtle ſays, a man praying, or propheſying, that he means an action, performed in common, by the whole congregation; or, if he did, what pretence could that give the woman to be unveiled, more, during the performance of ſuch an action, than at any other time? A woman muſt be veiled in the aſſembly: what pretence then, or claim, could it give her to be unveiled, that ſhe joined with the reſt of the aſſembly, in the prayer, that ſome one perſon made? Such a praying, as this, could give no more ground for her being unveiled, than her being in the aſſembly, could be thought a reaſon, for her being unveiled. The ſame may be ſaid of propheſying, when underſtood to ſignify a woman's joining with the congregation, in ſinging the praiſes of God. But, if the woman prayed, as the mouth of the aſſembly, &c. then it was like, ſhe might think, ſhe might have the privilege to be unveiled.

"Praying and propheſying," as hath been ſhewn, ſignifying here the doing ſome peculiar action in the aſſembly, whilſt the reſt of the congregation only aſſiſted, let us, in the next place, examine what that action was. As to propheſying, the apoſtle in expreſs words tells us, ch. xiv. 3, and 12. that it was ſpeaking in the aſſembly. The ſame is evident as to praying, that the apoſtle means, by it, praying publickly, with an audible voice, in the congregation: vid. ch. xiv. 14—19.

(4.) It is to be obſerved, that, whether any one prayed, or propheſied, they did it alone, the reſt remaining ſilent, chap. xiv. 27—33. So that, even in theſe extraordinary praiſes, which any one ſung to God, by the immediate motion and impulſe of the Holy Ghoſt, which was one of the actions called propheſying, they ſung alone. And, indeed, how could it be otherwiſe? For who could join with the perſon ſo propheſying, in things dictated to him alone, by the Holy Ghoſt, which the others could not know, till the perſon propheſying uttered them?

(5.) Propheſying, as St. Paul tells us, chap. xiv. 3. was "ſpeaking unto others to edification, exhortation, and comfort:" but every ſpeaking to others, to any of theſe ends, was not propheſying; but only then, when ſuch ſpeaking was a ſpiritual gift, performed by the immediate and extraordinary motion of the Holy Ghoſt; vid. chap. xiv. 1, 12, 24, 30. For example, ſinging praiſes to God was called propheſying; but we ſee, when Paul propheſied, the Spirit of God fell upon him, and he was turned into another man, 1 Sam. x. 6. Nor do I think any place, in the new teſtament, can be produced, wherein propheſying ſignifies bare reading of the ſcripture, or any other action, performed without a ſupernatural impulſe and aſſiſtance of the Spirit of God. This we are ſure, that the propheſying, which St. Paul here ſpeaks of, is one of the extraordinary gifts, given by the Spirit of God: vid. chap. xii. 10. Now, that the Spirit of God, and the gift of prophecy ſhould be poured out upon women, as well as men, in the time of the goſpel, is plain from Acts ii. 17. and then, where could be a fitter place for them, to utter their propheſies in, than the aſſemblies?

It is not unlikely, what one of the moſt learned and ſagacious of our interpreters of ſcripture ſuggeſts upon this place, viz. That Chriſtian women might, out of a vanity incident to that ſex, propoſe to themſelves, and affect an imitation of the prieſts and propheteſſes of the Gentiles, who had their faces uncovered, when they uttered their oracles, or officiated in their ſacrifices: but I cannot but wonder, that that very acute writer ſhould not ſee, that the bare being in the aſſembly, could not give a Chriſtian woman any pretence to that freedom. None of the Bacchæ, or Pythiæ, quitted their ordinary, modeſt guiſe, but when ſhe was, as the poets expreſs it, "Rapta," or "Plena Deo," poſſeſſed and hurried by the ſpirit ſhe ſerved. And ſo, poſſibly, a Chriſtian woman, when ſhe found the Spirit of God poured out upon her, as Joel expreſſes it, exciting her to pray, or ſing praiſes to God, or diſcover any truth, immediately revealed to her, might think it convenient for her better uttering of it, to be uncovered, or at leaſt to be no more reſtrained in her liberty of ſhewing herſelf, than the female prieſts of the heathens were, when they delivered their oracles: but yet, even in theſe actions, the apoſtle forbids the women to unveil themſelves.

Mr. Mede, Diſc. 16. p. 61.

St. Paul forbidding women to ſpeak in the aſſemblies, will probably ſeem a ſtrong argument againſt this: but, when well conſidered, will perhaps prove none. There be two places wherein the apoſtle forbids women to ſpeak in the Church, 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. and 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. He, that ſhall attentively read and compare theſe together, may obſerve that the ſilence, injoined the women, is for a mark of their ſubjection to the male ſex: and, therefore, what, in the one, is expreſſed by "keeping ſilence, and not ſpeaking, but being under obedience," in the other, is called, "being in ſilence, with all ſubjection; not teaching, or uſurping authority over the man." The women, in the churches, were not to aſſume the perſonage of doctors, or ſpeak there as teachers;

PARAPHRASE.

4. Every man, that prayeth, or propheſieth, i. e. by the
gift of the Spirit of God, ſpeaketh in the church for
the edifying, exhorting, and comforting of the congregation,
having his head covered, diſhonoureth
Chriſt, his head, by appearing in a garb not becoming
the authority and dominion, which God, thro'
Chriſt, has given him over all the things of this
world, the covering of the head being a mark of
5. ſubjection. But, on the contrary, a woman praying,
or propheſying, in the church, with her head uncovered,
diſhonoureth the man, who is her head,
by appearing in a garb, that diſowns her ſubjection
to him. For to appear bare-headed in publick, is
all one as to have her hair cut off, which is the garb
and dreſs of the other ſex, and not of a woman.
6. If, therefore, it be unſuitable to the female ſex, to
have their hair ſhorn, or ſhaved off, let her, for the
7. ſame reaſon, be covered. A man, indeed, ought
not to be veiled; becauſe he is the image and repreſentative
of God, in his dominion over the reſt of
the world, which is one part of the glory of God:
8. But the woman, who was made out of the man,
made for him, and in ſubjection to him, is matter
9. of glory to the man. But the man not being made
out of the woman, nor for her, but the woman
10. made out of, and for the man, She ought, for this
reaſon, to have a veil on her head, in token of her
11. ſubjection, becauſe of the angels[a]. Nevertheleſs,
the ſexes have not a being, one without the other;

TEXT.

Every man praying, or propheſying, having his head covered, diſhonoureth his head. 4

But every woman, that prayeth, or propheſieth, with her head uncovered, diſhonoureth her head: for that is even all one, as if ſhe were ſhaven: 5

For if the woman be not covered, let her alſo be ſhorn: but if it be a ſhame for a woman to be ſhorn, or ſhaven, let her be covered. 6

For a man, indeed, ought not to cover his head, foraſmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man. 7

For the man is not of the woman: but the woman of the man. 8

Neither was the man created for the woman: but the woman for the man. 9

For this cauſe ought the woman to have power on her head, becauſe of the angels. 10

Nevertheleſs, neither is the man without the woman, 11

NOTES.

teachers; this carried with it the appearance of ſuperiority, and was forbidden. Nay, they were not ſo much as to aſk queſtions there, or to enter into any ſort of conference. This ſhews a kind of equality, and was alſo forbidden: but yet, tho' they were not to ſpeak in the church, in their own names; or, as if they were raiſed, by the franchiſes of Chriſtianity, to ſuch an equality with the men, that where knowledge, or preſumption of their own abilities, emboldened them to it, they might take upon them to be teachers and inſtructors of the congregation, or might, at leaſt, enter into queſtionings and debates there; this would have had too great an air, of ſtanding upon even ground with the men, and would not have well comported with the ſubordination of the ſex. But yet this ſubordination, which God, for order's ſake, had inſtituted in the world, hindered not, but that, by the ſupernatural gifts of the Spirit, he might make uſe of the weaker ſex, to any extraordinary function, whenever he thought fit, as well as he did of men. But yet, when they thus either prayed or propheſied, by the motion and impulſe of the Holy Ghoſt, care was taken, that, whilſt they were obeying God, who was pleaſed, by his Spirit, to ſet them a ſpeaking, the ſubjection of their ſex ſhould not be forgotten, but owned and preſerved, by their being covered. The Chriſtian religion was not to give offence, by any appearance, or ſuſpicion, that it took away the ſubordination of the ſexes, and ſet the women at liberty, from their natural ſubjection to the man. And, therefore, we ſee, that, in both theſe caſes, the aim was to maintain and ſecure the confeſſed ſuperiority and dominion of the man, and not permit it to be invaded, ſo much as in appearance. Hence the arguments, in the one caſe, for covering, and in the other, for ſilence, are all drawn from the natural ſuperiority of the man, and the ſubjection of the woman. In the one, the woman, without an extraordinary call, was to keep ſilent, as a mark of her ſubjection: in the other, where ſhe was to ſpeak, by an extraordinary call and commiſſion from God, ſhe was yet to continue in the profeſſion of her ſubjection, in keeping herſelf covered. Here, by the way, it is to be obſerved, that there was extraordinary praying to God, by the impulſe of the Spirit, as well as ſpeaking unto men for their edification, exhortation, and comfort: vid. chap. xiv. 15. Rom. viii. 26. Jude, ver. 20. Theſe things being premiſed, let us follow the thread of St. Paul's diſcourſe.

10 [a] What the meaning of theſe words is, I confeſs, I do not underſtand.

TEXT.

neither the woman without the man, in the Lord.

12 For, as the woman is of the man, even ſo is the man alſo by the woman: but all things of God.

13 Judge in yourſelves; is it comely, that a woman pray unto God uncovered?

14 Doth not even nature itſelf teach you, that if a man have long hair, it is a ſhame unto him?

15 But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her; for her hair is given her for a covering.

16 But if any man ſeem to be contentious, we have no ſuch cuſtom, neither the churches of God.

PARAPHRASE.

neither the man without the woman, or the woman
without the man, the Lord ſo ordering it. For, as 12.
the firſt woman was made out of the man, ſo the
race of men, ever ſince, is continued and propagated
by the female ſex: but they, and all other things,
had their being and original from God. Be you 13.
yourſelves judges, whether it be decent for a woman
to make a prayer to God, in the church, uncovered?
Does not even nature, that has made, and would 14.
have the diſtinction of ſexes preſerved, teach you,
that if a man wear his hair long, and dreſſed up after
the manner of women, it is miſbecoming and
diſhonourable to him? But to a woman, if ſhe be 15.
curious about her hair, in having it long, and dreſſing
herſelf with it, it is a grace and commendation;
ſince her hair is given her for a covering. But, if 16.
any ſhew himſelf to be a lover of contention [a]; we,
the apoſtles, have no ſuch cuſtom, nor any of the
churches of God.

NOTE.

16 [a] Why may not this, any one, be underſtood of the falſe apoſtle, here glanced at?

SECT. VIII.

CHAP. XI. 17—34.

CONTENTS.

ONE may obſerve from ſeveral paſſages in this epiſtle, that ſeveral Judaical cuſtoms were crept into the Corinthian church. This church being of St. Paul's own planting, who ſpent two years at Corinth, in forming it; it is evident theſe abuſes had their riſe from ſome other teacher, who came to them, after his leaving them, which was about five years before his writing this epiſtle. Theſe diſorders, therefore, may with reaſon be aſcribed to the head of the faction, that oppoſed St. Paul, who, as has been remarked, was a Jew, and probably judaized. And that, 'tis like, was the foundation of the great oppoſition between him and St. Paul, and the reaſon why St. Paul labours ſo earneſtly to deſtroy his credit amongſt the Corinthians; this ſort of men being very buſy, very troubleſome, and very dangerous to the goſpel, as may be ſeen in other of St. Paul's epiſtles, particularly that to the Galatians.

THE celebrating the paſſover amongſt the Jews, was plainly the eating of a meal diſtinguiſhed from other ordinary meals, by ſeveral peculiar ceremonies. Two of theſe ceremonies were eating of bread ſolemnly broken, and drinking a cup of wine, called the cup of bleſſing. Theſe two our Saviour transferred into the Chriſtian church, to be uſed in their aſſemblies, for a commemoration of his death and ſufferings. In celebrating this inſtitution of our Saviour, the judaizing Corinthians followed the Jewiſh cuſtom of eating their paſſover: they eat the Lord's ſupper as a part of their meal, bringing their proviſions into the aſſembly, where they eat divided into diſtinct companies, ſome feaſting to exceſs, whilſt others, ill provided, were in want. This eating thus in the public aſſembly, and mixing the Lord's ſupper with their

ordinary

ordinary meal, as a part of it, with other diſorders and indecencies accompanying it, is the matter of this ſection. Theſe innovations, he tells them here, he as much blames, as, in the beginning of this chapter, he commends them for keeping to his directions in ſome other things.

PARAPHRASE.

17. THO' what I ſaid to you, concerning women's
behaviour in the church, was not without
commendation of you; yet this, that I am now going
to ſpeak to you of, is without praiſing you, becauſe
you ſo order your meetings in your aſſemblies,
18. that they are not to your advantage, but harm. For
firſt I hear, that, when you come together in the
church, you fall into parties, and I partly believe it;
19. Becauſe there muſt be diviſions and factions amongſt
you, that thoſe, who ſtand firm upon trial, may be
20. made manifeſt among you. You come together, it is
true, in one place, and there you eat; but yet this makes
21. it not to be the eating of the Lord's ſupper. For, in
eating, you eat not together, but every one takes his
22. own ſupper one before another[a]. Have ye not houſes
to eat and drink in, at home, for ſatisfying your
hunger and thirſt? Or have ye a contempt for the
church of God, and take a pleaſure to put thoſe out
of countenance, who have not wherewithal to feaſt
there, as you do? What is it I ſaid to you, that I
praiſe you[b] for retaining what I delivered to you?
In this occaſion, indeed, I praiſe you not for it.
23. For what I received, concerning this inſtitution,
from the Lord himſelf, that I delivered unto you,
when I was with you; and it was this, viz. That
the Lord Jeſus, in the night, wherein he was be-
24. trayed, took bread: And, having given thanks,
brake it, and ſaid, “Take, eat; this is my body
“which is broken for you: this do in remembrance
25. “of me.” So, likewiſe, he took the cup alſo, when
he had ſupped, ſaying, “This cup is the new teſta-
“ment in my blood: this do ye, as often as ye do
“it,

TEXT.

NOW in this, that I de- 17
clare unto you, I praiſe
you not, that ye come together,
not for the better, but
for the worſe.

For firſt of all, when ye 18
come together in the church,
I hear that there be diviſions
among you; and I partly believe it.

For there muſt be alſo, 19
hereſies among you, that they,
which are approved, may be
made manifeſt among you.

When ye come together, 20
therefore, into one place, this
is not to eat the Lord's
ſupper.

For, in eating, every one 21
taketh before other, his own
ſupper: and one is hungry,
and another is drunken.

What! have ye not houſes 22
to eat and to drink in? Or
deſpiſe ye the church of God?
And ſhame them that have
not? What ſhall I ſay to you?
Shall I praiſe you in this? I
praiſe you not.

For I have received of the 23
Lord, that, which alſo I delivered
unto you, that the
Lord Jeſus, the ſame night,
in which he was betrayed,
took bread:

And when he had given 24
thanks, he brake it, and ſaid,
“Take, eat; this is my body,
“which is broken for you:
“this do in remembrance of
“me.”

After the ſame manner, alſo 25
he took the cup, when he had
ſupped, ſaying, “This cup is
“the new teſtament in my

NOTES.

21 [a] To underſtand this we muſt obſerve,

(1.) That they had ſometimes meetings, on purpoſe only for eating the Lord's ſupper, ver. 33.

(2.) That to thoſe meetings they brought their own ſupper, ver. 21.

(3.) That tho' every one's ſupper were brought into the common aſſembly, yet it was not to eat in common, but every one fell to his own ſupper apart, as ſoon as he and his ſupper were there ready for one another, without ſtaying for the reſt of the company, or communicating with them in eating, ver. 21, 33.

In this St. Paul blames three things eſpecially;

1ſt, That they eat their common food in the aſſembly, which was to be eaten at home, in their houſes, ver. 22, 34.

2dly, That though they eat in the common meeting-place, yet they eat ſeparately, every one his own ſupper apart. So that the plenty and exceſs of ſome, ſhamed the want and penury of others, ver. 22. Hereby alſo the diviſions amongſt them were kept up, ver. 18. they being as ſo many ſeparated and divided ſocieties, not as one united body of Chriſtians, commemorating their common head, as they ſhould have been in celebrating the Lord's ſupper, chap. x. 16, 17.

3dly, That they mixed the Lord's ſupper with their own, eating it as a part of their ordinary meal, where they made not that diſcrimination between it and their common food, as they ſhould have done, ver. 29.

22 [b] He here plainly refers to what he had ſaid to them, ver. 2. where he praiſed them for remembring him in all things, and for retaining τάς παραδόσεις, καθὼς παρέδωκα, what he had delivered to

TEXT.

" blood: this do ye, as oft as " ye drink it, in remembrance of me."

26 For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do ſhew the Lord's death till he come.

27 Wherefore, whoſoever ſhall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, ſhall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.

28 But let a man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup.

29 For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth

PARAPHRASE.

" it, in remembrance of me." So that the eating 26.
of this bread, and the drinking of this cup of the
Lord's ſupper, is not to ſatisfy hunger and thirſt,
but to ſhew forth the Lord's death, till he comes.
Inſomuch that he, who eats this bread, and drinks 27.
this cup of the Lord, in an unworthy manner[a],
not ſuitable to that end, ſhall be guilty of a miſuſe
of the body and blood of the Lord[b]. By this in-
ſtitution, therefore, of Chriſt, let a man examine 28.
himſelf[c]; and, according to that[d], let him eat of
this bread, and drink of this cup. For he, who 29.
eats and drinks after an unworthy manner, with-
out a due reſpect had to the Lord's body, in a
diſcrimi-

NOTES.

them. This commendation he here retracts; for, in this matter of eating the Lord's ſupper, they did not retain ὃ παρέδωκα, ver. 23. what he had delivered to them, which, therefore, in the immediately following words, he repeats to them again.

27 [a] Ἀναξίως, "unworthily." Our Saviour, in the inſtitution of the Lord's ſupper, tells the apoſtles, that the bread and the cup were ſacramentally his body and blood, and that they were to be eaten and drunk in remembrance of him; which, as St. Paul interprets it, ver. 26. was to ſhew forth his death till he came. Whoever, therefore, eat and drank them, ſo as not ſolemnly to ſhew forth his death, followed not Chriſt's inſtitution, but uſed them unworthily, i. e. not to the end to which they were inſtituted. This makes St. Paul tell them, ver. 20. that their coming together to eat it, as they did, viz. the ſacramental bread and wine promiſcuouſly with their other food, as a part of their meal, and that tho' in the ſame place, yet not all together, at one time, and in one company, was not the eating of the Lord's ſupper.

27 [b] Ἔνοχος ἔσται, ſhall be liable to the puniſhment due to one, who makes a wrong uſe of the ſacramental body and blood of Chriſt, in the Lord's ſupper. What that puniſhment was, vid. ver. 30.

28 [c] St. Paul, as we have obſerved, tells the Corinthians, ver. 20. That to eat it after the manner they did, was not to eat the Lord's ſupper. He tells them alſo, ver. 29. That to eat it, without a due and direct imitating regard had to the Lord's body, (for ſo he calls the ſacramental bread and wine, as our Saviour did, in the inſtitution) by ſeparating the bread and wine from the common uſe of eating and drinking, for hunger and thirſt, was to eat unworthily. To remedy their diſorders herein, he ſets before them Chriſt's own inſtitution of this ſacrament; that in it they might ſee the manner and end of its inſtitution; and, by that, every one might examine his own comportment herein, whether it were conformable to that inſtitution, and ſuited to that end. In the account, he gives, of Chriſt's inſtitution, we may obſerve, that he particularly remarks to them, that this eating and drinking was no part of common eating and drinking for hunger and thirſt, but was inſtituted in a very ſolemn manner, after they had ſupped, and for another end, viz. to repreſent Chriſt's body and blood, and to be eaten and drunk in remembrance of him; or, as St. Paul expounds it, to ſhew forth his death. Another thing, which they might obſerve in the inſtitution, was, that this was done by all who were preſent, united together in one company, at the ſame time. All which, put together, ſhews us what the examination here propoſed is. For the deſign of the apoſtle here, being to reform what he found fault with, in their celebrating the Lord's ſupper, 'tis, by that alone, we muſt underſtand the directions he gives them about it, if we will ſuppoſe he talked pertinently to this captious and touchy people, whom he was very deſirous to reduce from the irregularities they were run into, in this matter, as well as ſeveral others. And if the account of Chriſt's inſtitution be not for their examining their carriage by it, and adjuſting it to it, to what purpoſe is it, here? The examination, therefore, propoſed, was no other but an examination of their manner of eating the Lord's ſupper, by Chriſt's inſtitution, to ſee how their behaviour herein comported with the inſtitution, and the end, for which it was inſtituted. Which farther appears to be ſo, by the puniſhment annexed to their miſcarriages herein, which was infirmities, ſickneſs, and temporal death, with which God chaſtened them, that they might not be condemned with the unbelieving world, ver. 30, 31. For if the unworthineſs, here ſpoke of, were either unbelief, or any of thoſe ſins, which are uſually made the matter of examination, 'tis to be preſumed the apoſtle would not wholly have paſſed them over in ſilence: this, at leaſt, is certain, that the puniſhment of theſe ſins is infinitely greater than that, which God here inflicts on unworthy receivers, whether they, who are guilty of them, received the ſacrament, or no.

[d] Καὶ οὕτως· Theſe words as to the letter, are rightly tranſlated, "and ſo." But that tranſlation, I imagine, leaves generally a wrong ſenſe of the place, in the mind of an Engliſh reader. For in ordinary ſpeaking, theſe words, "Let a man examine, and ſo let him eat," are underſtood to import the ſame with theſe: "Let a man examine, and then let him eat; as if they ſignified no more, but that examination ſhould precede, and eating follow; which I take to be quite different from the meaning of the apoſtle here, whoſe ſenſe the whole deſign of the context ſhews to be this: "I here ſet before you the inſtitution of Chriſt: by that, let a man examine his carriage, ϗ οὕτως, "and, according to that, let him eat: let him conform the manner of his eating to that."

discriminating [a] and purely ſacramental uſe of the
bread and wine, that repreſent it, draws puniſh-
ment [b] on himſelf, by ſo doing. And hence it is,
30. that many among you are weak and ſick, and a good
number are gone to their graves. But if we would
31. diſcriminate [c] ourſelves, i. e. by our diſcriminating
uſe of the Lord's ſupper, we ſhould not be judged,
32. i. e. [d] puniſhed by God. But, being puniſhed by the
Lord, we are corrected [e], that we may not be
condemned hereafter, with the unbelieving world.
33. Wherefore, my brethren, when you have a meeting
for celebrating the Lord's ſupper, ſtay for one ano-
ther, that you may eat it all together, as partakers,
all in common, of the Lord's table, without diviſion,
34. or diſtinction. But if any one be hungry, let him
eat at home to ſatisfy his hunger, that ſo the diſor-
der in theſe meetings may not draw on you the pu-
niſhment above-mentioned. What elſe remains to
be rectified in this matter, I will ſet in order, when
I come.

and drinketh damnation to himſelf, not diſcerning the Lord's body.

For this cauſe, many are weak and ſickly among you, and many ſleep. 30

For if we would judge ourſelves, we ſhould not be judged. 31

But when we are judged, we are chaſtened of the Lord, that we ſhould not be condemned with the world. 32

Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together, to eat, tarry one for another. 33

And if any man hunger, let him eat at home; that ye come not together unto condemnation. And the reſt will I ſet in order, when I come. 34

NOTES.

29 [a] Μὴ διακρίνων, "not diſcriminating," not putting a difference between the ſacramental bread and wine (which St. Paul, with our Saviour, calls Chriſt's body) and other bread and wine, in the ſolemn and ſeparate uſe of them. The Corinthians, as has been remarked, eat the Lord's ſupper in, and with their own ordinary ſupper; whereby it came not to be ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed (as became a religious and Chriſtian obſervance, ſo ſolemnly inſtituted) from common eating, for bodily refreſhment, nor from the Jewiſh paſchal ſupper, and the bread broken, and the cup of bleſſing uſed in that; nor did it, in this way, of eating it in ſeparate companies, as it were in private families, ſhew forth the Lord's death, as it was deſigned to do, by the concurrence and communion of the whole aſſembly of Chriſtians, jointly united in the partaking of bread and wine, in a way peculiar to them, with reference ſolely to Jeſus Chriſt. This was that, as appears by this place, which St. Paul, as we have already explained, calls, eating unworthily.

29 [b] "Damnation," by which our tranſlation renders κρῖμα, is vulgarly taken for eternal damnation, in the other world; whereas κρῖμα here ſignifies puniſhment of another nature, as appears by ver. 30, 32.

31 [c] Διακρίνειν does no where, that I know, ſignify to judge, as it is here tranſlated, but always ſignifies "to diſtinguiſh," or "diſcriminate," and in this place has the ſame ſignification, and means the ſame thing, that it does, ver. 29. He is little verſed in St. Paul's writings, who has not obſerved how apt he is to repeat the ſame word, he had uſed before, to the ſame purpoſe, though in a different, and ſometime a pretty hard conſtruction; as here he applies διακρίνειν, to the perſons diſcriminating, as in the 29th verſe, to the thing to be diſcriminated, though in both places it be put to denote the ſame action.

[d] Ἐκρινόμεθα here ſignifies the ſame that κρῖμα does, ver. 29.

32 [e] Παιδευόμεθα properly ſignifies to be corrected, as ſcholars are by their maſter, for their good.

SECT. IX.

CHAP. XII. 1.—XIV. 40.

CONTENTS.

THE Corinthians ſeem to have inquired of St. Paul, "What order of precedency and preference men were to have, in their aſſemblies, in regard of their ſpiritual gifts?" Nay, if we may gueſs by his anſwer, the queſtion they ſeem more particularly to have propoſed, was, "Whether thoſe, who had the gift of tongues, ought not to take place, and ſpeak firſt, and be firſt heard in their meetings?" Concerning this there ſeems to have been ſome ſtrife, maligning and diſorder amongſt them, as may be collected from chap. xii. 21—25. and xiii. 4, 5. and xiv. 40.

To this St. Paul anſwers in theſe three chapters, as followeth:

1. That they had all been heathen idolaters, and ſo being deniers of Chriſt, were in that ſtate none of them ſpiritual: but that now, being Chriſtians, and owning Jeſus to be the Lord, (which could not be done without the Spirit of God) they were all πνευματικοὶ, ſpiritual, and ſo there was no reaſon for one to undervalue another, as if he were not ſpiritual, as well as himſelf, chap. xii. 1—3.

2. That though there be diverſity of gifts, yet they are all by the ſame Spirit, from the ſame Lord, and the ſame God, working them all in every one, according to his good pleaſure. So that, in this reſpect alſo, there is no difference, or precedency; no occaſion for any one's being puffed up, or affecting priority, upon account of his gifts, chap. xii. 4—11.

3. That the diverſity of gifts is for the uſe and benefit of the church, which is Chriſt's body, wherein the members (as in the natural body) of meaner functions are as much parts, and as neceſſary in their uſe to the good of the whole, and therefore to be honoured, as much as any other. The union they have, as members in the ſame body, makes them all equally ſhare in one another's good and evil, gives them a mutual eſteem and concern one for another, and leaves no room for conteſts, or diviſions, amongſt them, about their gifts, or the honour and place due to them, upon that account, chap. xii. 12—31.

4. That though gifts have their excellency and uſe, and thoſe, who have them, may be zealous in the uſe of them; yet the true and ſure way for a man to get an excellency and preference above others, is the enlarging himſelf in charity, and excelling in that, without which a Chriſtian, with all his ſpiritual gifts, is nothing, chap. xiii. 1—13.

5. In the compariſon of ſpiritual gifts, he gives thoſe the precedency, which edify moſt; and, in particular, prefers propheſying to tongues, chap. xiv. 1—40.

SECT. IX. N. 1.

CHAP. XII. 1—3.

TEXT.

1 NOW concerning ſpiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant.

2 Ye know that ye were Gentiles, carried away unto theſe dumb idols, even as ye were led.

3 Wherefore I give you to underſtand, that no man, ſpeaking by the Spirit of God, calleth Jeſus accurſed: and

PARAPHRASE.

AS to ſpiritual men, or men aſſiſted and acted by 1
the Spirit[a], I ſhall inform you; for I would
not have you be ignorant. You yourſelves know, 2
that you were heathens, engaged in the worſhip of
ſtocks and ſtones, dumb, ſenſeleſs idols, by thoſe,
who were then your leaders. Whereupon let me 3
tell you, that no one, who oppoſes Jeſus Chriſt, or
his religion, has the Spirit of God[b]. And whoever
is brought to own Jeſus to be the Meſſiah, the Lord[c],
does it by the Holy Ghoſt. And, therefore, upon
account

NOTES.

[a] Πνευματικῶν, "Spiritual." We are warranted, by a like uſe of the word, in ſeveral places of St. Paul's epiſtles, as chap. ii. 15. and xiv. 37. of this epiſtle; and Gal. vi. 1. to take it here in the maſculine gender, ſtanding for perſons, and not gifts. And the context obliges us to underſtand it ſo. For if we will have it ſtand for gifts, and not perſons, the ſenſe and coherence of theſe three firſt verſes will be very hard to be made out. Beſides, there is evidence enough, in ſeveral parts of it, that the ſubject of St. Paul's diſcourſe here, is πνευματικοὶ, perſons endowed with ſpiritual gifts, contending for precedency, in conſideration of their gifts. See ver. 13, &c. of this chapter; and to what purpoſe elſe, ſays he, chap. xiv. 5. Greater is he that propheſieth, than he that ſpeaketh with tongues?

3 [b] This is ſpoken againſt the Jews, who pretended to the Holy Ghoſt, and yet ſpoke againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and denied that the Holy Ghoſt was ever given to the Gentiles: vid. Acts x. 45. Whether their judaizing falſe apoſtle were at all glanced at in this, may be conſidered.

[c] Lord. What is meant by Lord, ſee note, chap. viii. 5.

PARAPHRASE.

account of having the Spirit, you can none of you lay any claim to ſuperiority; or have any pretence to ſlight any of your brethren, as not having the Spirit of God, as well as you. For all, that own our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and believe in him, do it by the Spirit of God, i. e. can do it upon no other ground, but revelation, coming from the Spirit of God.

TEXT.

that no man can ſay, that Jeſus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghoſt.

SECT. IX. N. 2.

CHAP. XII. 4—11.

CONTENTS.

ANother conſideration, which St. Paul offers, againſt any contention for ſuperiority, or pretence to precedency, upon account of any ſpiritual gift, is, that thoſe diſtinct gifts are all of one and the ſame Spirit, by the ſame Lord, wrought in every one, by God alone, and all for the profit of the church.

PARAPHRASE.

4. BE not miſtaken, by the diverſity of gifts; for,
tho' there be diverſity of gifts amongſt Chriſtians, yet there is no diverſity of ſpirits, they all
5. come from one and the ſame Spirit. Tho' there be
diverſities of offices [a] in the church, yet all the officers
6. have but one Lord. And tho' there be various
influxes, whereby Chriſtians are enabled to do extraordinary things [b], yet it is the ſame God, that works [c] all theſe extraordinary gifts, in every one that has
7. them. But the way, or gift, wherein every one,
who has the Spirit, is to ſhew it, is given him, not for his private advantage, or honour [d], but for the
8. good and advantages of the church. For inſtance;
to one is given, by the Spirit, the word of wiſdom [e], or the revelation of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, in the full latitude of it: ſuch as was given to the apoſtles: to another, by the ſame Spirit, the knowledge [f] of the true ſenſe, and true meaning, of the holy ſcriptures of the old teſtament, for the explaining and
9. confirmation of the goſpel: To another, by the ſame
Spirit,

TEXT.

NOW there are diverſities of gifts, but the ſame Spirit. 4

And there are differences of adminiſtrations, but the ſame Lord. 5

And there are diverſities of operations, but it is the ſame God, which worketh all in all. 6

But the manifeſtation of the Spirit is given to every man, to profit withal. 7

For to one is given, by the Spirit, the word of wiſdom; to another, the word of knowledge by the ſame Spirit; 8

To another, faith by the ſame Spirit; to another, the 9

NOTES.

5 [a] Theſe different offices are reckoned up, ver. 28, &c.

6 [b] What theſe ἐνεργήματα were, ſee ver. 8—11.

[c] They were very properly called, ἐνεργήματα—"in workings;" becauſe they were above all human power: men, of themſelves, could do nothing of them at all; but it was God, as the apoſtle tells us here, who, in theſe extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, did all that was done; it was the effect of his immediate operation, as St. Paul aſſures us, in that parallel place, Phil. ii. 13. In which chapter, ver. 3, and 14. we find that the Philippians ſtood a little in need of the ſame advice, which St. Paul ſo at large preſſes here upon the Corinthians.

7 [d] Vid. Rom. xii. 3—8.

8 [e] Σοφία. The doctrine of the goſpel is, more than once, in the beginning of this epiſtle, called "the wiſdom of God."

[f] Γνῶσις is uſed, by St. Paul, for ſuch a knowledge of the law and the prophets.

TEXT.

gifts of healing, by the ſame Spirit.

10 To another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another diſcerning of ſpirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues.

11 But all theſe worketh that one and the ſelf-ſame Spirit, dividing to every man ſeverally, as he will.

PARAPHRASE.

Spirit, is given an undoubting perſuaſion [a], and ſted-
faſt confidence, of performing what he is going
about; to another, the gift of curing diſeaſes, by
the ſame Spirit: To another, the working of miracles, 10.
to another, prophecy [b]; to another, the diſ-
cerning by what ſpirit men did any extraordinary
operation; to another, diverſity of languages; to
another, the interpretation of languages. All which 11.
gifts are wrought in believers, by one and the ſame
Spirit, diſtributing to every one, in particular, as he
thinks fit.

NOTES.

9 [a] In this ſenſe πίστις, "faith," is ſometimes taken, in the new teſtament, particularly chap. xiii. 2. It is difficult, I confeſs, to define the preciſe meaning of each word, which the apoſtle uſes in the 8th, 9th, and 10th verſes here. But if the order, which St. Paul obſerves, in enumerating by 1ſt, 2d, 3d, the three firſt officers ſet down, ver. 28. viz. "firſt, apoſtles; ſecondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers," have any relation, or may give any light to theſe three gifts, which are ſet down in the firſt place, viz. "Wiſdom, Knowledge, and Faith;" we may then properly underſtand, by σοφία, "wiſdom," the whole doctrine of the goſpel, as communicated to the apoſtles: by γνῶσις, "knowledge," the gift of underſtanding the myſtical ſenſe of the law and the prophets; and by πίστις, "faith," the aſſurance and confidence, in delivering, and confirming, the doctrine of the goſpel, which became διδασκάλους, "doctors, or teachers." This, at leaſt, I think, may be preſumed, that ſince σοφία and γνῶσις have λόγος joined to them, and it is ſaid, "the word of wiſdom, and the word of knowledge;" wiſdom and knowledge here ſignify ſuch gifts of the mind, as are to be employed in preaching.

10 [b] "Prophecy" comprehends theſe three things, prediction, ſinging by the dictate of the Spirit, and underſtanding and explaining the myſterious, hidden ſenſe of ſcripture, by an immediate illumination and motion of the Spirit, as we have already ſhewn. And that the propheſying, here ſpoken of, was by immediate revelation, vid. chap. xiv. 29—31.

SECT. IX. N. 3.

CHAP. XII. 12—31.

CONTENTS.

FROM the neceſſarily different functions in the body, and the ſtrict union, nevertheleſs, of the members, adapted to thoſe different functions, in a mutual ſympathy and concern one for another, St. Paul here farther ſhews, that there ought not to be any ſtrife, or diviſion, amongſt them, about precedency and preference, upon account of their diſtinct gifts.

TEXT.

12 FOR, as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: ſo alſo is Chriſt.

13 For, by one Spirit, are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit.

PARAPHRASE.

FOR as the body, being but one, hath many 12.
members, and all the members of the body,
though many, yet make but one body; ſo is Chriſt,
in reſpect of his myſtical body, the church. For, 13.
by one Spirit, we are all baptized into one church,
and are thereby made one body, without any pre-eminence
to the Jew [a] above the Gentile, to the free
above the bond-man: and the blood of Chriſt, which
we

NOTE.

13 [a] The naming of the Jews here, with Gentiles, and ſetting both on the ſame level, when converted to Chriſtianity, may probably be done here, by St. Paul, with reference to the falſe apoſtle, who was a Jew, and ſeems to have claimed ſome pre-eminence, as due to him upon that account: whereas, among the members of Chriſt, which all make but one body, there is no ſuperiority, or other diſtinction, but, as by the ſeveral gifts, beſtowed on them by God, they contribute more, or leſs, to the edification of the church.

PARAPHRASE.

we all partake of, in the Lord's ſupper, makes us all
have one life, one ſpirit, as the ſame blood, diffuſed
through the whole body, communicates the ſame
14. life and ſpirit to all the members. For the body is
not one ſole member, but conſiſts of many members,
all vitally united in one common ſympathy and uſe-
15. fulneſs. If any one have not that function, or dig-
16. nity, in the church, which he deſires, He muſt not,
therefore, declare that he is not of the church, he
does not thereby ceaſe to be a member of the church.
17. There is as much need of ſeveral and diſtinct gifts
and functions in the church, as there is of different
ſenſes and members in the body, and the meaneſt
and leaſt honourable would be miſſed, if it were
wanting, and the whole body would ſuffer by it.
18. Accordingly, God hath fitted ſeveral perſons, as it
were ſo many diſtinct members, to ſeveral offices and
functions in the church, by proper and peculiar gifts
and abilities, which he has beſtowed on them, ac-
19. cording to his good pleaſure. But if all were but one
member, what would become of the body? There
would be no ſuch thing as an human body; no more
could the church be edified, and framed, into a
growing, laſting ſociety, if the gifts of the Spirit
20. were all reduced to one. But now, by the various
gifts of the Spirit, beſtowed on its ſeveral members,
it is as a well organized body, wherein the moſt
21. eminent member cannot deſpiſe the meaneſt. The
eye cannot ſay to the hand, "I have no need of
thee;" nor the head to the feet, "I have no need of
22. you." It is ſo far from being ſo, that the parts of
the body, that ſeem in themſelves weak, are never-
23. theleſs of abſolute neceſſity. And thoſe parts, which
are thought leaſt honourable, we take care always to
cover with the more reſpect; and our leaſt graceful
parts have thereby a more ſtudied and adventitious
24. comelineſs. For our comely parts have no need of
any borrowed helps, or ornaments: but God hath
ſo contrived the ſymmetry of the body, that he hath
added honour to thoſe parts, that might ſeem natu-
25. rally to want it: That there might be no diſunion,
no ſchiſm in the body; but that the members ſhould
all have the ſame care and concern one for another;
26. And all equally partake and ſhare in the harm, or
honour, that is done to any one of them in parti-
27. cular. Now, in like manner, you are, by your
particular gifts, each of you, in his peculiar ſtation
and aptitude, members of the body of Chriſt, which
28. is the church: Wherein God hath ſet firſt ſome
apoſtles, ſecondly prophets, thirdly teachers, next
workers of miracles, then thoſe, who have the gift
of healing, helpers [a], governors [b], and ſuch as are
able

TEXT.

For the body is not one 14
member, but many.

If the foot ſhall ſay, "Be- 15
"cauſe I am not the hand, I
"am not of the body:" is it
therefore not of the body?

And if the ear ſhall ſay, 16
"Becauſe I am not the eye,
"I am not of the body:" is
it therefore not of the body?

If the whole body were an 17
eye, where were the hearing?
If the whole were hearing,
where were the ſmelling?

But now, hath God ſet the 18
members, every one of them,
in the body, as it hath pleaſed
him.

And if they were all one 19
member, where were the
body?

But now are they many 20
members, yet but one body.

And the eye cannot ſay un- 21
to the hand, "I have no need
of thee:" nor again, the head
to the feet, "I have no need
of you."

Nay, much more thoſe 22
members of the body, which
ſeem to be more feeble, are
neceſſary.

And thoſe members of the 23
body, which we think to be
leſs honourable, upon theſe
we beſtow more abundant
honour, and our uncomely
parts have more abundant
comelineſs.

For our comely parts have 24
no need: but God hath tem-
pered the body together,
having given more abundant
honour to that part which
lacked:

That there ſhould be no 25
ſchiſm in the body; but that
the members ſhould have the
ſame care one for another.

And whether one member 26
ſuffer, all the members ſuffer
with it: or one member be
honoured, all the members
rejoice with it.

Now, ye are the body of 27
Chriſt, and members in par-
ticular.

And God hath ſet ſome 28
in the church, firſt apoſtles,
ſecondarily prophets, thirdly

NOTES.

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28. [a] Ἀντιλήψεις, "Help;" Dr. Lightfoot takes to be thoſe, who accompanied the apoſtles, were ſent up and down by them, in the ſervice of the goſpel, and baptized thoſe, that were converted by them.

[b] Κυβερνήσεις, to be the ſame with diſcerning of ſpirits, ver. 10.

TEXT.

teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diverſities of tongues.

29 Are all apoſtles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers of miracles?

30 Have all the gifts of healing? Do all ſpeak with tongues? Do all interpret?

31 But covet earneſtly the beſt gifts: and yet ſhew I unto you a more excellent way.

PARAPHRASE.

able to ſpeak diverſity of tongues. Are all apoſtles? 29.
Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers
of miracles? Have all the gift of healing? Do all 30.
ſpeak diverſity, of tongues? Are all interpreters of
tongues? But ye conteſt one with another, whoſe 31.
particular gift is beſt, and moſt preferable [a]; but I
will ſhew you a more excellent way, viz. mutual
good-will, affection and charity.

NOTE.

31 [a] That this is the apoſtle's meaning here, is plain, in that there was an emulation amongſt them, and a ſtrife for precedency, on account of the ſeveral gifts they had, (as we have already obſerved, from ſeveral paſſages in this ſection) which made them, in their aſſemblies, deſire to be heard firſt. This was the fault, the apoſtle was here correcting; and 'tis not likely he ſhould exhort them all, promiſcuouſly, to ſeek the principal and moſt eminent gifts, at the end of a diſcourſe wherein he had been demonſtrating to them, by the example of the human body, that there ought to be diverſity of gifts and functions in the church; but that there ought to be no ſchiſm, emulation, or conteſt amongſt them, upon the account of the exerciſe of thoſe gifts. That they were all uſeful in their places, and no member was at all to be the leſs honoured, or valued, for the gift he had, tho' it were not one of the firſt rank. And in this ſenſe the word ζηλῶν is taken, in the next chapter, ver. 4. where St. Paul, purſuing the ſame argument, exhorts them to mutual charity, good-will and affection, which, he aſſures them, is preferable to any gifts whatſoever. Beſides; to what purpoſe ſhould he exhort them, "to covet earneſtly the beſt gifts," when the obtaining of this, or that gift did not at all lie in their deſires, or endeavours, the apoſtle having juſt before told them, ver. 11. that "the Spirit divides thoſe gifts, to every man, ſeverally, as he "will," and thoſe, he writ to, had their allotment already? He might as reaſonably, according to his own doctrine, in this very chapter, bid the foot covet to be the hand, or the ear to be the eye. Let it be remembered, therefore, to rectify this, that St. Paul ſays, ver. 17. of this chapter; "If the whole body were the eye, where were the hearing," &c. St. Paul does not uſe to croſs his own deſign, nor contradict his own reaſoning.

SECT. IX. N. 4.

CHAP. XIII. 1—13.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul having told the Corinthians, in the laſt words of the precedent chapter, that he would ſhew them a more excellent way, than the emulous producing of their gifts in the aſſembly, he, in this chapter, tells them, that this more excellent way is charity, which he at large explains, and ſhews the excellency of.

TEXT.

1 THough I ſpeak with the tongues of men, and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as ſounding braſs, or a tinkling cymbal.

2 And though I have the gift of propheſy, and underſtand

PARAPHRASE.

IF I ſpeak all the languages of men and angels [a], 1.
and yet have not charity, to make uſe of them
entirely for the good and benefit of others, I am no
better than a ſounding braſs, or noiſy cymbal [b],
which fills the ears of others, without any advantage
to itſelf, by the ſound it makes. And, if I have the 2.
gift of prophecy, and ſee, in the law and the prophets,

NOTES.

1 [a] "Tongues of angels" are mentioned here, according to the conception of the Jews.

[b] A cymbal conſiſted of two large, hollowed plates of braſs, with broad brims, which were ſtruck one againſt another, to fill up the ſymphony, in great concerts of muſick; they made a great deep ſound, but had ſcarce any variety of muſical notes.

An. Chr.
Neronis 3.
Chap. XIII.

PARAPHRASE.

phets, all the myſteries[a] contained in them, and
comprehend all the knowledge they teach; and if I
have faith, to the higheſt degree, and power of mi-
racles, ſo as to be able to remove mountains[b], and
have not charity, I am nothing; I am of no value.
3. And if I beſtow all I have, in relief of the poor, and
give myſelf to be burnt, and have not charity, it
4. profits me nothing. Charity is long-ſuffering, is
gentle and benign, without emulation, inſolence, or
5. being puffed up; Is not ambitious, nor at all ſelf-
intereſted, is not ſharp upon others failings, or in-
6. clined to ill interpretations: Charity rejoices with
others, when they do well, and, when any thing
7. is amiſs, is troubled, and covers their failings: Cha-
rity believes well, hopes well of every one, and pa-
8. tiently bears with every thing[c]: Charity will never
ceaſe, as a thing out of uſe; but the gifts of prophe-
cy, and tongues, and the knowledge, whereby men
look into, and explain the meaning of the ſcrip-
tures, the time will be, when they will be laid aſide,
9. as no longer of any uſe. For the knowledge we
have now in this ſtate, and the explication, we give
10. of ſcripture, is ſhort, partial and defective. But
when, hereafter, we ſhall be got into the ſtate of
accompliſhment and perfection, wherein we are to
remain in the other world, there will no longer be
any need of theſe imperfecter ways of information,
whereby we arrive at but a partial knowledge here.
11. Thus, when I was in the imperfect ſtate of child-
hood, I talked, I underſtood, I reaſoned after the
imperfect manner of a child: but, when I came to
the ſtate and perfection of manhood, I laid aſide
12. thoſe childiſh ways. Now we ſee but by reflection,
the dim, and, as it were, enigmatical repreſentation
of things: but then, we ſhall ſee things directly, and
as they are in themſelves, as a man ſees another,
when they are face to face. Now I have but a ſu-
perficial, partial knowledge of things; but then, I
ſhall have an intuitive, comprehenſive knowledge of
them, as I myſelf am known, and lie open to the
view of ſuperior, ſeraphic beings, not by the obſcure
13. and imperfect way of deductions and reaſoning. But
then, even in that ſtate, faith, hope, and charity, will
remain: but the greateſt of the three is charity.

TEXT.

all myſteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, ſo that I could remove mountains, and have no charity, I am nothing.

3 And though I beſtow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.

4 Charity ſuffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itſelf, is not puffed up;

5 Doth not behave itſelf, unſeemly, ſeeketh not her own, is not eaſily provoked, thinketh no evil:

6 Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth:

7 Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

8 Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they ſhall fail; whether there be tongues they ſhall ceaſe; whether there be knowledge, it ſhall vaniſh away.

9 For we know in part, and we propheſy in part.

10 But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part ſhall be done away.

11 When I was a child, I ſpake as a child, I underſtood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childiſh things.

12 For now we ſee through a glaſs, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then ſhall I know, even as alſo I am known.

13 And now abideth faith, hope, charity, theſe three: but the greateſt of theſe is charity.

NOTES.

2 [a] Any predictions, relating to our Saviour, or his doctrine, or the times of the goſpel, contained in the old teſtament, in types, or figurative and obſcure expreſſions, not underſtood before his coming, and being revealed to the world, St. Paul calls "myſtery," as may be ſeen all thro' his writings. So that "myſtery and knowledge," are terms here uſed by St. Paul, to ſignify truths concerning Chriſt to come, contained in the old teſtament; and "prophecy," the underſtanding of the types and prophecies containing thoſe truths, ſo as to be able to explain them to others.

[b] "To remove mountains," is to do what is next to impoſſible.

7 [c] May we not ſuppoſe, that, in this deſcription of charity, St. Paul intimates, and tacitly reproves, their contrary carriage, in their emulation and conteſts about the dignity and preference of their ſpiritual gifts?

SECT.

SECT. IX. N. 5.

CHAP. XIV. 1—40.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul, in this chapter, concludes his anſwer to the Corinthians, concerning ſpiritual men, and their gifts; and having told them, that thoſe were moſt preferable, that tended moſt to edification; and particularly ſhewn, that prophecy was to be preferred to tongues; he gives them directions for the decent, orderly, and profitable exerciſe of their gifts, in their aſſemblies.

TEXT.

1 FOllow after charity, and deſire ſpiritual gifts, but rather that ye may propheſy.

2 For he, that ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue, ſpeaketh not unto men, but unto God: for no man underſtandeth him; howbeit, in the Spirit, he ſpeaketh myſteries.

3 But he, that propheſieth, ſpeaketh unto men, to edification, and exhortation, and comfort.

PARAPHRASE.

LET your endeavours, let your purſuit, therefore, be after charity; not that you ſhould neglect the uſe of your ſpiritual gifts [a], eſpecially the gift of prophecy: For he, that ſpeaks in an unknown tongue [b], ſpeaks to God alone, but not to men: for no body underſtands him; the things he utters, by the Spirit, in an unknown tongue, are myſteries, things not underſtood, by thoſe who hear them. But he, that propheſieth [c], ſpeaks to men, who are exhorted and comforted thereby, and helped 1. 2. 3.

NOTES.

1 [a] Ζηλοῦτε τὰ πνευματικά. That ζηλοῦν does not ſignify to covet or deſire, nor can be underſtood to be ſo uſed by St. Paul, in this ſection; I have already ſhewn, ch. xii. 31. That it has, here, the ſenſe, that I have given it, is plain from the ſame direction concerning ſpiritual gifts, repeated ver. 39, in theſe words, ζηλοῦτε τὸ προφητεύειν, καὶ τὸ λαλεῖν γλώσσαις μὴ κωλύετε, the meaning, in both places, being evidently this; that they ſhould not neglect the uſe of their ſpiritual gifts, eſpecially they ſhould, in the firſt place, cultivate and exerciſe the gift of propheſying; but yet ſhould not wholly lay aſide the ſpeaking with variety of tongues in their aſſemblies. It will, perhaps, be wondered, why St. Paul ſhould imploy the word ζηλοῦν, in ſo unuſual a ſenſe; but that will eaſily be accounted for, if what I have remarked, chap. xiv. 15. concerning St. Paul's cuſtom of repeating words, be remembered. But, beſides what is familiar in St. Paul's way of writing, we may find a particular reaſon for his repeating the word ζηλοῦν here, tho' in a ſomewhat unuſual ſignification. He having, by way of reproof, told them, that they did ζηλοῦν τὰ χαρίσματα τὰ κρείττονα, had an emulation, or made a ſtir about whoſe gifts were beſt, and were, therefore, to take place in their aſſemblies: to prevent their thinking, that ζηλοῦν might have too harſh a meaning, (for he is, in all this epiſtle, very tender of offending them, and therefore ſweetens all his reproofs, as much as poſſible) he here takes it up again, and uſes it, more than once, in a way that approves and adviſes that they ſhould ζηλοῦν πνευματικὰ, whereby yet he means no more, but that they ſhould not neglect their ſpiritual gifts: he would have them uſe them in their aſſemblies, but yet in ſuch method and order, as he directs.

2 [b] He, who attentively reads this ſection, about ſpiritual men, and their gifts, may find reaſon to imagine, that it was thoſe, who had the gift of tongues, who cauſed the diſorder in the church at Corinth, by their forwardneſs to ſpeak, and ſtriving to be heard firſt, and ſo taking up too much of the time in their aſſemblies, in ſpeaking in unknown tongues. For the remedying this diſorder, and better regulating of this matter amongſt other things, they had recourſe to St. Paul. He will not eaſily avoid thinking ſo, who conſiders,

1ſt, That the firſt gift, which St. Paul compares with charity, chap. xiii. and extremely undervalues, in compariſon of that divine virtue, is the gift of tongues. As if that were the gift, they moſt affected to ſhew, and moſt valued themſelves upon; as indeed it was, in itſelf, moſt fitted for oſtentation in their aſſemblies, of any other, if any one were inclined that way: and that the Corinthians, in their preſent ſtate, were not exempt from emulation, vanity, and oſtentation, is very evident.

2dly, That chap. xiv. when St. Paul compares their ſpiritual gifts, one with another, the firſt, nay, and only one, that he debaſes and depreciates, in compariſon of others, is the gift of tongues, which he diſcourſes of, for above 20 verſes together, in a way fit to abate a too high eſteem, and a too exceſſive uſe of it, in their aſſemblies; which we cannot ſuppoſe, he would have done, had they not been guilty of ſome ſuch miſcarriages in the caſe, whereof the 24th verſe is not without an intimation.

3dly, When he comes to give direction about the exerciſe of their gifts in their meetings, this of tongues is the only one, that he reſtrains and limits, ver. 27, 28.

3 [c] What is meant by propheſying, ſee note chap. xii. 10.

PARAPHRASE.

ed forwards in religion and piety. He that ſpeaks
4. in an unknown tongue [a], edifies himſelf alone; but
5. he, that propheſieth, edifieth the church. I wiſh
that ye had all the gift of tongues, but rather that
ye all propheſied; for greater is he that propheſieth,
than he that ſpeaks with tongues, unleſs he inter-
prets what he delivers in an unknown tongue, that
6. the church may be edified by it. For example,
ſhould I apply myſelf to you in a tongue you knew
not, what good ſhould I do you, unleſs I inter-
preted to you what I ſaid, that you might under-
ſtand the revelation, or knowledge, or prophecy,
7. or doctrine [b] contained in it? Even inanimate inſtru-
ments of ſound, as pipe, or harp, are not made uſe
of, to make an inſignificant noiſe; but diſtinct notes,
expreſſing mirth, or mourning, or the like, are
played upon them, whereby the tune and compo-
8. ſure is underſtood. And, if the trumpet ſound not
ſome point of war, that is underſtood, the ſoldier is
9. not thereby inſtructed what to do. So likewiſe ye,
unleſs, with the tongue, which you uſe, utter words
of a clear and known ſignification to your hearers,
you talk to the wind; for your auditors underſtand
10. nothing that you ſay. There is a great number of
ſignificant languages in the world, I know not how
11. many, every nation has its own. If then I under-
ſtand not another's language, and the force of his
words, I am to him, when he ſpeaks, a barbarian;
and whatever he ſays, is all gibberiſh to me: and ſo
is it with you; ye are barbarians to one another, as
far as ye ſpeak to one another in unknown tongues.
12. But ſince there is emulation amongſt you concerning
ſpiritual gifts, ſeek to abound in the exerciſe of thoſe
which tend moſt to the edification of the church.
13. Wherefore, let him that ſpeaks an unknown tongue,
pray

TEXT.

4 He that ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue, edifieth himſelf: but he, that propheſieth, edifieth the church.

5 I would that ye all ſpake with tongues, but rather that ye propheſied: for greater is he that propheſieth, than he that ſpeaketh with tongues, except he interpret, that the church may receive edifying.

6 Now, brethren, if I come unto you, ſpeaking with tongues, what ſhall I profit you, except I ſhall ſpeak to you, either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by propheſying, or by doctrine?

7 And even things without life, giving ſound, whether pipe or harp, except they give a diſtinction in the ſounds, how ſhall it be known what is piped, or harped?

8 For if the trumpet give an uncertain ſound, who ſhall prepare himſelf to the battle?

9 So likewiſe you, except ye utter by the tongue, words eaſy to be underſtood, how ſhall it be known what is ſpoken? For ye ſhall ſpeak into the air.

10 There are, it may be, ſo many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without ſignification.

11 Therefore, if I know not the meaning of the voice, I ſhall be unto him that ſpeaketh, a barbarian; and he that ſpeaketh ſhall be a barbarian unto me.

12 Even ſo ye, foraſmuch as ye are zealous of ſpiritual gifts, ſeek that ye may excel to the edifying of the church.

13 Wherefore, let him, that ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue, pray that he may interpret.

NOTES.

4 [a] By γλώσσῃ, "unknown tongue," Dr. Lightfoot, in this chapter, underſtands the Hebrew tongue, which, as he obſerves, was uſed in the ſynagogue, in reading the ſacred ſcripture, in praying and preaching. If that be the meaning of tongue, here, it ſuits well the apoſtle's deſign, which was to take them off from their Jewiſh, falſe apoſtle, who probably might have encouraged and promoted this ſpeaking of Hebrew, in their aſſemblies.

6 [b] 'Tis not to be doubted but theſe four diſtinct terms, uſed here by the apoſtle, had each his diſtinct ſignification, in his mind and intention: whether what may be collected from theſe epiſtles, may ſufficiently warrant us to underſtand them, in the following ſignifications, I leave to the judgment of others: 1ſt, Ἀποκάλυψις, "revelation," ſomething revealed by God, immediately to the perſon; vid. ver. 30. 2dly, Γνῶσις, "knowledge," the underſtanding the myſtical and evangelical ſenſe of paſſages in the old teſtament, relating to our Saviour and the goſpel. 3dly, Προφητεία, "prophecy," an inſpired hymn; vid. ver. 26. 4thly, Διδαχή, "doctrine," any truth of the goſpel concerning faith, or manners. But whether this, or any other, preciſe meaning of theſe words can be certainly made out now, it is perhaps of no great neceſſity to be over curious; it being enough for the underſtanding the ſenſe and argument of the apoſtle here, to know that theſe terms ſtand for ſome intelligible diſcourſe, tending to the edification of the church, though of what kind each of them was, in particular, we certainly know not.

TEXT.

14 For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my ſpirit prayeth, but my underſtanding is unfruitful.

15 What is it then? I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the underſtanding alſo: I will ſing with the Spirit, and I will ſing with the underſtanding alſo.

16 Elſe, when thou ſhalt bleſs with the Spirit, how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, ſay Amen, at thy giving of thanks; ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt?

17 For thou verily giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified.

18 I thank my God, I ſpeak with tongues more than you all:

19 Yet in the church I had rather ſpeak five words with my underſtanding, that by my voice I might teach others alſo, than ten thouſand words in an unknown tongue.

20 Brethren, be not children in underſtanding: howbeit, in malice be ye children, but in underſtanding be men.

21 In the law it is written, "With men of other tongues, "and other lips, will I ſpeak

PARAPHRASE.

pray that he may interpret what he ſays. For, 14.
if I pray in the congregation in an unknown tongue,
my ſpirit, it is true, accompanies my words, which
I underſtand, and ſo my ſpirit prays[a]; but my meaning
is unprofitable to others, who underſtand not my
words. What, then, is to be done in the caſe? 15.
Why, I will, when moved to it by the Spirit, pray
in an unknown tongue, but ſo that my meaning[b]
may be underſtood by others; i. e. I will not do it,
but when there is ſome body by, to interpret[c]. And
ſo I will do alſo in ſinging[d]; I will ſing by the
Spirit, in an unknown tongue; but I will take care
that the meaning, of what I ſing, ſhall be underſtood
by the aſſiſtants. And thus ye ſhould all do, in all
like caſes. For if thou, by the impulſe of the Spirit, 16.
giveſt thanks to God, in an unknown tongue,
which all underſtand not, how ſhall the hearer, who,
in this reſpect, is unlearned, and, being ignorant in
that tongue, knows not what thou ſayeſt, how ſhall
he ſay, Amen? How ſhall he join in the thanks,
which he underſtands not? Thou, indeed, giveſt
thanks well; but the other is not at all edified by it. 17.
I thank God, I ſpeak with tongues more than you 18.
all: But I had rather ſpeak, in the church, five 19.
words that are underſtood, that I might inſtruct
others alſo, than, in an unknown tongue, ten thouſand,
that others underſtand not. My brethren, be 20.
not, in underſtanding, children, who are apt to be
taken with the novelty, or ſtrangeneſs of things: in
temper and diſpoſition, be as children, void of malice[e];
but, in matters of underſtanding, be ye perfect
men, and uſe your underſtandings[f]. Be not 21.
ſo zealous for the uſe of unknown tongues in the
church; they are not ſo proper there: it is written
in the law[g], "With men of other tongues, and
"other

NOTES.

14 [a] This is evident from ver. 4. where it is ſaid, "He that ſpeaketh with a tongue, edifies himſelf."

15 [b] I will not pretend to juſtify this interpretation of τῷ νοΐ, by the exact rules of the Greek idiom; but the ſenſe of the place will, I think, bear me out in it. And, as there is occaſion often to remark, he muſt be little verſed in the writings of St. Paul, who does not obſerve, that when he has uſed a term, he is apt to repeat it again, in the ſame diſcourſe, in a way peculiar to himſelf, and ſomewhat varied from its ordinary ſignification. So, having here, in the foregoing verſe, uſed νοῦς, for the ſentiment of his own mind, which was unprofitable to others, when he prayed in a tongue unknown to them, and oppoſed it to πνεῦμα, which he uſed there, for his own ſenſe, accompanying his own words, intelligible to himſelf, when, by the impulſe of the Spirit, he prayed in a foreign tongue; he here, in this verſe, continues to uſe praying, τῷ πνεύματι, and τῷ νοΐ, in the ſame oppoſition; the one for praying in a ſtrange tongue, which alone his own mind underſtood and accompanied; the other, for praying ſo, as that the meaning of his mind, in thoſe words he uttered, was made known to others, ſo that they were alſo benefited. This uſe of πνεύματι is farther confirmed, in the next verſe: and what he means by νοΐ, here, he expreſſes by διὰ νοὸς, ver. 19. and there explains the meaning of it.

[c] For ſo he orders, in the uſe of an unknown tongue, ver. 27.

[d] Here it may be obſerved, that as, in their publick prayer, one prayed, and the others held their peace; ſo it was in their ſinging, at leaſt in that ſinging, which was of extempore hymns, by the impulſe of the Spirit.

20 [e] By κακίᾳ, "malice," I think is here to be underſtood all ſorts of ill temper of mind, contrary to the gentleneſs and innocence of childhood; and, in particular, their emulation and ſtrife, about the exerciſe of their gifts in their aſſemblies.

[f] Vid. Rom. xvi. 19. Eph. iv. 13—15.

21 [g] The books of ſacred ſcripture, delivered to the Jews by divine revelation, under the law, before the time of the goſpel, which we now call the old teſtament, are, in the writings of the new teſtament,

PARAPHRASE.

"other lips, will I ſpeak unto this people: and yet
"for all that, will they not hear me, ſaith the
22. "Lord." So that, you ſee, the ſpeaking of ſtrange
tongues miraculouſly, is not for thoſe, who are
already converted, but for a ſign to thoſe, who are
unbelievers: but prophecy is for believers, and not
for unbelievers; and, therefore, fitter for your aſſemblies.
23. If, therefore, when the church is all
come together, you ſhould all ſpeak in unknown
tongues, and men unlearned, or unbelievers, ſhould
come in, would they not ſay, "that you are mad?"
24. But if ye all prophecy, and an unbeliever, or ignorant
man, come in, the diſcourſes, he hears from you,
25. reaching his conſcience, and the ſecret thoughts of
his heart, he is convinced, and wrought upon; and
ſo, falling down, worſhips God, and declares that
26. God is certainly amongſt you. What then is to be
done, brethren? When you come together, every
one is ready[a], one with a pſalm, another with a
doctrine, another with a ſtrange tongue, another
with a revelation, another with interpretation. Let
27. all things be done to edification. Even though [b] any
one ſpeak in an unknown tongue, which is a gift,
that ſeems leaſt intended for edification[c]; let but
two, or three at moſt, at any one meeting, ſpeak in
an unknown tongue; and that ſeparately, one after
28. another; and let there be but one interpreter[d]. But
if there be no body preſent, that can interpret, let
not any one uſe his gift of tongues in the congregation;

TEXT.

"unto this people: and yet, "for all that, will they not "hear me, ſaith the Lord."

Wherefore tongues are for a ſign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not: but propheſying ſerveth not for them that believe not, but for them which believe. 22

If, therefore, the whole church be come together into one place, and all ſpeak with tongues, and there come in thoſe, that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not ſay, that ye are mad? 23

But if all propheſy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all: 24

And thus are the ſecrets of his heart made manifeſt; and ſo, falling down on his face, he will worſhip God, and report that God is in you of a truth. 25

How is it then, brethren? When ye come together, every one of you hath a pſalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done to edifying. 26

If any man ſpeak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the moſt by three, and that by courſe; and let one interpret. 27

But if there be no interpreter, let him keep ſilence in 28

NOTES.

teſtament, called ſometimes, "the law, the prophets, and the pſalms," as Luke xxiv. 44. ſometimes "the law and the prophets," as Acts xxiv. 14. And ſometimes they are all comprehended under this one name, "the law," as here; for the paſſage cited, is in Iſaiah, chap. xxviii. 1.

26 [a] 'Tis plain, by this whole diſcourſe of the apoſtle's, that there were contentions and emulations amongſt them, for precedency of their gifts; and therefore I think ἕκαστος ἔχει, may be render'd, "every one is ready," as impatient to be firſt heard. If there were no ſuch diſorder amongſt them, there would have been no need for the regulations given, in the end of this verſe, and the ſeven verſes following, eſpecially ver. 31, 32. where he tells them, they all may propheſy, one by one, and that the motions of the Spirit were not ſo ungovernable, as not to leave a man maſter of himſelf. He muſt not think himſelf under a neceſſity of ſpeaking, as ſoon as he found any impulſe of the Spirit upon his mind.

27 [b] St. Paul has ſaid, in this chapter, as much as conveniently could be ſaid, to reſtrain their ſpeaking in unknown tongues, in their aſſemblies, which ſeems to be that, wherein the vanity and oſtentation of the Corinthians was moſt forward to ſhew itſelf. "It is not, ſays he, a gift "intended for the edification of believers; however, ſince you will be exerciſing it in your meet-"ings, let it always be ſo ordered, that it may be for edification;" εἴτε, I have render'd "altho'." So I think it is ſometimes uſed; but no where, as I remember, ſimply for "if," as in our tranſlation; nor will the ſenſe here bear, "whether;" which is the common ſignification of εἴτε. And, therefore, I take the apoſtle's ſenſe to be this: "You muſt do nothing but to edification; tho' you ſpeak in an unknown tongue, "even an unknown tongue muſt be made uſe of, in your "aſſemblies, only to edification."

[c] Vid. ver. 2, and 4.

[d] The rule of the ſynagogue was; "in the law, let one read and one interpret: in the pro-"phets, let one read, and two interpret: in Eſther ten may read, and ten interpret." 'Tis not improbable, that ſome ſuch diſorder had been introduced into the church of Corinth, by their judaizing, falſe apoſtle, which St. Paul would here put an end to.

TEXT.

the church; and let him ſpeak to himſelf, and to God.

29 Let the prophets ſpeak, two or three, and let the other judge.

30 If any thing be revealed to another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace.

31 For ye may all propheſy, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.

32 And the ſpirits of the prophets are ſubject to the prophets.

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33 For God is not the author of confuſion, but of peace, as in all churches of the ſaints.

34 Let your women keep ſilence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to ſpeak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as alſo ſaith the law.

35 And if they will learn any thing, let them aſk their huſbands at home: for it is a ſhame for women to ſpeak in the church.

36 What! came the word of God out from you? Or came it unto you only?

37 If any man think himſelf to be a prophet, or ſpiritual, let him acknowledge, that the things, that I write unto you, are the commandments of the Lord.

38 But if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant.

PARAPHRASE.

gation; but let him, ſilently, within himſelf, ſpeak
to himſelf, and to God. Of thoſe, who have the 29.
gift of prophecy, let but two or three ſpeak at the
ſame meeting, and let the others examine and diſcuſs
it. But if, during their debate, the meaning of 30.
it be revealed to one that ſits by, let him, that was
diſcourſing of it before, give off. For ye may all 31.
propheſy, one after another, that all may in their
turns be hearers, and receive exhortation and inſtruction.
For the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt are not like 32.
the poſſeſſion of the heathen prieſts, who are not
maſters of the ſpirit that poſſeſſes them. But Chriſtians,
however filled with the Holy Ghoſt, are maſters
of their own actions, can ſpeak, or hold their
peace, as they ſee occaſion, and are not hurried away
by any compulſion. It is, therefore, no reaſon for 33.
you to ſpeak, more than one at once, or to interrupt
one another, becauſe you find yourſelves inſpired
and moved by the Spirit of God. For God is not
the author of confuſion and diſorder, but of quietneſs
and peace. And this is what is obſerved in all the
churches of God.

As to your women, let them keep ſilence in your 34.
aſſemblies; for it is not permitted them to diſcourſe
there, or pretend to teach; that does no way
ſuit their ſtate of ſubjection, appointed them in the law.
But, if they have a mind to have any thing explained 35.
to them, that paſſes in the church, let them, for
their information, aſk their huſbands at home; for
it is a ſhame for women to diſcourſe and debate with
men publickly, in the congregation [a]. What! do
you pretend to give laws to the church of God, or
to a right to do what you pleaſe amongſt yourſelves,
as if the goſpel began at Corinth, and iſſuing from
you, was communicated to the reſt of the world;
or, as if it were communicated to you alone, of all
the world? If any man amongſt you think, that he 37.
hath the gift of prophecies, and would paſs for a
man knowing in the revealed will of God [b], let
him acknowledge, that theſe rules, which I have here
given, are the commandments of the Lord. But if 38.
any man [c] be ignorant that they are ſo, I have no
more to ſay to him: I leave him to his ignorance.

To

NOTES.

34, 35 [a] Why I apply this prohibition, of ſpeaking, only to reaſoning and purely voluntary diſcourſe, but ſuppoſe a liberty left women to ſpeak, where they had an immediate impulſe and revelation from the Spirit of God, vid. note on chap. xi. 3. In the ſynagogue it was uſual for any man, that had a mind, to demand, of the teacher, a farther explication of what he had ſaid: but this was not permitted to the women.

37 [b] Πνευματικὸς, "a ſpiritual man," in the ſenſe of St. Paul, is one, who founds his knowledge in what is revealed by the Spirit of God, and not in the bare diſcoveries of his natural reaſon and parts: vid. chap. ii. 15.

38 [c] By the [any man] mentioned in this, and the foregoing verſe, St. Paul ſeems to intimate the falſe apoſtle, who pretended to give laws amongſt them, and, as we have obſerved, may well be ſuppoſed to be the author of theſe diſorders; whom, therefore, St. Paul reflects on, and preſſes in theſe three verſes.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.
Chap. XIV.

PARAPHRASE.

To conclude, brethren, let prophecy have the pre-
39. ference in the exerciſe of it [a]: but yet forbid not the
40. ſpeaking unknown tongues. But whether a man prophecies, or ſpeaks with tongues, whatever ſpiritual gift he exerciſes in your aſſemblies, let it be done without any indecorum, or diſorder.

TEXT.

Wherefore, brethren, covet to propheſy, and forbid not to ſpeak with tongues. 39

Let all things be done decently, and in order. 40

NOTE.

39 [a] Ζηλοῦν, in this whole diſcourſe of St. Paul, taken to refer to the exerciſe, and not to the obtaining the gifts, to which it is joined, will direct us right, in underſtanding St. Paul, and make his meaning very eaſy and intelligible.

SECT. X.

CHAP. XV. 1.—58.

CONTENTS.

AFter St. Paul (who had taught them another doctrine) had left Corinth, ſome among them denied the reſurrection of the dead. This he confutes by Chriſt's reſurrection, which the number of witneſſes, yet remaining, that had ſeen him, put paſt queſtion, beſides the conſtant inculcating of it, by all the apoſtles, every where. From the reſurrection of Chriſt, thus eſtabliſhed, he infers the reſurrection of the dead; ſhews the order they ſhall riſe in, and what ſort of bodies they ſhall have.

PARAPHRASE.

1. IN what I am now going to ſay to you, brethren,
I make known to you no other goſpel, than what
I formerly preached to you, and you received, and
have hitherto profeſſed, and by which alone you are
2. to be ſaved. This you will find to be ſo, if you
retain in your memories what it was that I preached
to you, which you certainly do, unleſs you have
taken up the Chriſtian name and profeſſion to no
3. purpoſe. For I delivered to you, and particularly
inſiſted on this, which I had received, viz. that
Chriſt died for our ſins, according to the ſcriptures:
4. And that he was buried, and that he was raiſed
again, the third day, according to the ſcriptures:
5. And that he was ſeen by Peter; afterwards by the
6. twelve apoſtles: And, after that, by above five
hundred Chriſtians at once; of whom the greateſt
part remain alive to this day, but ſome of them are
7. deceaſed: Afterwards he was ſeen by James; and
8. after that, by all the apoſtles: Laſt of all, he was
ſeen by me alſo, as by one born before my time [a].
For

TEXT.

MOreover, brethren, I declare unto you the goſpel which I preached unto you, which alſo you have received, and wherein ye ſtand? 1

By which alſo ye are ſaved, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you, unleſs ye have believed in vain. 2

For I delivered unto you, firſt of all, that which I alſo received, how that Chriſt died for our ſins, according to the ſcriptures: 3

And that he was buried, and that he roſe again the third day, according to the ſcriptures: 4

And that he was ſeen of Cephas, then of the twelve: 5

After that, he was ſeen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this preſent, but ſome are fallen aſleep: 6

After that, he was ſeen of James: then, of all the apoſtles: 7

And, laſt of all, he was ſeen 8

NOTE.

8 [a] An abortive birth, that comes before its time, which is the name St. Paul gives himſelf here, is uſually ſudden and at unawares, and is alſo weak and feeble, ſcarce deſerving to be called, or counted a man. The former part agrees to St. Paul's being made a Chriſtian and an apoſtle; though it be in regard of the latter, that, in the following verſe, St. Paul calls himſelf, abortive.

of me alſo, as of one born out of due time.

9 For I am the leaſt of the apoſtles, that am not meet to be called an apoſtle, becauſe I perſecuted the church of God.

10 But, by the grace of God, I am what I am: and his grace, which was beſtowed upon me, was not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me.

11 Therefore, whether it were I or they, ſo we preach, and ſo ye believed.

12 Now, if Chriſt be preached, that he roſe from the dead, how ſay ſome among you, that there is no reſurrection of the dead?

13 But if there be no reſurrection of the dead, then is Chriſt not riſen:

14 And, if Chriſt be not riſen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is alſo vain.

15 Yea, and we are found falſe witneſſes of God; becauſe we have teſtified of God, that he raiſed up Chriſt: whom he raiſed not up, if ſo be, that the dead riſe not.

16 For if the dead riſe not, then is not Chriſt raiſed:

17 And if Chriſt be not raiſed, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your ſins.

18 Then they alſo, which are fallen aſleep in Chriſt, are periſhed.

19 If in this life only we have hope in Chriſt, we are of all men moſt miſerable.

20 But, now, is Chriſt riſen from the dead, and become the firſt fruits of them that ſlept.

21 For ſince by man came death, by man came alſo the reſurrection of the dead.

22 For, as in Adam all die, even ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made alive.

23 But every man, in his own order: Chriſt the firſt-fruits,

For I am the leaſt of the apoſtles, not worthy the 9.
name of an apoſtle; becauſe I perſecuted the church
of God. But, by the free bounty of God, I am 10.
what it hath pleaſed him to make me: and this
favour, which he hath beſtowed on me, hath not
been altogether fruitleſs; for I have laboured in
preaching of the goſpel, more than all the other
apoſtles[a]: which yet I do not aſcribe to any thing
of myſelf, but to the favour of God, which accom-
panied me. But whether I, or the other apoſtles, 11.
preached, this was that which we preached, and
this was the faith, ye were baptized into, viz. that
Chriſt died, and roſe again the third day. If, there- 12.
fore, this be ſo, if this be that, which has been
preached to you, viz. that Chriſt has been raiſed
from the dead; how comes it that ſome[b] amongſt
you ſay, as they do, that there is no reſurrection
of the dead? And if there be no reſurrection of the 13.
dead, then even Chriſt himſelf is not riſen: And if 14.
Chriſt be not riſen, our preaching is idle talk, and
your believing it is to no purpoſe. And we, who 15.
pretend to be witneſſes for God, and his truth, ſhall
be found liars, bearing witneſs againſt God, and his
truth, affirming, that he raiſed Chriſt, whom in
truth he did not raiſe, if it be ſo, that the dead are
not raiſed. For if the dead ſhall not be raiſed, 16.
neither is Chriſt raiſed. And if Chriſt be not riſen, 17.
your faith is to no purpoſe; your ſins are not for-
given, but you are ſtill liable to the puniſhment due
to them. And they alſo, who died in the belief of 18.
the goſpel, are periſhed and loſt. If the advantages, 19.
we expect from Chriſt, are confined to this life, and
we have no hope of any benefit from him, in an-
other life hereafter, we Chriſtians are the moſt
miſerable of all men. But, in truth, Chriſt is 20.
actually riſen from the dead, and become the firſt-
fruits[c] of thoſe who were dead. For, ſince by man 21.
came death, by man came alſo the reſurrection of
the dead, or reſtoration to life. For, as the death 22.
that all men ſuffer, is owing to Adam, ſo the life,
that all ſhall be reſtored to again, is procured them
by Chriſt. But they ſhall return to life again, not 23.
all at once, but in their proper order: Chriſt, the
firſt-fruits, is already riſen; next after him ſhall riſe
thoſe,

NOTES.

10 [a] St. Paul drops in this commendation of himſelf, to keep up his credit in the church of Corinth, where there was a faction, labouring to diſcredit him.

12 [b] This may well be underſtood of the head of the contrary faction, and ſome of his ſcholars: 1ſt, Becauſe St. Paul introduces this confutation, by aſſerting his miſſion, which theſe his oppoſers would bring in queſtion. 2dly, Becauſe he is ſo careful to let the Corinthians ſee, he maintains not the doctrine of the reſurrection, in oppoſition to theſe their new leaders, it being the doctrine he had preached to them, at their firſt converſion, before any ſuch falſe apoſtle appeared among them, and miſled them about the reſurrection. Their falſe apoſtle was a Jew, and in all appearance judaized: may he not alſo be ſuſpected of Sadduciſm? For 'tis plain, he, with all his might, oppoſed St. Paul, which muſt be from ſome main difference in opinion at the bottom. For there are no footſteps of any perſonal provocation.

20 [c] The firſt-fruits were a ſmall part, which was firſt taken and offered to God, and ſanctified the whole maſs, which was to follow.

CHAP. XV. thoſe, who are his people, his church, and this ſhall
24. be at his ſecond coming. After that ſhall be the
day of judgment, which ſhall bring to a concluſion,
and finiſh the whole diſpenſation to the race and
poſterity of Adam, in this world: when Chriſt ſhall
have delivered up the kingdom to God, the Father;
which he ſhall not do, till he hath deſtroyed all
empire, power, and authority, that ſhall be in the
25. world beſides. For he muſt reign, till he has totally
ſubdued and brought all his enemies into ſubjection
26. to his kingdom. The laſt enemy, that ſhall
27. be deſtroyed, is death. For God hath ſubjected all
things to Chriſt: but when it is ſaid, "All things
are ſubjected," it is plain that he is to be excepted,
28. who did ſubject all things to him. But when all
things ſhall be actually reduced under ſubjection to
him, then, even the Son himſelf, i. e. Chriſt and his
whole kingdom, he and all his ſubjects and members,
ſhall be ſubjected to him, that gave him this
kingdom, and univerſal dominion, that God may
29. immediately govern and influence all. Elſe [a], what
30. ſhall they do, who are baptized for the dead [b]? And,
why do we venture our lives continually? As to myſelf,
I am expoſed, vilified, treated ſo, that I die
31. daily. And for this I call to witneſs your glorying
againſt me, in which I really glory, as coming on me
32. for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. And particularly,
to what purpoſe did I ſuffer myſelf to be expoſed to
wild beaſts at Epheſus, if the dead riſe not? If there
be no reſurrection, 'tis wiſer a great deal to preſerve
ourſelves, as long as we can, in a free enjoyment of
all the pleaſures of this life; for when death comes,
as it ſhortly will, there is an end of us for ever.
33. Take heed that you be not miſled by ſuch diſcourſes:
for evil communication is apt to corrupt even good
34. minds. Awake from ſuch dreams, as 'tis fit you
ſhould, and give not yourſelves up ſinfully to the enjoyments
of this life. For there are ſome [c] atheiſtical
people among you: this I ſay to make you aſhamed.
35. But, poſſibly, it will be aſked; "How comes it to
"paſs, that dead men are raiſed, and with what
"kind of bodies do they come? [d] Shall they have,
"at

afterwards they that are Chriſt's, at his coming.

24 Then cometh the end, when he ſhall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he ſhall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power.

25 For he muſt reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet.

26 The laſt enemy, that ſhall be deſtroyed, is death.

27 For he hath put all things under his feet. But when he ſaith, "All things are put under him," it is manifeſt that he is excepted, which did put all things under him.

28 And, when all things ſhall be ſubdued unto him, then ſhall the Son alſo himſelf be ſubject unto him, that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.

29 Elſe what ſhall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead riſe not at all? Why are they, then, baptized for the dead?

30 And why ſtand we in jeopardy every hour?

31 I proteſt, by your rejoicing, which I have in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, I die daily.

32 If, after the manner of men, I have fought with beaſts at Epheſus, what advantageth it me, if the dead riſe not? Let us eat and drink; for to morrow we die.

33 Be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners.

34 Awake to righteouſneſs, and ſin not; for ſome have not the knowledge of God: I ſpeak this to your ſhame.

35 But ſome men will ſay, "How are the dead raiſed up? "And with what body do "they come?"

NOTES.

29 [a] "Elſe," here relates to ver. 20. where it is ſaid, "Chriſt is riſen:" St. Paul, having, in that verſe, mentioned Chriſt being the firſt fruits from the dead, takes occaſion from thence, now that he is upon the reſurrection, to inform the Corinthians of ſeveral particularities, relating to the reſurrection, which might enlighten them about it, and could not be known, but by revelation. Having made this excurſion, in the eight preceding verſes, he here, in the 29th, re-aſſumes the thread of his diſcourſe, and goes on with his arguments, for believing the reſurrection.

[b] What this baptizing for the dead, was, I confeſs I know not: but it ſeems, by the following verſes, to be ſomething, wherein they expoſed themſelves to the danger of death.

34 [c] May not this, probably, be ſaid, to make them aſhamed of their leader, whom they were ſo forward to glory in? For 'tis not unlikely, that their queſtioning, and denying the reſurrection, came from their new apoſtle, who raiſed ſuch oppoſition againſt St. Paul.

35 [d] If we will allow St. Paul to know what he ſays, it is plain, from what he anſwers, that he underſtands theſe words to contain two queſtions: Firſt, How comes it to paſs, that dead men are raiſed to life again? Would it not be better they ſhould live on? Why do they die, to live again? Secondly, With what bodies ſhall they return to life? To both theſe he diſtinctly anſwers, viz. That

TEXT.

36 Thou fool! that, which thou ſoweſt, is not quickened, except it die.

37 And that which thou ſoweſt, thou ſoweſt not that body that ſhall be, but bare grain, it may chance, of wheat, or of ſome other grain.

38 But God giveth it a body, as it hath pleaſed him, and to every ſeed his own body.

39 All fleſh is not the ſame fleſh: but there is one kind of fleſh of men, another fleſh of beaſts, another of fiſhes, and another of birds.

40 There are alſo celeſtial bodies, and bodies terreſtrial: but the glory of the celeſtial is one, and the glory of the terreſtrial is another.

41 There is one glory of the ſun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the ſtars; for one ſtar differeth from another ſtar in glory.

42 So alſo is the reſurrection of the dead. It is ſown in cor-

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"at the reſurrection, ſuch bodies as they have
"now?" Thou fool! does not daily experience 36.
teach thee, that the ſeed, which thou ſoweſt, cor-
rupts and dies, before it ſprings up and lives again?
That, which thou ſoweſt, is the bare grain, of 37.
wheat, or barley, or the like; but the body, which
it has, when it riſes up, is different from the ſeed
that is ſown. For it is not the ſeed, that riſes up 38.
again, but a quite different body, ſuch as God has
thought fit to give it, viz. a plant, of a particular
ſhape and ſize, which God has appointed to each
ſort of ſeed. And ſo, likewiſe, it is in animals; 39.
there are different kinds of fleſh [a]: for the fleſh of
men is of one kind; the fleſh of cattle is of another
kind; that of fiſh is different from them both;
and the fleſh of birds is of a peculiar ſort, different
from them all. To look yet farther into the differ- 40.
ence of bodies, there be both heavenly and earthly
bodies; but the beauty and excellency of the hea-
venly bodies is of one kind, and that of earthly
bodies of another. The ſun, moon and ſtars have 41.
each of them their particular beauty and brightneſs,
and one ſtar differs from another in glory. And ſo 42.
ſhall the reſurrection of the dead [b] be: that, which
is

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thoſe, who are raiſed to an heavenly ſtate, ſhall have other bodies: and next, that it is fit that men ſhould die, death being no improper way to the attaining other bodies. This, he ſhews, there is ſo plain and common an inſtance of, in the ſowing of all ſeeds, that he thinks it a fooliſh thing to make a difficulty of it; and then proceeds to declare, that, as they ſhall have other, ſo they ſhall have better bodies, than they had before, viz. ſpiritual and incorruptible.

39 [a] The ſcope of the place makes it evident, that by, "fleſh," St. Paul here means bodies, viz. that God has given to the ſeveral ſorts of animals, bodies, in ſhape, texture, and organization, very different one from another, as he hath thought good; and ſo he can give to men, at the reſurrection, bodies of very different conſtitutions and qualities, from thoſe they had before.

42 [b] "The reſurrection of the dead," here ſpoken of, is not the reſurrection of all mankind, in common; but only the reſurrection of the juſt. This will be evident to any one, who obſerves, that St. Paul, having, ver. 22. declared that all men ſhall be made alive again, tells the Corinthians, ver. 23. That it ſhall not be all at once, but at ſeveral diſtances of time. Firſt of all, Chriſt roſe; afterwards, next in order to him, the ſaints ſhould all be raiſed; which reſurrection of the juſt is, that which he treats, and gives an account, of, to the end of this diſcourſe and chapter; and ſo never comes to the reſurrection of the wicked, which was to be the third and laſt in order: ſo that from the 23d verſe, to the end of this chapter, all that he ſays of the reſurrection, is a deſcription only of the reſurrection of the juſt, tho' he calls it here, by the general name, of the reſurrection of the dead. That this is ſo, there is ſo much evidence, that there is ſcarce a verſe, from the 41ſt to the end, that does not evince it.

Firſt, What in this reſurrection is raiſed, St. Paul aſſures us, ver. 43. is raiſed in glory; but the wicked are not raiſed in glory.

Secondly, He ſays "we" (ſpeaking in the name of all, that ſhall be then raiſed) ſhall bear the image of the heavenly Adam, ver. 49. which cannot belong to the wicked. "We" ſhall all be changed, that, by putting on incorruptibility and immortality, death may be ſwallowed up of victory, which God giveth us, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ver. 51, 52, 53, 54, 57. which cannot likewiſe belong to the damned. And therefore "we," and "us," muſt be underſtood to be ſpoken, in the name of the dead, that are Chriſt's, who are to be raiſed by themſelves, before the reſt of mankind.

Thirdly, He ſays, ver. 52. That when the dead are raiſed, they, who are alive, ſhall be changed, in the twinkling of an eye. Now, that theſe dead, are only the dead in Chriſt, which ſhall riſe firſt, and ſhall be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, is plain from 1 Theſſ. iv. 16, 17.

Fourthly, He teaches, ver. 54. that, by this corruptible's putting on incorruption, is brought to paſs the ſaying, that "Death is ſwallowed up of victory." But I think, no body will ſay, that the wicked have victory over death; yet that, according to the apoſtle, here belongs to all thoſe, whoſe corruptible bodies have put on incorruption; which, therefore, muſt be only thoſe, that riſe the ſecond in order. From whence it is clear, that their reſurrection alone, is that, which is here mentioned and deſcribed.

Fifthly,

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is ſown in this world [a], and comes to die, is a poor,
43. weak, contemptible, corruptible thing: When it is
raiſed again, it ſhall be powerful, glorious, and in-
44. corruptible. The body, we have here, ſurpaſſes
not the animal nature. At the reſurrection it ſhall
be ſpiritual. There are both animal [b] and ſpiri-
tual

TEXT.

ruption, it is raiſed in incorruption:

43 It is ſown in diſhonour, it is raiſed in glory: it is ſown in weakneſs, it is raiſed in power.

44 It is ſown a natural body, it is raiſed a ſpiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a ſpiritual body.

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Fifthly, A farther proof whereof is, ver. 56, 57. in that their ſins being taken away, the ſting, whereby death kills, is taken away. And hence St. Paul ſays, God has given "us" the victory, which is the ſame "us," or "we," who ſhould bear the image of the heavenly Adam, ver. 49. And the ſame "we," who ſhould "all" be changed, ver. 51, 52. All which places can, therefore, belong to none, but thoſe, who are Chriſt's, who ſhall be raiſed by themſelves, the ſecond in order, before the reſt of the dead.

'Tis very remarkable what St. Paul ſays, in the 51ſt verſe, "We ſhall not all ſleep, but we ſhall all be changed, in the twinkling of an eye." The reaſon he gives for it, ver. 53. is, becauſe this corruptible thing muſt put on incorruption, and this mortal thing muſt put on immortality. How? Why, by putting off fleſh and blood, by an inſtantaneous change, becauſe, as he tells us, ver. 50. fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; and therefore, to fit believers for that kingdom, thoſe who are alive at Chriſt's coming, ſhall be changed, in the twinkling of an eye; and thoſe, that are in their grave, ſhall be changed likewiſe, at the inſtant of their being raiſed; and ſo all the whole collection of ſaints, all the members of Chriſt's body, ſhall be put into a ſtate of incorruptibility, ver. 52. in a new ſort of bodies. Taking the reſurrection, here ſpoken of, to be the reſurrection of all the dead, promiſcuouſly, St. Paul's reaſoning, in this place, can hardly be underſtood. But, upon a ſuppoſition, that he here deſcribes the reſurrection of the juſt only, that reſurrection, which, as he ſays, ver. 23. is to be the next after Chriſt's, and ſeparate from the reſt, there is nothing can be more plain, natural, and eaſy, than St. Paul's reaſoning; and it ſtands thus: "Men "alive are fleſh and blood; the dead in the graves are but the remains of corrupted fleſh and blood; "but fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither corruption inherit incorruption, "i. e. immortality: therefore, to make all thoſe, who are Chriſt's, capable to enter into his eternal "kingdom of life, as well thoſe of them, who are alive, as thoſe of them, who are raiſed from the "dead, ſhall, in the twinkling of an eye, be all changed, and their corruptible ſhall put on incor"ruption, and their mortal ſhall put on immortality: and thus God gives them the victory over "death, through their Lord Jeſus Chriſt." This is, in ſhort, St. Paul's arguing here, and the account he gives, of the reſurrection of the bleſſed. But how the wicked, who are afterwards to be reſtored to life, were to be raiſed, and what was to become of them, he here ſays nothing, as not being to his preſent purpoſe, which was to aſſure the Corinthians, by the reſurrection of Chriſt, of a happy reſurrection to believers, and thereby to encourage them to continue ſtedfaſt in the faith, which had ſuch a reward. That this was his deſign, may be ſeen by the beginning of his diſcourſe; ver. 12—21. and by the concluſion, ver. 58. in theſe words; "Wherefore, my be"loved brethren, be ye ſtedfaſt, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; foraſ"much as ye know, that your labour is not in vain in the Lord." Which words ſhew, that what he had been ſpeaking of, in the immediately preceding verſes, viz. their being changed, and their putting on incorruption and immortality, and their having thereby the victory, through Jeſus Chriſt, was what belonged ſolely to the ſaints, as a reward to thoſe, who remained ſtedfaſt, and abounded in the work of the Lord.

The like uſe, of the like, though ſhorter, diſcourſe of the reſurrection, wherein he deſcribes only that of the bleſſed, he makes to the Theſſalonians, 1 Theſſ. iv. 13—18. which he concludes thus; "Wherefore comfort one another with theſe words."

Nor is it, in this place alone, that St. Paul calls the reſurrection of the juſt, by the general name, of the reſurrection of the dead. He does the ſame, Phil. iii. 11. where he ſpeaks of his ſufferings, and of his endeavours, "if by any means he might attain unto the reſurrection of the dead:" whereby, he cannot mean, the reſurrection of the dead, in general; which, ſince he has declared in this very chapter, ver. 22. all men, both good and bad, ſhall as certainly partake of, as that they ſhall die, there need no endeavours to attain to it. Our Saviour, likewiſe, ſpeaks of the reſurrection of the juſt, in the ſame general terms of the reſurrection, Matt. xxii. 30. "And the reſurrection from the dead," Luke xx. 35. by which it means only, the reſurrection of the juſt, as is plain from the context.

42 [a] The time, that man is in this world, affixed to this earth, is, his being ſown; and not when, being dead, he is put in the grave; as is evident from St. Paul's own words. For dead things are not ſown; ſeeds are ſown, being alive, and die not, 'till after they are ſown. Beſides, he that will attentively conſider what follows, will find reaſon, from St. Paul's arguing, to underſtand him ſo.

44 [b] Σῶμα ψυχικὸν, which in our Bibles is tranſlated, "a natural body," ſhould, I think, more ſuitably to the propriety of the Greek, and more conformably to the apoſtle's meaning, be tranſlated "an animal body:" for that, which St. Paul is doing here, is to ſhew, that as we have animal bodies now, (which we derived from Adam) endowed with an animal life, which unleſs ſupported with a conſtant ſupply of food and air, will fail and periſh, and at laſt, do what we can, will diſſolve and come to an end; ſo, at the reſurrection, we ſhall have, from Chriſt, the ſecond Adam, "ſpiritual bodies," which ſhall have an eſſential and natural, inſeparable life in them, which

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45 And ſo it is written, The firſt man, Adam, was made a living ſoul, the laſt Adam was made a quickening ſpirit.

46 Howbeit, that was not firſt which is ſpiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward, that which is ſpiritual.

47 The firſt man is of the earth, earthy: the ſecond man is the Lord from heaven.

48 As is the earthy, ſuch are they alſo that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, ſuch are they alſo that are heavenly.

49 And, as we have borne the image of the earthy, we ſhall alſo bear the image of the heavenly.

50 Now this I ſay, brethren, that fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.

51 Behold, I ſhew you a myſtery; we ſhall not all ſleep, but we ſhall all be changed,

52 In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the laſt trump (for the trumpet ſhall ſound); and the dead ſhall be raiſed incorruptible, and we ſhall be changed.

53 For this corruptible muſt put on incorruption, and this mortal muſt put on immortality.

54 So when this corruptible ſhall have put on incorruption,

PARAPHRASE.

tual[a] bodies. And ſo it is written, "The firſt man 45.
Adam was made a living ſoul," i. e. made of an animal
conſtitution, endowed with an animal life; the
ſecond Adam was made of a ſpiritual conſtitution,
with a power to give life to others. Howbeit, the 46.
ſpiritual was not firſt, but the animal; and afterwards
the ſpiritual. The firſt man was of the earth, made 47.
up of duſt, or earthy particles: the ſecond man is
the Lord from heaven. Thoſe, who have no higher 48.
an extraction, than barely from the earthy man,
they, like him, have barely an animal life and conſtitution:
but thoſe, who are regenerate, and born of
the heavenly ſeed, are, as he that is heavenly, ſpiritual,
and immortal. And as in the animal, corruptible, 49.
mortal ſtate, we were born in, we have been
like him, that was earthy; ſo alſo ſhall we, who, at
the reſurrection, partake of a ſpiritual life from Chriſt,
be made like him, the Lord from heaven, heavenly,
i. e. live, as the ſpirits in heaven do, without the
need of food, or nouriſhment, to ſupport it, and
without infirmities, decay and death, enjoying a fixed,
ſtable, unfleeting life. This I ſay to you, brethren, 50.
to ſatisfy thoſe that aſk, "with what bodies the dead
ſhall come;" that we ſhall not at the reſurrection
have ſuch bodies, as we have now: for fleſh and
blood cannot enter into the kingdom, which the ſaints
ſhall inherit in heaven; nor are ſuch fleeting, corruptible
things, as our preſent bodies are, fitted to
that ſtate of immutable incorruptibility. To which 51.
let me add, what has not been hitherto diſcovered,
viz. that we ſhall not all die, but we ſhall all be
changed, In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, 52.
at the ſounding of the laſt trumpet; for the trumpet
ſhall ſound, and the dead ſhall riſe: and as many of
us, believers, as are then alive, ſhall be changed.
For this corruptible frame, and conſtitution[b] of ours, 53.
muſt put on incorruption, and from mortal become
immortal. And, when we are got into that ſtate of 54.
incorruptibility and immortality, then ſhall be fulfilled,

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ſhall continue and ſubſiſt perpetually, of itſelf, without the help of meat and drink, or air, or any ſuch foreign ſupport; without decay, or any tendency to a diſſolution: of which our Saviour ſpeaking, Luke xx. 35. ſays, "They who ſhall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the reſurrection from the dead," cannot die any more; for they are equal to the angels, i. e. of an angelical nature and conſtitution.

[a] Vid. Phil. iii. 21.

53 [b] Τὸ φθαρτὸν, "corruptible," and τὸ θνητὸν, "mortal," have not here σῶμα, "body," for their ſubſtantive, as ſome imagine; but are put in the neuter gender abſolute, and ſtand to repreſent νεκροὶ, "dead;" as appears by the immediately preceding verſe, and alſo ver. 42. οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν· σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ. "So is the reſurrection of the dead: it is ſown in corruption;" i. e. mortal, corruptible men are ſown, being corruptible and weak. Nor can it be thought ſtrange, or ſtrained, that I interpret φθαρτὸν and θνητὸν, as adjectives of the neuter gender, to ſignify perſons, when, in this very diſcourſe, the apoſtle uſes two adjectives, in the neuter gender, to ſignify the perſons of Adam and Chriſt, in ſuch a way, as it is impoſſible to underſtand them otherwiſe. The words, no farther off than ver. 46. are theſe; Ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὸ πνευματικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχικὸν, ἔπειτα τὸ πνευματικόν. The like way of ſpeaking we have, Matt. i. 20. and Luke i. 35. in both which, the perſon of our Saviour is expreſſed, by adjectives of the neuter gender. To any, of all which places, I do not think any one will add the ſubſtantive σῶμα, "body," to make out the ſenſe. That, then, which is meant here, being this, that this mortal man ſhall put on immortality,

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filled, what was foretold in theſe words, "Death "is ſwallowed up of victory[a];" i. e. death is perfectly ſubdued and exterminated, by a complete victory over it, ſo that there ſhall be no death any more.
55. Where, O death, is now that power, whereby thou deprivedſt men of life? What is become of the dominion of the grave, whereby they were detained
56. priſoners there[b]? That, which gives death the power over men is ſin, and 'tis the law, by which
57. ſin has this power. But thanks be to God, who gives us deliverance and victory over death, the puniſhment of ſin, by the law, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who has delivered us from the rigour
58. of the law. Wherefore, my beloved brethren, continue ſtedfaſt and unmoveable in the Chriſtian faith, always abounding in your obedience to the precepts of Chriſt, and in thoſe duties, which are required of us, by our Lord and Saviour, knowing that your labour will not be loſt. Whatſoever you ſhall do, or ſuffer, for him, will be abundantly rewarded, by eternal life.

TEXT.

and this mortal ſhall have put on immortality, then ſhall be brought to paſs the ſaying that is written, "Death is ſwallowed up in victory."

O death, where is thy ſting? O grave, where is thy victory? 55

The ſting of death is ſin; and the ſtrength of ſin is the law. 56

But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. 57

Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye ſtedfaſt, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; foraſmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord. 58

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ſity, and this corruptible man, incorruptibility; any one will eaſily find another nominative caſe to σπείρεται, "is ſown," and not σῶμα "body," when he conſiders the ſenſe of the place, wherein the apoſtle's purpoſe is to ſpeak of νεκροὶ, "mortal men," being dead, and raiſed again to life, and made immortal. Thoſe, with whom grammatical conſtruction, and the nominative caſe, weighs ſo much, may be pleaſed to read this paſſage in Virgil;

> "——— Linquebant dulces animas, aut ægre trahebant
> Corpora." Æneid. l. 3. ver. 140.

where, by finding the nominative caſe to the two verbs, in it, he may come to diſcover that perſonality, as contra-diſtinguiſhed to both body and ſoul, may be the nominative caſe to verbs.

54 [a] Νῖκος "victory," often ſignifies end and deſtruction. See Voſſius "de lxx interpret." cap. 24.

55 [b] This has ſomething of the air of a ſong of triumph, which St. Paul breaks out into, upon a view of the ſaints victory over death, in a ſtate, wherein death is never to have place any more.

SECT. XI.

CHAP. XVI. 1—4.

CONTENTS.

HE gives directions concerning their contribution to the poor Chriſtians at Jeruſalem.

PARAPHRASE.

1. AS to the collection for the converts to Chriſtianity, who are at Jeruſalem, I would have you do, as I have directed the churches of Galatia.
2. Let every one of you, according as he thrives in his calling, lay aſide ſome part of his gain by itſelf, which, the firſt day of the week, let him put into the common

TEXT.

NOW concerning the collection for the ſaints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even ſo do ye. 1

Upon the firſt day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in ſtore, as God 2

TEXT.

hath proſpered him, that there be no gatherings, when I come.

3 And when I come, whomſoever you ſhall approve by your letters, them will I ſend to bring your liberality unto Jeruſalem.

4 And if it be meet that I go alſo, they ſhall go with me.

PARAPHRASE.

common treaſury[a] of the church, that there may
be no need of any gathering, when I come. And,
when I come, thoſe, whom you ſhall approve of[b], 3.
will I ſend with letters to Jeruſalem, to carry thither
your benevolence. Which if it deſerves, that I alſo 4.
ſhould go, they ſhall go along with me.

NOTES.

2 [a] Θησαυρίζων ſeems uſed here in the ſenſe I have given it. For it is certain that the apoſtle directs, that they ſhould, every Lord's day, bring to the congregation, what their charity had laid aſide, the foregoing week, as their gain came in, that there it might be put into ſome publick box, appointed for that purpoſe, or officer's hands. For, if they only laid it aſide at home, there would nevertheleſs be need of a collection, when he came.

3 [b] Δοκιμάσητε, δι' ἐπιστολῶν τούτους πέμψω. This pointing, that makes δι' ἐπιστολῶν belong to πέμψω, and not to δοκιμάσητε, the apoſtle's ſenſe juſtifies; he telling them here, that finding their collection ready, when he came, he would write by thoſe, they ſhould think fit to ſend it by, or go himſelf with them, if their preſent were worthy of it. There needed no approbation of their meſſengers to him, by their letters, when he was preſent. And if the Corinthians, by their letters, approved of them to the ſaints of Jeruſalem, how could St. Paul ſay, he would ſend them?

SECT. XII.

CHAP. XVI. 5—12.

CONTENTS.

HE gives them an account of his own, Timothy's, and Apollos's intention of coming to them.

TEXT.

5 NOW I will come unto you, when I ſhall paſs through Macedonia (for I do paſs through Macedonia):

6 And it may be, that I will abide, yea, and winter with you, that ye may bring me on my journey, whitherſoever I go.

7 For I will not ſee you now, by the way; but I truſt to tarry a while with you, if the Lord permit.

8 But I will tarry at Epheſus until Pentecoſt.

9 For a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adverſaries.

10 Now if Timotheus come, ſee that he may be with you without fear: for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I alſo do.

11 Let no man, therefore, deſpiſe him; but conduct him forth in peace, that he may

PARAPHRASE.

I Will come unto you, when I have been in Mace- 5.
donia; for I intend to take that in my way:
And perhaps I ſhall make ſome ſtay, nay, winter 6.
with you, that you may bring me going on my way,
whitherſoever I go. For I do not intend juſt to 7.
call in upon you, as I paſs by; but I hope to ſpend
ſome time with you, if the Lord permit. But I 8.
ſhall ſtay at Epheſus till Pentecoſt, i. e. Whitſun-
tide. For now I have a very fair and promiſing 9.
opportunity given me of propagating the goſpel,
though there be many oppoſers. If Timothy come 10.
to you, pray take care, that he be eaſy, and with-
out fear amongſt you: for he promotes the work of
the Lord, in preaching the goſpel, even as I do.
Let no body, therefore, deſpiſe him; but treat 11.
him kindly, and bring him going, that he may come
unto

PARAPHRASE.

12. unto me: for I expect him with the brethren. As to brother [a] Apollos, I have earneſtly endeavoured to prevail with him to come to you with the brethren [b]: but he has no mind to it at all, at preſent. He will come, however, when there ſhall be a fit occaſion.

TEXT.

come unto me: for I look for him with the brethren.

12 As touching our brother Apollos, I greatly deſired him to come unto you, with the brethren: but his will was not at all to come at this time; but he will come, when he ſhall have convenient time.

NOTES.

12 [a] There be few, perhaps, who need to be told it; yet it may be convenient here, once for all, to remark, that in the apoſtle's time, "brother," was the ordinary compellation that Chriſtians uſed to one another.

[b] "The brethren," here mentioned, ſeem to be Stephanas, and thoſe others, who, with him, came with a meſſage, or letter, to St. Paul, from the church of Corinth, by whom he returned this epiſtle in anſwer.

SECT. XIII.

CHAP. XVI. 13—24.

CONTENTS.

THE concluſion, wherein St. Paul, according to his cuſtom, leaves with them ſome, which he thinks moſt neceſſary, exhortations, and ſends particular greetings.

PARAPHRASE.

13. BE upon your guard, ſtand firm in the faith, behave yourſelves like men, with courage and
14. reſolution: And whatever is done amongſt you, either in your public aſſemblies, or elſewhere, let it all be done with affection, and good will, one to
15. another [a]. You know the houſe of Stephanas, that they were the firſt converts of Achaia, and have all along made it their buſineſs to miniſter to the ſaints:
16. To ſuch I beſeech you to ſubmit yourſelves: let ſuch as, with us, labour to promote the goſpel, be
17. your leaders. I am glad, that Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus came to me; becauſe they have ſuppli-
18. ed what was deficient on your ſide. For, by the account they have given me of you, they have quieted my mind, and yours too [b]: therefore have a
19. regard to ſuch men as theſe. The churches of Aſia ſalute you, and ſo do Aquila and Priſcilla, with much

TEXT.

13 WAtch ye, ſtand faſt in the faith, quit you like men, be ſtrong.

14 Let all your things be done with charity.

15 I beſeech you, brethren, (ye know the houſe of Stephanas, that it is the firſt-fruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themſelves to the miniſtry of the ſaints)

16 That ye ſubmit yourſelves unto ſuch, and to every one that helpeth with us, and laboureth.

17 I am glad of the coming of Stephanas, and Fortunatus, and Achaicus: for that, which was lacking on your part, they have ſupplied.

18 For they have refreſhed my ſpirit and yours: therefore acknowledge ye them that are ſuch.

19 The churches of Aſia ſalute you. Aquila and Priſcilla ſalute you much in the Lord,

NOTES.

14 [a] His main deſign being to put an end to the faction and diviſion, which the falſe apoſtle had made amongſt them, 'tis no wonder that we find unity and charity ſo much, and ſo often, preſſed, in this and the ſecond epiſtle.

18 [b] Viz. By removing thoſe ſuſpicions and fears, that were on both ſides.

TEXT.

with the church that is in their houſe.

20 All the brethren greet you. Greet ye one another with an holy kiſs.

21 The ſalutation of me Paul, with mine own hand.

22 If any man love not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, let him be anathema, maranatha.

23 The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you.

24 My love be with you all in Chriſt Jeſus. Amen.

PARAPHRASE.

much Chriſtian affection; with the church that is in
their houſe. All the brethren here ſalute you: ſalute 20.
one another with an holy kiſs. That, which 21.
followeth, is the ſalutation of me, Paul, with my
own hand. If any one be an enemy to the Lord 22.
Jeſus Chriſt and his goſpel, let him be accurſed, or
devoted to deſtruction. The Lord cometh to execute
vengeance of him [a]. The favour of the Lord 23.
Jeſus Chriſt be with you. My love be with you all 24.
in Chriſt Jeſus. Amen.

NOTE.

22 [a] This being ſo different a ſentence from any of thoſe, writ with St. Paul's own hands, in any of his other epiſtles, may it not with probability be underſtood to mean the falſe apoſtle, to whom St. Paul imputes all the diſorders in this church, and of whom he ſpeaks, not much leſs ſeverely? 2 Cor. xi. 13—15.

A PARA-

A PARAPHRASE AND NOTES ON THE Second Epiſtle of St. *Paul* TO THE *CORINTHIANS.*

SYNOPSIS.

Written from Rome in the year of our Lord 57, of NERO 3.

SAINT PAUL having writ his firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, to try, as he ſays himſelf, chap. ii. 9. what power he had ſtill with that church, wherein there was a great faction againſt him, which he was attempting to break, was in pain, till he found what ſucceſs it had; chap. ii. 12, 13. and vii. 5. But when he had, by Titus, received an account of their repentance, upon his former letter, of their ſubmiſſion to his orders, and of their good diſpoſition of mind towards him, he takes courage, ſpeaks of himſelf more freely, and juſtifies himſelf more boldly; as may be ſeen, chap. i. 12. and ii. 14. and vi. 10. and x. 1. and xiii. 10. And as to his oppoſers, he deals more roundly and ſharply with them, than he had done in his former epiſtle; as appears from chap. ii. 17. and iv. 2—5. and v. 12. and vi. 11—16. and xi. 11. and xii. 15.

THE obſervation of theſe particulars may poſſibly be of uſe to give us ſome light, for the better underſtanding of his ſecond epiſtle, eſpecially if we add, that the main buſineſs of this, as of his former epiſtle, is to take off the people from the new leader they had got, who was St. Paul's oppoſer; and wholly to put an end to the faction and diſorder, which that falſe apoſtle had cauſed in the church of Corinth. He alſo, in this epiſtle, ſtirs them up, again, to a liberal contribution to the poor ſaints at Jeruſalem.

THIS epiſtle was writ in the ſame year, not long after the former.

SECT.

SECTION I.

CHAP. I. 1, 2.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

CHAP. I.

TEXT.

1 PAUL, an apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, by the will of God, and Timothy, our brother, unto the church of God, which is at Corinth, with all the ſaints, which are in all Achaia:

2 Grace be to you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

INTRODUCTION.

1. PAUL, an apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, by the will of God, and Timothy, our brother[a], to the church of God, which is in Corinth, with all the

2. Chriſtians, that are in all Achaia[b]: Favour and peace be to you, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

NOTES.

1 [a] "Brother," i. e. either in the common faith; and ſo, as we have already remarked, he frequently calls all the converted, as Rom. i. 13. and in other places; or "brother" in the work of the miniſtry, vid. Rom. xvi. 21. 1 Cor. xvi. 10. To which we may add, that St. Paul may be ſuppoſed to have given Timothy the title, of "brother," here, for dignity's ſake, to give him a reputation above his age, amongſt the Corinthians, to whom he had before ſent him, with ſome kind of authority, to rectify their diſorders. Timothy was but a young man, when St. Paul writ his firſt epiſtle to him, as appears, 1 Tim. iv. 12. Which epiſtle, by the conſent of all, was writ to Timothy, after he had been at Corinth; and in the opinion of ſome very learned men, not leſs than eight years after; and therefore his calling him, "brother," here, and joining him with himſelf, in writing this epiſtle, may be to let the Corinthians ſee, that, though he were ſo young, who had been ſent to them, yet it was one, whom St. Paul thought fit to treat very much as an equal.

[b] Achaia, the country wherein Corinth ſtood.

SECT. II.

CHAP. I. 3.—VII. 16.

CONTENTS.

THIS firſt part of this ſecond epiſtle, of St. Paul to the Corinthians, is ſpent in juſtifying himſelf, againſt ſeveral imputations, from the oppoſite faction; and ſetting himſelf right, in the opinion of the Corinthians. The particulars whereof we ſhall take notice of, in the following numbers.

SECT. II. N. 1.

CHAP. I. 3—14.

CONTENTS.

HE begins with juſtifying his former letter to them, which had afflicted them, (vid. chap. vii. 7, 8.) by telling them, that he thanks God for his deliverance out of his afflictions, becauſe it enables him to comfort them, by the example, both of his affliction and deliverance, acknowledging the obligation he had to them, and others, for their prayers and thanks for his deliverance, which, he preſumes, they could not but put up for him, ſince his conſcience bears him witneſs (which was his comfort) that, in his carriage to all men, and to them more eſpecially, he had been direct and ſincere, with-

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3. Chap. I.

out any ſelf, or carnal intereſt, and that what he writ to them had no other deſign but what lay open, and they read in his words, and did alſo acknowledge, and he doubted not, but they ſhould always acknowledge, part of them acknowledging alſo, that he was the man they gloried in, as they ſhall be his glory in the day of the Lord. From what St. Paul ſays, in this ſection, (which, if read with attention, will appear to be writ with a turn of great inſinuation) it may be gathered, that the oppoſite faction endeavoured to evade the force of the former epiſtle, by ſuggeſting, that, whatever he might pretend, St. Paul was a cunning, artificial, ſelf-intereſted man, and had ſome hidden deſign in it, which accuſation appears in other parts alſo of this epiſtle; as chap. iv. 2, 5.

PARAPHRASE.

3. Bleſſed be the God[a] and Father of our Lord
Jeſus Chriſt, the Father of mercies, and God
4. of all conſolation; Who comforteth me, in all my
tribulations, that I may be able to comfort them[b],
who are in any trouble, by the comfort, which I
5. receive from him. Becauſe, as I have ſuffered abundantly
for Chriſt; ſo, through Chriſt, I have been
abundantly comforted; and both theſe, for your advantage.
6. For my affliction is for your conſolation
and relief[c], which is effected by a patient enduring
thoſe ſufferings, whereof you ſee an example
in me. And again, when I am comforted, it is for
your conſolation and relief, who may expect the
like, from the ſame compaſſionate God and Father.
7. Upon which ground, I have firm hopes, as concerning
you; being aſſured, that as you have had your
ſhare of ſufferings, ſo ye ſhall, likewiſe, have of conſolation.
8. For I would not have you ignorant, brethren,
of the load of afflictions in Aſia, that were
beyond meaſure heavy upon me, and beyond my
ſtrength; ſo that I could ſee no way of eſcaping
9. with life. But I had the ſentence of death in myſelf,
that I might not truſt in myſelf, but in God,
who can reſtore to life even thoſe, who are actually
10. dead: Who delivered me from ſo imminent a danger
of death, who doth deliver, and in whom I truſt, he
11. will yet deliver me: You alſo joining the aſſiſtance
of your prayers for me; ſo that thanks may be returned,
by many, for the deliverance procured me,
12. by the prayers of many perſons. For I cannot doubt
of the prayers and concern of you, and many others,
for me; ſince my glorying is this, viz. the teſtimony
of my own conſcience, that, in plainneſs of heart,
and

TEXT.

3 Bleſſed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort;

4 Who comforteth us, in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them, which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourſelves are comforted of God.

5 For as the ſufferings of Chriſt abound in us, ſo our conſolation alſo aboundeth by Chriſt.

6 And, whether we be afflicted, it is for your conſolation and ſalvation, which is effectual, in the enduring of the ſame ſufferings, which we alſo ſuffer: or, whether we be comforted, it is for your conſolation and ſalvation.

7 And our hope of you is ſtedfaſt; knowing that, as you are partakers of the ſufferings, ſo ſhall ye be alſo of the conſolation.

8 For we would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble, which came to us in Aſia, that we were preſſed out of meaſure, above ſtrength; inſomuch, that we deſpaired even of life.

9 But we had the ſentence of death in ourſelves, that we ſhould not truſt in ourſelves, but in God, which raiſed the dead:

10 Who delivered us from ſo great a death, and doth deliver; in whom we truſt, that he will yet deliver us:

11 You alſo helping together by prayer for us; that, for the gift beſtowed upon us, by the means of many perſons, thanks may be given by many on our behalf.

12 For our rejoicing is this, the teſtimony of our conſcience,

NOTES.

3 [a] That this is the right tranſlation of the Greek here, ſee Eph. i. 3. and 1 Pet. i. 3. where the ſame words are ſo tranſlated; and that it agrees with St. Paul's ſenſe, ſee Eph. i. 17.

4 [b] He means, here, the Corinthians, who were troubled for their miſcarriage towards him; vid. chap. vii. 7.

6 [c] Σωτηρία, "relief," rather than "ſalvation;" which is underſtood, of deliverance from death and hell; but here it ſignifies only deliverance from their preſent ſorrow.

TEXT.

that in ſimplicity, and godly ſincerity, not with fleſhly wiſdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our converſation in the world; and more abundantly to you-wards.

13 For we write none other things unto you, than what you read, or acknowledge, and I truſt you ſhall acknowledge even to the end.

14 As alſo you have acknowledged us in part, that we are your rejoicing, even as ye alſo are ours, in the day of the Lord Jeſus.

PARAPHRASE.

and ſincerity before God, not in fleſhly wiſdom [a], but by the favour of God directing me [b], I have behaved myſelf towards all men, but more particularly towards you. For I have no deſign, no meaning, in what I write to you, but what lies open, and is legible, in what you read: and you yourſelves cannot but acknowledge it to be ſo; and I hope you ſhall always acknowledge it to the end. As part of you have already acknowledged that I am, your glory [c]; as you will be mine, at the day of judgment, when, being my ſcholars and converts, ye ſhall be ſaved. 13. 14.

NOTES.

12 [a] What "fleſhly wiſdom" is, may be ſeen chap. iv. 2, 5.

[b] This ἀλλ' ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ, "But in the favour of God," is the ſame with ἀλλὰ χάρις Θεοῦ, ἡ σὺν ἐμοί; "The favour of God, that is with me," i. e. by God's favourable aſſiſtance.

14 [c] "That I am your glory;" whereby he ſignifies that part of them, which ſtuck to him, owned him as their teacher; in which ſenſe, "glorying" is much uſed, in theſe epiſtles to the Corinthians, upon the occaſion of the ſeveral partiſans boaſting, ſome, that they were of Paul; and others, of Apollos.

SECT. II. N. 2.

CHAP. I. 15—II. 17.

CONTENTS.

THE next thing St. Paul juſtifies, is, his not coming to them. St. Paul had promiſed to call on the Corinthians, in his way to Macedonia; but failed. This his oppoſers would have to be from levity in him; or a mind, that regulated itſelf wholly by carnal intereſt; vid. ver. 17. To which he anſwers, that God himſelf, having confirmed him amongſt them, by the unction and earneſt of his Spirit, in the miniſtry of the goſpel of his Son, whom he, Paul, had preached to them ſteadily, the ſame, without any the leaſt variation, or unſaying any thing, he had at any time delivered, they could have no ground to ſuſpect him to be an unſtable, uncertain man, that would play faſt and looſe with them, and could not be depended on, in what he ſaid to them. This is what he ſays, ch. i. 15—22.

In the next place, he, with a very ſolemn aſſeveration, profeſſes, that it was to ſpare them, that he came not to them. This he explains, ch. i. 23. and ii. 2, 3.

He gives another reaſon, ch. ii. 12, 13. why he went on to Macedonia, without coming to Corinth, as he had purpoſed; and that was the uncertainty he was in, by the not coming of Titus, what temper they were in, at Corinth. Having mentioned his journey to Macedonia, he takes notice of the ſucceſs, which God gave to him there, and every where, declaring of what conſequence his preaching was, both to the ſalvation, and condemnation, of thoſe, who received, or rejected it; profeſſing again his ſincerity and diſintereſtedneſs, not without a ſevere reflection on their falſe apoſtle. All which we find in the following verſes, viz. ch. ii. 14—17. and is all very ſuitable, and purſuant to his deſign in this epiſtle, which was to eſtabliſh his authority and credit amongſt the Corinthians.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. I.
15. HAving this perſuaſion, (viz.) of your love and
eſteem of me, I purpoſed to come unto you
ere this, that you might have a ſecond gratifica-
16. tion [a]; And to take you in my way to Macedonia,
and from thence, return to you again, and, by you,
17. be brought on, in my way to Judea. If this fell
not out ſo, as I propoſed, am I, therefore, to be con-
demned of fickleneſs? Or am I to be thought an un-
certain man, that talks forwards and backwards, one
that has no regard to his word, any farther than may
18. ſuit his carnal intereſt? But God is my witneſs, that
what you have heard from me, has not been uncer-
19. tain, deceitful, or variable. For Jeſus Chriſt, the
Son of God, who was preached among you, by me,
and Silvanus, and Timothy, was not ſometimes one
thing, and ſometimes another; but has been ſhewn
to be uniformly one and the ſame, in the counſel,
20. or revelation of God, (For all the promiſes of God
do all conſent, and ſtand firm, in him) to the glory
21. of God, by my preaching. Now it is God, who
eſtabliſhes me with you, for the preaching of the
22. goſpel, who has anointed [b], and alſo ſealed [c] me, and
given me the earneſt [d] of his Spirit, in my heart.

23. Moreover, I call God to witneſs, and may I die,
if it is not ſo, that it was to ſpare you, that I came
24. not yet to Corinth. Not that I pretend to ſuch a
dominion over your faith, as to require you to be-
lieve what I have taught you, without coming to
you, when I am expected there, to maintain and
make it good; for 'tis by that faith you ſtand: but
I forebore to come, as one concerned to preſerve and
help forward your joy, which I am tender of, and
therefore declined coming to you, whilſt I thought
you in an eſtate, that would require ſeverity from
me,

TEXT.

15 AND, in this confidence, I was minded to come unto you before, that you might have a ſecond benefit;

16 And to paſs by you, into Macedonia, and to come again, out of Macedonia, unto you; and, of you, to be brought on my way, towards Judea.

17 When I, therefore, was thus minded, did I uſe lightneſs? Or the things that I purpoſe, do I purpoſe according to the fleſh, that with me there ſhould be yea, yea, and nay, nay?

18 But, as God is true, our word toward you, was not yea and nay.

19 For the Son of God, Jeſus Chriſt, who was preached among you, by us, even by me, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, was not yea and nay; but in him, was yea.

20 For all the promiſes of God in him are yea, and in him amen, unto the glory of God, by us.

21 Now he, which 'ſtabliſheth us, with you, in Chriſt, and hath anointed us, is God:

22 Who hath alſo ſealed us, and given the earneſt of the Spirit, in our hearts.

23 Moreover, I call God for a record upon my ſoul, that to ſpare you, I came not as yet unto Corinth.

24 Not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy: for, by faith, ye ſtand.

NOTES.

15 [a] By the word χάριν, which our Bibles tranſlate "benefit," or "grace," 'tis plain the apoſtle means, his being preſent among them a ſecond time, without giving them any grief, or diſpleaſure. He had been with them before, almoſt two years together, with ſatisfaction and kindneſs. He intended them another viſit; but it was, he ſays, that they might have the like gratification, i. e. the like ſatisfaction in his company a ſecond time, which is the ſame he ſays, 2 Cor. ii. 1.

21 [b] "Anointed," i. e. ſet apart to be an apoſtle, by an extraordinary call. Prieſts and prophets were ſet apart, by anointing, as well as kings.

22 [c] "Sealed," i. e. by the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghoſt; which are an evidence of the truths, he brings from God, as a ſeal is of a letter.

[d] "Earneſt" of eternal life; for of that the Spirit is mentioned, as a pledge, in more places than one, vid. 2 Cor. v. 5. Eph. i. 13, 14. All theſe are arguments to ſatisfy the Corinthians, that St. Paul was not, nor could be, a ſhuffling man, that minded not what he ſaid, but as it ſerved his turn.

The reaſoning of St. Paul, ver. 18—22. whereby he would convince the Corinthians, that he is not a fickle, unſteady man, that ſays and unſays, as may ſuit his humour or intereſt, being a little obſcure, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of his ſtyle here, which has left many things to be ſupplied by the reader, to connect the parts of the argumentation, and make the deduction clear; I hope I ſhall be pardoned, if I endeavour to ſet it in its clear light, for the ſake of ordinary readers.

"God hath ſet me apart, to the miniſtry of the goſpel, by an extraordinary call; has atteſted "my miſſion, by the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, and given me the earneſt of eternal life, "in my heart, by his Spirit, and hath confirmed me, amongſt you, in preaching the goſpel, which "is all uniform, and of a piece, as I have preached it to you, without tripping in the leaſt: and "there, to the glory of God, have ſhewn that all the promiſes concur, and are unalterably certain "in Chriſt. I, therefore, having never faltered in any thing I have ſaid to you, and having all theſe "atteſtations, of being under the ſpecial direction and guidance of God himſelf, who is unalterably "true, cannot be ſuſpected of dealing doubly with you, in any thing, relating to my miniſtry."

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

Chap. II.

TEXT.

1 But I determined this with myſelf, that I would not come again to you in heavineſs.

2 For if I make you ſorry, who is he, then, that maketh me glad, but the ſame, which is made ſorry by me?

3 And I wrote this ſame unto you, leſt, when I came, I ſhould have ſorrow from them, of whom I ought to rejoice; having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all.

4 For, out of much affliction and anguiſh of heart, I wrote unto you, with many tears; not that you ſhould be grieved, but that ye might know the love, which I have more abundantly unto you.

5 But, if any have cauſed grief, he hath not grieved me, but in part; that I may not overcharge you all.

6 Sufficient to ſuch a man is this puniſhment, which was inflicted of many.

7 So that, contrarywiſe, ye ought rather to forgive him, and comfort him; leſt perhaps ſuch a one ſhould be ſwallowed up with over-much ſorrow.

8 Wherefore, I beſeech you,

PARAPHRASE.

me, that would trouble you[a]. I purpoſed in my- 1.
ſelf, 'tis true, to come to you again, but I reſolved
too, it ſhould be, without bringing ſorrow with
me[b]. For if I grieve you, who is there, when I 2.
am with you, to comfort me, but thoſe very per-
ſons, whom I have diſcompoſed with grief? And 3.
this very thing[c], which made you ſad, I writ to
you, not coming myſelf, on purpoſe that, when I
came, I might not have ſorrow from thoſe, from
whom I ought to receive comfort; having this be-
lief and confidence in you all, that you, all of you,
make my joy and ſatisfaction ſo much your own,
that you would remove all cauſe of diſturbance,
before I came. For I writ unto you with great 4.
ſadneſs of heart, and many tears; not with inten-
tion to grieve you, but that you might know the
overflow of tenderneſs and affection, which I have
for you. But if the fornicator has been the cauſe of 5.
grief, I do not ſay, he has been ſo to me, but in
ſome degree to you all; that I may not lay load on
him[d]. The correction he hath received from the 6.
majority of you, is ſufficient in the caſe. So that, 7.
on the contrary[e], it is fit rather that you forgive
and comfort him, leſt he[f] ſhould be ſwallowed up,
by an exceſs of ſorrow. Wherefore, I beſeech you 8.
to

NOTES.

24 [a] It is plain, St. Paul's doctrine had been oppoſed by ſome of them at Corinth, vid. 1 Cor. xvi. 12. His apoſtleſhip queſtioned, 1 Cor. ix. 1, 2. 2 Cor. xiii. 3. He himſelf triumphed over, as if he durſt not come, 1 Cor. iv. 18. they ſaying "his letters were weighty and powerful, but his bodily preſence weak, and his ſpeech contemptible;" 2 Cor. x. 10. This being the ſtate his reputation was then in, at Corinth, and he having promiſed to come to them, 1 Cor. xvi. 5. he could not but think it neceſſary to excuſe his failing them, by reaſons, that ſhould be both convincing and kind; ſuch as are contained in this verſe, in the ſenſe given of it.

1 [b] That this is the meaning of this verſe, and not that he would not come to them, in ſorrow, a ſecond time, is paſt doubt, ſince he had never been with them in ſorrow a firſt time. Vid. 2 Cor. i. 15.

3 [c] Καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν τοῦτο αὐτὸ, "and I writ to you this very thing." That ἔγραψα, "I writ," relates, here, to the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, is evident, becauſe it is ſo uſed, in the very next verſe, and again a little lower, ver. 9. What, therefore, is it in his firſt epiſtle, which he here calls τοῦτο αὐτὸ, "this very thing," which he had writ to them? I anſwer, The puniſhment of the fornicator. This is plain, by what follows here, to ver. 11. eſpecially, if it be compared with 1 Cor. iv. 21. and v. 8. For there he writes to them, to puniſh that perſon; whom, if he, St. Paul, had come himſelf, before it was done, he muſt have come, as he calls it, with a rod, and have himſelf chaſtiſed: but now, that he knows that the Corinthians had puniſhed him, in compliance to his letter; and he had had this trial of their obedience, he is ſo far from continuing the ſeverity, that he writes to them to forgive him, and take him again into their affection.

5 [d] St. Paul being ſatisfied with the Corinthians, for their ready compliance with his orders, in his former letter, to puniſh the fornicator, intercedes to have him reſtored; and, to that end, leſſens his fault, and declares, however he might have cauſed grief to the Corinthians, yet he had cauſed none to him.

7 [e] Τοὐναντίον, "on the contrary," here, has nothing to refer to, but ἐπιβαρῶ "overcharge," in the 5th verſe, which makes that to belong to the fornicator, as I have explained it.

[f] Ὁ τοιοῦτος, "ſuch an one," meaning the fornicator. It is obſervable how tenderly St. Paul deals with the Corinthians, in this epiſtle; for, though he treats of the fornicator, from the 5th to the 10th verſe incluſively; yet he never mentions him under that, or any other diſobliging title, but in the ſoft and inoffenſive terms, "of any one," or "ſuch an one." And that, poſſibly, may be the reaſon, why he ſays, μὴ ἐπιβαρῶ, indefinitely, without naming the perſon it relates to.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. II. to confirm your love to him, which I doubt not of.
9. For this, alſo, was one end of my writing to you,
viz. To have a trial of you, and to know whether
10. you are ready to obey me in all things. To whom
you forgive any thing, I alſo forgive. For if I have
forgiven any thing, I have forgiven it to him for
your ſakes, by the authority, and in the name of
11. Chriſt; That we may not be over-reached by Satan:
for we are not ignorant of his wiles.

12. Furthermore; being arrived at Troas, becauſe
Titus, whom I expected from Corinth, with news
of you, was not come, I was very uneaſy [a] there;
inſomuch that I made not uſe of the opportunity,
which was put into my hands by the Lord, of
preaching the goſpel of Chriſt, for which I came
13. thither. I haſtily left thoſe of Troas, and departed
14. thence to Macedonia. But thanks be to God, in
that he always makes me triumph every where [b],
through Chriſt, who gives me ſucceſs in preaching
the goſpel, and ſpreads the knowledge of Chriſt by
15. me. For my miniſtry, and labour in the goſpel, is
a ſervice, or ſweet-ſmelling ſacrifice to God, through
Chriſt, both in regard of thoſe that are ſaved, and
16. thoſe that periſh. To the one my preaching is of ill
ſavour, unacceptable and offenſive, by their rejecting
whereof they draw death on themſelves; and to
the other, being as a ſweet ſavour, acceptable, they
thereby receive eternal life. And who is ſufficient
for theſe things [c]? And yet, as I ſaid, my ſervice
17. in the goſpel is well-pleaſing to God. For I am
not, as ſeveral [d] are, who are huckſters of the word
of God, preaching it for gain: but I preach the
goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, in ſincerity. I ſpeak, as
from God himſelf, and I deliver it, as in the preſence of God.

TEXT.

that ye would confirm your love towards him.

9 For to this end, alſo, did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things.

10 To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive alſo: for, if I forgave any thing, to whom I forgave it, for your ſakes forgave I it, in the perſon of Chriſt;

11 Leſt Satan ſhould get an advantage of us: for we are not ignorant of his devices.

12 Furthermore; when I came to Troas, to preach Chriſt's goſpel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord;

13 I had no reſt in my ſpirit, becauſe I found not Titus, my brother: but, taking my leave of them, I went from thence, into Macedonia.

14 Now thanks be unto God, which always cauſeth us to triumph in Chriſt, and maketh manifeſt the ſavour of his knowledge, by us, in every place.

15 For we are, unto God, a ſweet ſavour of Chriſt, in them that are ſaved, and in them that periſh.

16 To the one, we are the ſavour of death unto death; and to the other, the ſavour of life unto life; and who is ſufficient for theſe things?

17 For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God, but as of ſincerity, but as of God, in the ſight of God, ſpeak we in Chriſt.

NOTES.

12 [a] How uneaſy he was, and upon what account, ſee ch. vii. 5—16. It was not barely for Titus's abſence, but for want of the news he brought with him; ch. vii. 7.

14 [b] "Who makes me triumph every where," i. e. in the ſucceſs of my preaching, in my journey to Macedonia; and alſo, in my victory, at the ſame time, at Corinth, over the falſe apoſtles, my oppoſers, that had raiſed a faction againſt me, amongſt you. This, I think, is St. Paul's meaning, and the reaſon of his uſing the word, triumph, which implies conteſt and victory, though he places that word ſo, as modeſtly to cover it.

16 [c] Vid. ch. iii. 5, 6.

17 [d] This, I think, may be underſtood of the falſe apoſtle.

SECT. II. N. 3.

CHAP. III. 1—VII. 16.

CONTENTS.

HIS ſpeaking well of himſelf, (as he did ſometimes, in his firſt epiſtle, and, with much more freedom, in this, which, as it ſeems, had been objected to him, amongſt the Corinthians) his plainneſs of ſpeech, and his ſincerity in preaching the goſpel, are the things, which he chiefly juſtifies, in this ſection, many ways. We ſhall obſerve his arguments, as they come in the order of St. Paul's diſcourſe, in which are mingled, with great inſinuation, many expreſſions of an overflowing kindneſs to the Corinthians, not without ſome exhortations to them.

TEXT.

1 DO we begin, again, to commend ourſelves? or need we, as ſome others, epiſtles of commendation, to you, or letters of commendation, from you?

2 Ye are our epiſtle, written in our hearts, known and read of all men:

3 Foraſmuch as ye are manifeſtly declared to be the epiſtle of Chriſt, miniſtred by us, written, not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of ſtone, but in fleſhly tables of the heart.

4 And ſuch truſt have we, through Chriſt, to Godward.

5 Not that we are ſufficient of ourſelves, to think any thing, as of ourſelves; but our ſufficiency is of God:

6 Who alſo hath made us able miniſters of the new teſtament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit; for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life.

7 But, if the miniſtration of

PARAPHRASE.

DO I begin again to commend myſelf [a]; or need I, as ſome [b], commendatory letters to, 1.
or from you? You are my commendatory epiſtle, 2.
written in my heart, known and read by all men.
I need no other commendatory letter, but that you, 3.
being manifeſted to be the commendatory epiſtle of Chriſt, written on my behalf; not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not on tables of ſtone [c], but of the heart, whereof I was the amanuenſis; i. e. your converſion was the effect of my
miniſtry. [d] And this ſo great confidence have I, 4.
through Chriſt, in God. Not as if I were ſufficient 5.
of myſelf, to reckon [e] upon any thing, as of myſelf; but my ſufficiency, my ability to perform any thing,
is wholly from God: Who has fitted and enabled 6.
me to be a miniſter of the new teſtament, not of the letter [f], but of the Spirit; for the letter kills [g],
but the Spirit gives life. But, if the miniſtry of 7.
the law written in ſtone, which condemns to death, were

NOTE.

1 [a] This is a plain indication, that he had been blamed, amongſt them, for commending himſelf.

[b] Seems to intimate, that their falſe apoſtle had got himſelf recommended to them, by letters, and ſo had introduced himſelf into that church.

3 [c] The ſenſe of St. Paul, in this 3d verſe, is plainly this: That he needed no letters of commendation to them; but that, by their converſion, and the goſpel, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of God, in the tables of their hearts, and not in tables of ſtone, by his miniſtry, was as clear an evidence and teſtimony to them, of his miſſion from Chriſt, as the law, writ in tables of ſtone, was an evidence of Moſes's miſſion; ſo that he, St. Paul, needed no other recommendation: this is what is to be underſtood by this verſe, unleſs we will make "the tables of ſtone" to have no ſignification here. But to ſay, as he does, that the Corinthians, being writ upon, in their hearts, not with ink, but with the Spirit of God, by the hand of St. Paul, was Chriſt's commendatory letter of him, being a pretty bold expreſſion, liable to the exception of the captious part of the Corinthians; he, to obviate all imputation of vanity, or vain-glory, herein immediately ſubjoins, what follows, in the next verſe.

4 [d] As if he had ſaid, "But miſtake me not, as if I boaſted of myſelf: this ſo great boaſting, "that I uſe, is only my confidence in God, through Chriſt: for it was God, that made me "miniſter of the goſpel, that beſtowed on me the ability for it; and, whatever I perform in it, "is wholly from him."

5 [e] Πεποίθησις, "truſt," ver. 4. a milder term for "boaſting," for ſo St. Paul uſes it, chap. x. 7. compared with ver. 8. where alſo λογιζέσθω, ver. 7. is uſed, as here, for counting upon one's ſelf; St. Paul alſo uſes πέποιθας, for "thou boaſteſt," Rom. ii. 19. which will appear, if compared with ver. 17; or if λογίσασθαι ſhall rather be thought to ſignify here, to diſcover by reaſoning, then the apoſtle's ſenſe will run thus: "Not as if I were ſufficient of myſelf, by the ſtrength of my own "natural parts, to attain the knowledge of the goſpel truths, that I preach, but my ability herein "is all from God." But, in whatever ſenſe λογίσασθαι is here taken, 'tis certain τὶ, which is tranſlated, "any thing," muſt be limited to the ſubject in hand, viz. the goſpel, that he preached to them.

6 [f] Οὐ γράμματος, ἀλλὰ πνεύματος, "not of the letter, but of the Spirit." By expreſſing himſelf, as he does here, St. Paul may be underſtood to intimate, that "the new teſtament, or covenant," was alſo, though obſcurely, held forth in the law. For he ſays, he was conſtituted a miniſter, πνεύματος, "of the Spirit," or ſpiritual meaning of the law, which was Chriſt, (as he tells us himſelf, ver. 17.) and giveth life, whilſt the letter killeth. But both letter and Spirit muſt be underſtood of the ſame thing, viz. "the letter of the law, and the Spirit of the law." And, in fact, we find St. Paul truly a miniſter of the Spirit of the law; eſpecially in his epiſtle to the Hebrews, where he ſhews what a ſpiritual ſenſe ran through the Moſaical inſtitution and writings.

[g] "The letter kills," i. e. pronouncing death, without any way of remiſſion, on all tranſgreſſors, leaves them under an irrevocable ſentence of death. But the Spirit, i. e. Chriſt, ver. 17. who is a quickening Spirit, 1 Cor. xv. 45. giveth life.

PARAPHRASE.

were ſo glorious to Moſes, that his face ſhone ſo,
that the children of Iſrael could not ſteadily behold
the brightneſs of it, which was but temporary, and
8. was quickly to vaniſh [a]; How can it be otherwiſe,
but that the miniſtry of the Spirit, which giveth
life, ſhould confer more glory and luſtre on the mi-
9. niſters of the goſpel? For, if the miniſtration of
condemnation were glory, the miniſtry of juſtifica-
tion [b], in the goſpel, doth certainly much more ex-
10. ceed in glory. Though even the glory, that Moſes's
miniſtration had, was no glory, in compariſon of
the far more excelling glory of the goſpel-miniſtry
11. [c]. Farther, if that which is temporary, and to be
done away, were delivered with glory, how much
rather is that, which remains, without being done
12. away, to appear in glory [d]? Wherefore, having ſuch
hope [e], we uſe great freedom and plainneſs of
13. ſpeech. And not as Moſes, who put a veil over his
face, do we veil the light; ſo that the obſcurity
of what we deliver, ſhould hinder [f] the children of

TEXT.

death, written and ingraven in ſtones, was glorious, ſo that the children of Iſrael could not ſtedfaſtly behold the face of Moſes, for the glory of his countenance, which glory was to be done away;

How ſhall not the miniſtration of the Spirit be rather glorious? 8

For if the miniſtration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the miniſtration of righteouſneſs exceed in glory, 9

For even that, which was made glorious, had no glory, in this reſpect, by reaſon of the glory that excelleth. 10

For, if that, which is done away, was glorious, much more that, which remaineth, is glorious. 11

Seeing then, that we have ſuch hope, we uſe great plainneſs of ſpeech. 12

And not as Moſes, which put a veil over his face, that 13

NOTES.

7 [a] Καταργυμένη, "done away," is applied here to the ſhining of Moſes's face, and to the law, ver. 11, and 13. In all which places it is uſed in the preſent tenſe, and has the ſignification of an adjective, ſtanding for temporary, or of a duration, whoſe end was determined; and is oppoſed to τῷ μένοντι, "that which remaineth," i. e. that which is laſting, and hath no predetermined end ſet to it, as ver. 11. where the goſpel diſpenſation is called τὸ μένον, "that which remaineth." This may help us to underſtand ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, ver. 18. "from glory to glory," which is manifeſtly oppoſed to δόξη καταργυμένη, "the glory done away," of this verſe; and ſo plainly ſignifies a continued, laſting glory of the miniſters of the goſpel; which, as he tells us there, conſiſted in their being changed into the image and clear repreſentation of the Lord himſelf; as the glory of Moſes conſiſted in the tranſitory brightneſs of his face, which was a faint reflection of the glory of God, appearing to him in the mount.

9 [b] Διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης, "the miniſtration of righteouſneſs;" ſo the miniſtry of the goſpel is called, becauſe, by the goſpel, a way is provided for the juſtification of thoſe, who have tranſgreſſed: but the law has nothing but rigid condemnation for all tranſgreſſors; and, therefore, is called here "the miniſtration of condemnation."

10 [c] Though the ſhewing, that the miniſtry of the goſpel is more glorious, than that of the law, be what St. Paul is upon here, thereby to juſtify himſelf, if he has aſſumed ſome authority and commendation to himſelf, in his miniſtry and apoſtleſhip; yet, in his thus induſtriouſly placing the miniſtry of the goſpel, in honour, above that of Moſes, may he not poſſibly have an eye to the judaizing, falſe apoſtle of the Corinthians, to let them ſee, what little regard was to be had to that miniſtration, in compariſon of the miniſtry of the goſpel?

11 [d] Here St. Paul mentions another pre-eminency and ſuperiority of glory, in the goſpel, over the law, viz. that the law was to ceaſe, and to be aboliſhed; but the goſpel to remain, and never be aboliſhed.

12 [e] "Such hope:" that St. Paul, by theſe words, means the ſo honourable employment of an apoſtle and miniſter of the goſpel, or the glory, belonging to his miniſtry, in the goſpel, is evident, by the whole foregoing compariſon, which he has made, which is all along between διακονία, "the miniſtry" of the law, and of the goſpel, and not between the law and the goſpel themſelves. The calling of it "hope," inſtead of glory, here, where he ſpeaks of his having of it, is the language of modeſty, which more particularly ſuited his preſent purpoſe. For the concluſion, which, in this verſe, he draws from what went before, plainly ſhews the apoſtle's deſign, in this diſcourſe, to be the juſtifying his ſpeaking freely of himſelf and others; his argument amounting to thus much,

"Having, therefore, ſo honourable an employment, as is the miniſtry of the goſpel, which far
"exceeds the miniſtry of the law in glory; though even that gave ſo great a luſtre to Moſes's
"face, that the children of Iſrael could not with fixed eyes look upon him; I, as becomes one of
"ſuch hopes, in ſuch a poſt as ſets me above all mean conſiderations and compliances, uſe great
"freedom and plainneſs of ſpeech, in all things, that concern my miniſtry."

13 [f] Πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι, &c. "That the children of Iſrael could not ſtedfaſtly look," &c. St. Paul is here juſtifying, in himſelf, and other miniſters of the goſpel, the plainneſs and openneſs of their preaching, which he had aſſerted, in the immediately preceding verſe. Theſe words, therefore, here, muſt of neceſſity be underſtood, not of Moſes, but of the miniſters of the goſpel; viz. that it was not the obſcurity of their preaching, nor any thing veiled, in their way of propoſing the goſpel, which was the cauſe, why the children of Iſrael did not underſtand the law, to the bottom,

TEXT.

the children of Iſrael could not ſtedfaſtly look to the end of that, which is aboliſhed.

14 But their minds were blinded: for, until this day, remaineth the ſame veil, untaken away, in the reading of the old teſtament; which veil is done away in Chriſt.

15 But, even unto this day, when Moſes is read, the veil is upon their heart.

16 Nevertheleſs, when it ſhall turn to the Lord, the veil ſhall be taken away.

17 Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

18 But we all, with open face, beholding, as in a glaſs, the glory of the Lord, are changed into the ſame image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.

PARAPHRASE.

Iſrael from ſeeing, in the law, which was to be
done away, Chriſt, who was the end [b] of the law.
But their not ſeeing it, is from the blindneſs of 14.
their own minds: for, unto this day, the ſame
veil remains upon their underſtandings, in reading
of the old teſtament, which veil is done away in
Chriſt; i. e. Chriſt, now he is come, ſo exactly anſwers
all the types, prefigurations, and predictions
of him, in the old teſtament, that preſently, upon
turning our eyes upon him, he viſibly appears to be
the perſon deſigned, and all the obſcurity of thoſe
paſſages concerning him, which before were not
underſtood, is taken away, and ceaſes. Neverthe- 15.
leſs, even until now, when the writings of Moſes
are read, the veil [c] remains upon their hearts, they
ſee not the ſpiritual and evangelical truths contained
in them. But, when their heart ſhall turn to the 16.
Lord, and, laying by prejudice and averſion, ſhall
be willing to receive the truth, the veil ſhall be
taken away, and they ſhall plainly ſee him to be the
perſon ſpoken of, and intended [d]. But the Lord is 17.
the Spirit [e], whereof we are miniſters; and they,
who have this Spirit, they have liberty [f], ſo that they
ſpeak openly and freely. But we, all the faithful 18.
miniſters of the new teſtament, not veiled [g], but
with open countenances, as mirrors, reflecting the
glory of the Lord, are changed into his very image,
by a continued ſucceſſion of glory, as it were, ſtreaming
upon us from the Lord, who is the Spirit, who
gives

NOTES.

and ſee Chriſt, the end of it, in the writings of Moſes. What St. Paul ſays, in the next verſe, "But their minds were blinded: for, until this day, remaineth the ſame veil untaken away," plainly determines the words, we are upon, to the ſenſe I have taken them in: For what ſenſe is this? "Moſes put a veil over his face, ſo that the children of Iſrael could not ſee the end of the law; but their minds were blinded; for the veil remains upon them, until this day." But this is very good ſenſe, and to St. Paul's purpoſe, viz. "We, the miniſters of the goſpel, ſpeak plainly and openly, "and put no veil upon ourſelves, as Moſes did, whereby to hinder the Jews from ſeeing Chriſt, "in the law: but that, which hinders them, is a blindneſs on their minds, which has been always "on them, and remains to this day." This ſeems to be an obviating an objection, which ſome among the Corinthians might make, to his boaſting of ſo much plainneſs and clearneſs in his preaching, viz. If you preach the goſpel, and Chriſt, contained in the law, with ſuch a ſhining clearneſs and evidence, how comes it that the Jews are not converted to it? His reply is, "Their unbelief comes not "from any obſcurity in our preaching, but from a blindneſs, which reſts upon their "minds to this day; which ſhall be taken away, when they turn to the Lord."

[b] Vid. Rom. x. 2—4.

15 [c] St. Paul, poſſibly, alludes here to the cuſtom of the Jews, which continues ſtill in the ſynagogue, that, when the law is read, they put a veil over their faces.

16 [d] When this ſhall be, ſee Rom. xi. 25—27.

17 [e] Ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι, "but the Lord is that Spirit." Theſe words relate to ver. 6. where he ſays, that he is a miniſter, not of the letter of the law, not of the outſide and literal ſenſe, but of the myſtical and ſpiritual meaning of it; which, he here tells us, is Chriſt.

[f] "There is liberty;" becauſe the Spirit is given only to ſons, or thoſe that are free. See Rom. viii. 15. Gal. iv. 6, 7.

18 [g] St. Paul juſtifies his freedom and plainneſs of ſpeech, by his being made, by God himſelf, a miniſter of the goſpel, which is a more glorious miniſtry, than that of Moſes, in promulgating the law. This he does from ver. 6. to ver. 12. incluſively. From thence, to the end of the chapter, he juſtifies his liberty of ſpeaking; in that he, as a miniſter of the goſpel, being illuminated with greater and brighter rays of light, than Moſes, was to ſpeak (as he did) with more freedom and clearneſs, than Moſes had done. This being the ſcope of St. Paul, in this place, 'tis viſible, that all from theſe words, "who put a veil upon his face," ver. 13. to the beginning of ver. 18. is a parentheſis; which being laid aſide, the compariſon between the miniſters of the goſpel and Moſes ſtands clear; "Moſes, with a veil, covered the brightneſs and glory of God, which

ſhone

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Chap. IV.

PARAPHRASE.

gives us this clearneſs and freedom. Seeing, there-
1. fore, I am intruſted with ſuch a miniſtry, as this,
according as I have received great mercy, being
extraordinarily and miraculouſly called, when I was
a perſecutor, I do not fail [a], nor flag: I do not be-
have myſelf unworthily in it, nor miſbecoming the
2. honour and dignity of ſuch an employment: But,
having renounced all unworthy and indirect deſigns,
which will not bear the light, free from craft,
and from playing any deceitful tricks, in my preach-
ing the word of God, I recommend myſelf to
every one's conſcience, only by making plain [b] the
truth, which I deliver, as in the preſence of God.
3. But if the goſpel which I preach, be obſcure and
4. hidden, it is ſo, only to thoſe, who are loſt: In
whom, being unbelievers, the God of this world [c]
has blinded their minds [d], ſo that the glorious [e]
brightneſs of the light of the goſpel of Christ, who
is

TEXT.

Therefore, ſeeing we have this miniſtry, as we have received mercy, we faint not: 1

But have renounced the hidden things of diſhoneſty, not walking in craftineſs, nor handling the word of God deceitfully; but, by manifeſtation of the truth, commending ourſelves to every man's conſcience, in the ſight of God. 2

But, if our goſpel be hid, it is hid to them that are loſt: 3

In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them, which believe not, leſt the light of the glorious goſpel of Chriſt, who is the 4

NOTES.

" ſhone in his countenance; but we, the miniſters of the goſpel, with open countenances, κατοπτριζόμενοι, reflecting as mirrors the glory of the Lord. So the word κατοπτριζόμενοι, muſt ſignify here, and not " beholding as in a mirror; becauſe the compariſon is between the miniſters of the goſpel and Moſes, and not between the miniſters of the goſpel and the children of Iſrael: now the action, of " beholding," was the action of the children of Iſrael; but of " ſhining, or reflecting the glory, received in the mount," was the action of Moſes; and, therefore, it muſt be ſomething anſwering that, in the miniſters of the goſpel, wherein the compariſon is made; as is farther manifeſt, in another expreſs part of the compariſon, between the veiled face of Moſes, ver. 13. and the open face of the miniſters of the goſpel, in this verſe. The face of Moſes was veiled, that the bright ſhining, or glory of God, remaining on it, or reflected from it, might not be ſeen; and the faces of the miniſters of the goſpel are open, that the bright ſhining of the goſpel, or the glory of Chriſt, may be ſeen. Thus the juſtneſs of the compariſon ſtands fair, and has an eaſy ſenſe, which is hard to be made out, if κατοπτριζόμενοι be tranſlated, " beholding as in a glaſs."

Τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα, " we are changed into that very image," i. e. the reflection of the glory of Chriſt, from us, is ſo very bright and clear, that we are changed into his very image; whereas the light that ſhone in Moſes's countenance, was but a faint reflection of the glory, which he ſaw, when God ſhewed him his back-parts, Exod. xxxiii. 23.

Ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, from glory to glory," i. e. with a continued influx and renewing of glory, in oppoſition to the ſhining of Moſes's face, which decayed and diſappeared in a little while, ver. 7.

Καθάπερ ἀπὸ Κυρίου, πνεύματος, " as from the Lord, the Spirit," i. e. as if this irradiation of light and glory came immediately from the ſource of it, the Lord himſelf, who is that Spirit, whereof we are the miniſters, ver. 6. which giveth life and liberty, ver. 17.

This liberty he here ſpeaks of, ver. 17. is παῤῥησία, " liberty of ſpeech," mentioned ver. 12. the ſubject of St. Paul's diſcourſe here; as is farther manifeſt, from what immediately follows, in the ſix firſt verſes of the next chapter, wherein an attentive reader may find a very clear comment on this 18th verſe, we are upon, which is there explained, in the ſenſe, we have given of it.

1 [a] Οὐκ ἐκκακοῦμεν, " we faint not," is the ſame with πολλῇ παῤῥησίᾳ χρώμεθα, " we uſe great plainneſs of ſpeech," ver. 12. of the foregoing chapter; and ſignifies, in both places, the clear, plain, direct, diſintereſted preaching of the goſpel; which is what he means, in that figurative way of ſpeaking, in the former chapter, eſpecially the laſt verſe of it, and which he more plainly expreſſes, in the five or ſix firſt verſes of this; the whole buſineſs of the firſt part of this epiſtle being, as we have already obſerved, to juſtify to the Corinthians, his behaviour in his miniſtry, and to convince them, that, in his preaching the goſpel, he hath been plain, clear, open, and candid, without any hidden deſign, or the leaſt mixture of any concealed, ſecular intereſt.

2 [b] Ἀπειπάμεθα τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης, " have renounced the hidden things of diſhoneſty," and τῇ φανερώσει τῆς ἀληθείας, " by manifeſtation of the truth." Theſe expreſſions explain ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ; " with open face," ch. iii. 18.

4 [c] " The god of this world, i. e. the devil, ſo called, becauſe the men of the world worſhipped and obeyed him, as their God.

[d] Ἐτύφλωσε τὰ νοήματα, " blinded their minds, anſwers ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα, their minds were blinded," chap. iii. 14. And the ſecond and third verſe of this explains the 13th and 14th verſes of the preceding chapter.

[e] Δόξα, " glory," here, as in the former chapter, is put for ſhining and brightneſs; ſo that εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, is the brightneſs, or clearneſs, of the doctrine, wherein Chriſt is manifeſted in the goſpel.

image of God, ſhould ſhine unto them.

5 For we preach not ourſelves, but Chriſt Jeſus the Lord; and ourſelves your ſervants for Jeſus ſake.

6 For God, who commanded the light to ſhine out of darkneſs, hath ſhined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jeſus Chriſt.

7 But we have this treaſure in earthen veſſels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.

8 We are troubled, on every ſide, yet not diſtreſſed; we are perplexed, but not in deſpair;

9 Perſecuted, but not forſaken; caſt down, but not deſtroyed;

10 Always bearing about in the body, the dying of the Lord Jeſus, that the life alſo of Jeſus might be made manifeſt in our body.

11 For we, which live, are alway delivered unto death for Jeſus ſake, that the life alſo of Jeſus might be made manifeſt in our mortal fleſh.

12 So, then, death worketh in us; but life in you.

13 We having the ſame Spirit of faith, according as it is written, "I believed, and therefore have I ſpoken:" we alſo believe, and therefore ſpeak;

14 Knowing that he, which raiſed up the Lord Jeſus, ſhall raiſe up us alſo, by Jeſus, and ſhall preſent us with you.

15 For all things are for your ſakes, that the abundant grace might, through the thankſgiving of many, redound to the glory of God.

is the image of God, cannot enlighten them. For I 5.
ſeek not my own glory, or ſecular advantage, in
preaching, but only the propagating of the goſpel
of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; profeſſing myſelf your ſer-
vant for Jeſus' ſake. For God, who made light to 6.
ſhine out of darkneſs, hath enlightened alſo my dark
heart, who before ſaw not the end of the law, that
I might communicate the knowledge and light of
the glory of God, which ſhines in the face[a] of Jeſus
Chriſt. But yet we, to whom this treaſure of know- 7.
ledge, the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, is committed, to
be propagated in the world, are but frail men; that
ſo the exceeding great power, that accompanies it,
may appear to be from God, and not from us. I 8.
am preſſed on every ſide, but do not ſhrink: I am
perplexed, but yet not ſo as to deſpond; Perſecuted, 9.
but yet not left to ſink under it; thrown down, but
not ſlain; Carrying about every where, in my body, 10.
the mortification, i. e. a repreſentation of the ſuffer-
ing of the Lord Jeſus, that alſo the life of Jeſus,
riſen from the dead, may be made manifeſt by the
energy, that accompanies my preaching in this frail
body. For, as long as I live, I ſhall be expoſed to 11.
the danger of death, for the ſake of Jeſus, that the
life of Jeſus, riſen from the dead, may be made
manifeſt by my preaching, and ſufferings, in this
mortal fleſh of mine. So that the preaching of the 12.
goſpel procures ſufferings, and danger of death to me;
but to you it procures life, i. e. the energy of the
Spirit of Chriſt, whereby he lives in, and gives life
to thoſe, who believe in him. Nevertheleſs, though 13.
ſuffering and death accompany the preaching the
goſpel; yet, having the ſame Spirit of faith that
David had, when he ſaid, "I believe, therefore have
I ſpoken," I alſo, believing, therefore ſpeak; Know- 14.
ing that he, who raiſed up the Lord Jeſus, ſhall
raiſe me up alſo, by Jeſus, and preſent me, with
you, to God. For I do, and ſuffer, all things, for 15.
your ſakes, that the exuberant favour of God may
abound, by the thankſgiving of a greater number,
to the glory of God; i. e. I endeavour, by my ſuf-
ferings and preaching, to make as many converts as
I can, that ſo, the more partaking of the mercy and
favour of God, of which there is a plentiful and
inexhauſtible ſtore, the more may give thanks un-
to him, it being more for the glory of God, that a
greater number ſhould give thanks and pray to him.

For

NOTE.

6 [a] This is a continuation ſtill of the allegory of Moſes, and the ſhining of his face, &c. ſo much inſiſted on, in the foregoing chapter.

For the explication whereof, give me leave to add here one word more, to what I have ſaid upon it already; Moſes, by approaching to God, in the mount, had a communication of "glory," or "light," from him, which irradiated from his face, when he deſcended from the mount. Moſes put a veil over his face, to hide this "light," or "glory;" for both theſe names St. Paul uſes, in this and the foregoing chapter, for the ſame thing. But the "glory," or "light," of the knowledge of God, more fully and clearly communicated by Jeſus Chriſt, is ſaid here "to ſhine in his face; and in that reſpect it is, that Chriſt, in the foregoing verſe, is called by St. Paul,

"the

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. IV.
16. For which reaſon I faint not [a], I flag not; but tho'
my bodily ſtrength decay, yet the vigour of my
17. mind is daily renewed. For the more my ſufferings
are here, in propagating the goſpel, which at worſt
are but tranſient and light, the more will they pro-
cure me an exceedingly far greater addition of that
18. glory [b] in heaven, which is ſolid and eternal; I hav-
ing no regard to the viſible things of this world, but
to the inviſible things of the other: for the things,
Chap. V. that are ſeen, are temporal; but thoſe, that are not
1. ſeen, eternal. For I know, that if this my body,
which is but as a tent for my ſojourning here upon
earth, for a ſhort time, were diſſolved, I ſhall have
another, of a divine original, which ſhall not, like
buildings made with men's hands, be ſubject to de-
2. cay, but ſhall be eternal in the heavens. For, in
this tabernacle [c], I groan earneſtly, deſiring, with-
out putting off this mortal, earthly body, by death,
3. to have that celeſtial body ſuperinduced: If ſo be,
the coming [d] of Chriſt ſhall overtake me, in this
4. life, before I put off this body. For we, that are
in the body, groan under the preſſures and incon-
veniencies, that attend us in it; which yet we are not,
therefore, willing to put off, but had rather, with-
out dying, have it changed [e] into a celeſtial, immor-
tal body, that ſo this mortal ſtate may be put an end
to, by an immediate entrance into an immortal life.
5. Now it is God, who prepares and fits us for this
immortal ſtate, who alſo gives us the Spirit, as a
pledge

TEXT.

16 For which cauſe we faint not; but, though our outward man periſh, yet the inward man is renewed day by day.

17 For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory;

18 While we look not at the things, which are ſeen, but at the things, which are not ſeen: for the things, which are ſeen, are temporal; but the things, which are not ſeen, are eternal.

1 For we know, that if our earthly houſe of this tabernacle were diſſolved, we have a building of God, an houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

2 For in this we groan earneſtly, deſiring to be cloathed upon, with our houſe, which is from heaven:

3 If ſo be, that being cloathed, we ſhall not be found naked.

4 For we, that are in this tabernacle, do groan, being burdened: not, for that we would be uncloathed, but cloathed upon, that mortality might be ſwallowed up of life.

5 Now he, that hath wrought us for the ſelf-ſame thing, is God; who alſo hath given unto us the earneſt of the Spirit.

NOTES.

"the image of God;" and the apoſtles are ſaid, in the laſt verſe of the precedent chapter, to be "transformed into the ſame image, from glory to glory;" i. e. by their large and clear communications of the knowledge of God, in the goſpel, they are ſaid to be transformed into the ſame image, and to repreſent, as mirrors, the glory of the Lord, and to be, as it were, the images of Chriſt, as Chriſt is (as we are told here, ver. 4.) "the image of God."

16 [a] "I faint not." What this ſignifies, we have ſeen, ver. 1. Here St. Paul gives another proof of his ſincerity, in his miniſtry; and that is, the ſufferings and danger of death, which he daily incurs, by his preaching the goſpel. And the reaſon, why thoſe ſufferings and dangers deter him not, and make him at all flag, he tells them, is, the aſſurance he has, that God, thro' Chriſt, will raiſe him again, and reward him with immortality in glory. This argument he purſues, chap. iv. 17. and v. 9.

17 [b] "Weight of glory." What an influence St. Paul's Hebrew had, upon his Greek, is every where viſible: כבד in Hebrew ſignifies "to be heavy," and "to be glorious;" St. Paul, in the Greek, joins them, and ſays, "the weight of glory."

2 [c] Vid. ver. 4.

3 [d] That the apoſtle looked on the coming of Chriſt, as not far off, appears, by what he ſays, 1 Theſſ. iv. 15. and v. 6. which epiſtle was written ſome years before this. See alſo, to the ſame purpoſe, 1 Cor. i. 7. and vii. 29, 31. and x. 11. Rom. xiii. 11, 12. Heb. x. 37.

4 [e] The ſame, that he had told them, in the firſt epiſtle, chap. xv. 51. ſhould happen to thoſe, who ſhould be alive at Chriſt's coming. This, I muſt own, is no very eaſy paſſage, whether we underſtand by γυμνοὶ, "naked," as I do here, the ſtate of the dead, uncloathed with immortal bodies, 'till the reſurrection; which ſenſe is favoured by the ſame word, 1 Cor. 15. 37. or whether we underſtand "the cloathing upon," which the apoſtle deſires, to be thoſe immortal bodies, which ſouls ſhall be cloathed with, at the reſurrection; which ſenſe "of cloathing upon," ſeems to be favoured by 1 Cor. xv. 53, 54. and is that, which one ſhould be inclined to, were it not accompanied with this difficulty; viz. that, then, it would follow that the wicked ſhould not have immortal bodies, at the reſurrection. For whatever it be, that St. Paul here means, by "being cloathed upon," it is ſomething, that is peculiar to the ſaints, who have the Spirit of God, and ſhall be with the Lord, in contra-diſtinction to others, as appears from the following verſes, and the whole tenor of this place.

TEXT.

6 Therefore, we are always confident, knowing that whilſt we are at home in the body, we are abſent from the Lord:

7 (For we walk by faith, not by ſight)

8 We are confident, I ſay, and willing rather to be abſent from the body, and to be preſent with the Lord.

9 Wherefore we labour, that, whether preſent or abſent, we may be accepted of him.

10 For we muſt all appear before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

11 Knowing, therefore, the terror of the Lord, we perſuade men; but we are made manifeſt unto God, and I truſt, alſo, are made manifeſt in your conſcienees.

12 For we commend not ourſelves again unto you; but give you occaſion to glory on our behalf, that you may have ſomewhat to anſwer them,

PARAPHRASE.

pledge [a] of it. Wherefore, being always undaunted [b], and knowing, that whilſt I dwell, or ſojourn, in 6.
this body, I am abſent from my proper home,
which is with the Lord, (For I regulate my con- 7.
duct, not by the enjoyment of the viſible things of
this world, but by my hope and expectation of the
inviſible things of the world to come) I, with bold- 8.
neſs, preach the goſpel, preferring, in my choice,
the quitting this habitation to get home to the Lord.
Wherefore, I make this my only aim, whether ſtay- 9.
ing [c] here in this body, or departing out of it, ſo to
acquit myſelf, as to be acceptable to him [d]. For we 10.
muſt all appear before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt,
that every one may receive according to what he
has done in the body, whether it be good, or bad.
Knowing, therefore, this terrible judgment of the 11.
Lord, I preach the goſpel, perſuading men to be
Chriſtians. And with what integrity I diſcharge
that duty, is manifeſt to God, and I truſt, you alſo
are convinced of it, in your conſciences. And this 12.
I ſay, not that I commend [e] myſelf again: but that
I may give you an occaſion not to be aſhamed of
me, but to glory on my behalf, having wherewithal
to reply to thoſe, who make a ſhew of glorying in
outward appearance, without doing ſo inwardly in
their

NOTES.

5 [a] The Spirit is mentioned in more places than one, as the pledge and earneſt of immortality: more particularly, Eph. i. 13, 14. which compared with Rom. viii. 23. ſhews that the inheritance, whereof the Spirit is the earneſt, is the ſame, which the apoſtle ſpeaks of here, viz. the poſſeſſion of immortal bodies.

6, 8 [b] Θαῤῥοῦντες and θαῤῥοῦμεν, "we are confident," ſignifies in theſe two verſes the ſame, that οὐκ ἐκκακοῦμεν, "we faint not," does, chap. iv. 1, and 16. i. e. "I go on undauntedly, without flagging, preaching the goſpel with ſincerity, and direct plainneſs of ſpeech." This concluſion, which he draws here, from the conſideration of the reſurrection and immortality, is the ſame, that he makes, upon the ſame ground, chap. iv. 14, 16.

9 [c] Εἴτε ἐνδημοῦντες, εἴτε ἐκδημοῦντες, whether ſtaying in the body, or going out of it," i. e. whether I am to ſtay longer here, or ſuddenly to depart. This ſenſe, the foregoing verſe leads us to; and what he ſays in this verſe, that he endeavours (whether ἐνδημῶν, or ἐκδημῶν) "to be well-pleaſing to the Lord," i. e. do what is well-pleaſing to him, ſhews, that neither of theſe words can ſignify, here, his being with Chriſt in heaven. For, when he is there, the time of endeavouring to approve himſelf is over.

[d] St. Paul, from chap. iv. 12. to this place, has, to convince them of his uprightneſs in his miniſtry, been ſhewing, that the hopes, and ſure expectation, he had, of eternal life, kept him ſteady and reſolute, in an open, ſincere preaching of the goſpel, without any tricks, or deceitful artifice. In which his argument ſtands thus: "Knowing that God, who raiſed up Chriſt, will raiſe me up "again, I without any fear, or conſideration of what it may draw upon me, preach the goſpel faith- "fully, making this account, that the momentaneous afflictions, which, for it, I may ſuffer here, "which are but ſlight, in compariſon of the eternal things of another life, will exceedingly increaſe "my happineſs in the other world, where I long to be; and therefore death, which brings me home "to Chriſt, is no terror to me; all my care is, that, whether I am to ſtay longer in this body, or "quickly to leave it, living or dying, I may approve myſelf to Chriſt, in my miniſtry." In the next two verſes, he has another argument, to fix in the Corinthians the ſame thoughts of him; and that is, the puniſhment he ſhall receive at the day of judgment, if he ſhould neglect to preach the goſpel faithfully, and not endeavour ſincerely and earneſtly to make converts to Chriſt.

12 [e] From this place, and ſeveral others in this epiſtle, it cannot be doubted, but that his ſpeaking well of himſelf, had been objected to him as a fault. And in this lay his great difficulty, how to deal with this people. If he anſwered nothing to what was talked of him, his ſilence might be interpreted guilt and confuſion: if he defended himſelf, he was accuſed of vanity, ſelf-commendation and folly. Hence it is, that he uſes ſo many reaſons to ſhew, that his whole carriage was upon principles, far above all worldly conſiderations: and tells them here, once for all, that the account he gives of himſelf, is only to furniſh them, who are his friends, and ſtuck to him, with matter to juſtify themſelves, in their eſteem of him, and to reply to the contrary faction.

PARAPHRASE.

their hearts [a]. For if [b] I am beſides myſelf [c], in
13. ſpeaking, as I do, of myſelf, it is between God and
me; he muſt judge: men are not concerned in it,
nor hurt by it. Or, if I do it ſoberly, and upon
good ground; if what I profeſs of myſelf, be in
14. reality true, it is for your ſake and advantage. For
'tis the love of Chriſt conſtraineth me, judging as I
do, that if Chriſt died for all, then all were dead:
15. And that, if he died for all, his intention was, that
they, who by him have attained to a ſtate of life,
ſhould not any longer live to themſelves alone, ſeeking
only their own private advantage; but ſhould
imploy their lives in promoting the goſpel and kingdom
of Chriſt, who for them died, and roſe again:
16. So that, from henceforth, I have no regard to any
one, according to the fleſh [d], i. e. for being circumciſed,
or a Jew. For, if I myſelf have gloried in this, that
Chriſt himſelf was circumciſed, as I am, and was
of my blood and nation, I do ſo now no more
17. any longer. So that if any one be in Chriſt, it is,
as if he were in a new creation [e], wherein all former,
mundane relations, conſiderations, and interests [f],
are ceaſed, and at an end; all things in that
18. ſtate are new to him: And he owes his very being
in it, and the advantages he therein enjoys, not, in
the leaſt meaſure, to his birth, extraction, or any legal
obſervances, or privileges, but wholly and ſolely
19. to God alone; Reconciling the world to himſelf by
Jeſus Chriſt, and not imputing their treſpaſſes to
them.

TEXT.

which glory in appearance, and not in heart.

13 For, whether we be beſides ourſelves, it is to God: or, whether we be ſober, it is for your cauſe.

14 For the love of Chriſt conſtraineth us; becauſe we thus judge, that, if one died for all, then were all dead:

15 And that he died for all, that they, which live, ſhould not henceforth live unto themſelves, but unto him, which died for them, and roſe again.

16 Wherefore, henceforth, know we no man after the fleſh: yea, though we have known Chriſt after the fleſh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.

17 Therefore, if any man be in Chriſt, he is a new creature: old things are paſt away, behold, all things are become new.

18 And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himſelf, by Jeſus Chriſt, and hath given to us the miniſtry of reconciliation;

19 To wit, that God was in Chriſt, reconciling the world

NOTES.

[a] This may be underſtood of the leaders of the oppoſite faction, who, as 'tis manifeſt from ch. x. 7, 15. and xi. 12, 22, 23. pretended to ſomething that they gloried in, though St. Paul aſſures us, they were ſatisfied, in conſcience, that they had no ſolid ground of glorying.

13 [b] St. Paul, from the 13th verſe of this chapter, to chap. vi. 12. gives another reaſon for his diſintereſted carriage, in preaching the goſpel, and that is his love to Chriſt, who, by his death, having given him life, who was dead, he concludes, that, in gratitude, he ought not to live to himſelf any more. He therefore, being as in a new creation, had now no longer any regard to the things, or perſons, of this world; but being made, by God, a miniſter of the goſpel, he minded only the faithful diſcharge of his duty in that embaſſy; and purſuant thereunto, took care that his behaviour ſhould be ſuch, as he deſcribes, ch. vi. 3. 10.

[c] "Beſides myſelf," i. e. in ſpeaking well of myſelf, in my own juſtification. He that obſerves what St. Paul ſays, ch. xi. 1. and 16—21. ch. xii. 6, and 11. will ſcarce doubt, but that the ſpeaking of himſelf, as he did, was, by his enemies, called glorying, and imputed to him as folly and madneſs.

16 [d] This may be ſuppoſed to be ſaid with reflection on their Jewiſh, falſe apoſtle, who gloried in his circumciſion; and, perhaps, that he had ſeen Chriſt in the fleſh, or was ſome way related to him.

17 [e] Gal. vi. 14. may give ſome light to this place. To make this 16th and 17th verſes coherent to the reſt of St. Paul's diſcourſe here, they muſt be underſtood, in reference to the falſe apoſtle, againſt whom St. Paul is here juſtifying himſelf, and makes it his main buſineſs, in this, as well as in his former epiſtle, to ſhew, what that falſe apoſtle gloried in, was no juſt cauſe of boaſting. Purſuant to this deſign, of ſinking the authority and credit of that falſe apoſtle, St. Paul, in theſe and the following verſes, dexterouſly inſinuates theſe two things; 1ſt, That the miniſtry of reconciliation being committed to him, they ſhould not forſake him, to hearken to, and follow, that pretender. 2dly, That they, being in Chriſt, and the new creation, ſhould, as he does, not know any man in the fleſh, nor eſteem, or glory in, that falſe apoſtle, becauſe he might, perhaps, pretend to have ſeen our Saviour in the fleſh, or have heard him, or the like. Κτίσις ſignifies "creation," and is ſo tranſlated, Rom. viii. 22.

[f] Τὰ ἀρχαῖα, "old things," perhaps, may here mean the Jewiſh œconomy; for the falſe apoſtle was a Jew, and, as ſuch, aſſumed to himſelf ſome authority, probably by right of blood, and privilege of his nation: vid. 2 Cor. xi. 21, 22. But that, St. Paul here tells them, now, under the goſpel, is all antiquated, and quite out of doors.

TEXT.

unto himſelf, not imputing their treſpaſſes unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation.

20 Now then we are ambaſſadors for Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you by us: we pray you in Chriſt's ſtead, be ye reconciled to God.

21 For he hath made him to be ſin for us, who knew no ſin; that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him.

1 We then as workers together with him, beſeech you alſo, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain:

2 (For he ſaith, "I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of ſalvation have I ſuccoured thee:" behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of ſalvation!)

3 Giving no offence, in any thing, that the miniſtry be not blamed:

4 But, in all things, approving ourſelves, as the miniſters of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in neceſſities, in diſtreſſes,

5 In ſtripes, in impriſonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in faſtings,

6 By pureneſs, by knowledge, by long-ſuffering, by kindneſs, by the Holy Ghoſt, by love unfeigned,

7 By the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteouſneſs, on the right hand, and on the left.

8 By honour and diſhonour, by evil report and good report: as deceivers, and yet true;

9 As unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; as chaſtened, and not killed;

10 As ſorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet poſſeſſing all things.

11 O ye Corinthians, our mouth is open unto you, our heart is inlarged.

12 Ye are not ſtreightened in us, but ye are ſtreightened in your own bowels.

13 Now, for a recompenſe in the ſame, (I ſpeak as unto my children) be ye alſo inlarged.

PARAPHRASE.

them. And therefore I, whom God hath reconciled
to himſelf, and to whom he hath given the ministry,
and committed the word of his reconciliation;
As an ambaſſador for Chriſt, as though God did by 20.
me beſeech you, I pray you in Chriſt's ſtead, be ye
reconciled to God. For God hath made him subject 21.
to ſufferings and death, the puniſhment and
conſequence of ſin, as if he had been a ſinner,
though he were guilty of no ſin; that we, in and by
him, might be made righteous, by a righteouſneſs CHAP. VI.
imputed to us by God. I, therefore, working together 1.
with him, beſeech you alway, that you receive
not the favour of God, in the goſpel, preached
to you, in vain[a]. (For he ſaith, "I have heard 2.
thee in a time accepted, and in the day of ſalvation
have I ſuccoured thee:" behold, now is the accepted
time; behold, now is the day of ſalvation!) Giving 3.
no offence to any one, in any thing, that the ministry
be not blamed: But, in every thing, approving 4.
myſelf, as becomes the miniſter of God, by much
patience, in afflictions, in neceſſities, in ſtreights,
In ſtripes, in impriſonments, in being toſſed up and 5.
down, in labours, in watchings, in faſtings; By a 6.
life undefiled; by knowledge; by long-ſufferings;
by the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt; by love unfeigned;
By preaching the goſpel of truth ſincerely; by 7.
the power of God, aſſiſting my miniſtry; by uprightneſs
of mind, wherewith I am armed at all
points, both to do and to ſuffer; By honour and 8.
diſgrace; by good and bad report; as a deceiver[b],
and yet faithful; As an obſcure, unknown man, but 9.
yet known and owned; as one often in danger of
death, and yet, behold, I live; as chaſtened, but
yet not killed; As ſorrowful, but yet always rejoicing; 10.
as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing,
and yet poſſeſſing all things. O ye Corinthians, 11.
my mouth is opened to you, my heart is inlarged[c]
to you; my affection, my tenderneſs, my
compliance for you, is not ſtreight, or narrow. 'Tis 12.
your own narrowneſs makes you uneaſy. Let me 13.
ſpeak to you, as a father to his children; in return,
do you, likewiſe, enlarge your affections and deference

NOTES.

1 [a] "Receive the grace of God in vain," the ſame with "believing in vain," 1 Cor. xv. 2. i. e. receiving the doctrine of the goſpel for true, and profeſſing Chriſtianity, without perſiſting in it, or performing what the goſpel requires.

1 [b] "Deceiver," a title ('tis like) he had received from ſome of the oppoſite faction at Corinth: vid. chap. xii. 16.

11 [c] Another argument, St. Paul makes uſe of, to juſtify and excuſe his plainneſs of ſpeech to the Corinthians, is, the great affection he has for them, which he here breaks out into an expreſſion of, in a very pathetical manner. This, with an exhortation to ſeparate from idolaters and unbelievers, is what he inſiſts on, from this place to chap. vii. 16.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. VI.
14. rence to me. Be ye not aſſociated with unbelievers,
have nothing to do with them in their vices, or
worſhip [a]: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs
with unrighteouſneſs? What communion hath light
15. with darkneſs? What concord hath Chriſt with
Belial [b]? Or what part hath a believer with an un-
16. believer? What agreement hath the temple of God
with idols? For ye are the temple of the living God;
as God hath ſaid, "I will dwell in them, among
them will I walk; and I will be their God, and they
17. ſhall be my people." Wherefore, "Come out from
among them, and be ſeparate, ſaith the Lord, and
touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you
18. to me; And I will be a Father, and ye ſhall be my
Chap. VII. ſons and daughters," ſaith the Lord Almighty. Hav-
1. ing, therefore, theſe promiſes, (dearly beloved) let
us cleanſe ourſelves from the defilement of all ſorts
of ſins, whether of body or mind, endeavouring
2. after perfect holineſs, in the fear of God. Receive
me, as one to be hearkened to, as one to be follow-
ed, as one that hath done nothing to forfeit your
eſteem. I have wronged no man: I have corrupted
3. no man: I have defrauded no man [c]. I ſay not this
to reflect on your carriage towards me [d]: for I have
already aſſured you, that I have ſo great an affection
4. for you, that I could live and die with you. But,
in the tranſport of my joy, I uſe great liberty of
ſpeech towards you. But let it not be thought to
be of ill-will, for I boaſt much of you; I am filled
with comfort, and my joy abounds exceedingly, in
5. all my afflictions. For, when I came to Macedonia,
I had no reſpite, from continual trouble, that beſet
me on every ſide. From without, I met with
ſtrife and oppoſition, in preaching the goſpel: and
within, I was filled with fear, upon your account;
leſt the falſe apoſtle, continuing his credit and fac-
tion amongſt you, ſhould pervert you from the ſim-
6. plicity of the goſpel [e]. But God, who comforteth
thoſe who are caſt down, comforted me, by the
7. coming of Titus: Not barely by his preſence, but
by the comfort I received from you, by him, when
he acquainted me with your great deſire of con-
forming yourſelves to my orders; your trouble for
any neglects, you have been guilty of, towards me;
the great warmth of your affection and concern for
me; ſo that I rejoiced the more, for my paſt fears;
8. Having writ to you a letter, which I repented of,
but now do not repent of, perceiving, that, though
that

TEXT.

Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? And what communion hath light with darkneſs? 14

And what concord hath Chriſt with Belial? Or what part hath he that believeth, with an infidel? 15

And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? For ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath ſaid, "I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people." 16

Wherefore, "Come out from among them, and be ye ſeparate, ſaith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you. 17

And will be a Father unto you, and ye ſhall be my ſons and daughters," ſaith the Lord Almighty. 18

Having therefore theſe promiſes, (dearly beloved) let us cleanſe ourſelves from all filthineſs of the fleſh and ſpirit, perfecting holineſs in the fear of God. 1

Receive us: we have wronged no man, we have corrupted no man, we have defrauded no man. 2

I ſpeak not this to condemn you: for I have ſaid before, that you are in our hearts, to die and live with you. 3

Great is my boldneſs of ſpeech toward you, great is my glorying of you: I am filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful, in all our tribulation. 4

For, when we were come into Macedonia, our fleſh had no reſt, but we were troubled on every ſide; without were fightings, within were fears. 5

Nevertheleſs, God, that comforteth thoſe that are caſt down, comforted us, by the coming of Titus: 6

And not by his coming only, but by the conſolation, wherewith he was comforted in you, when he told us your earneſt deſire, your mourning, your fervent mind toward me; ſo that I rejoiced the more. 7

For, though I made you ſorry with a letter, I do not repent; though I did repent: 8

NOTES.

14 [a] Vid. chap. vii. 1.

15 [b] Belial is a general name for all the falſe gods, worſhipped by the idolatrous Gentiles.

2 [c] This ſeems to inſinuate the contrary behaviour of their falſe apoſtle.

3 [d] Vid. 1 Cor. iv. 3. 2 Cor. x. 2. and xi. 20, 21. and xiii. 3.

5 [e] Vid. chap. xi. 3.

TEXT.

for I perceive that the ſame epiſtle made you ſorry, though it were but for a ſeaſon.

9 Now I rejoice, not that ye were made ſorry, but that ye ſorrowed to repentance: for ye were made ſorry, after a godly manner, that ye might receive damage by us in nothing.

10 For godly ſorrow worketh repentance, to ſalvation, not to be repented of; but the ſorrow of the world worketh death.

11 For, behold, this ſelf-ſame thing that ye ſorrowed, after a godly ſort, what carefulneſs it wrought in you; yea, what clearing of yourſelves; yea, what indignation; yea, what fear; yea, what vehement deſire; yea, what zeal; yea, what revenge! in all things ye have approved yourſelves to be clear in this matter.

12 Wherefore, though I wrote unto you, I did it not for his cauſe, that had done the wrong, nor for his cauſe, that ſuffered wrong, but that our care for you, in the ſight of God, might appear unto you.

13 Therefore, we were comforted in your comfort: yea, and exceedingly the more joyed we, for the joy of Titus, becauſe his ſpirit was refreſhed by you all.

PARAPHRASE.

that letter grieved you, it made you ſad, but for a
ſhort time: But now I rejoice, not that you were 9.
made ſorry, but that you were made ſorry to repentance.
For this proved a beneficial ſorrow, acceptable
to God, that, in nothing, you might have
cauſe to complain, that you were damaged by me.
For godly ſorrow worketh repentance to ſalvation, 10.
not to be repented of: but ſorrow ariſing from worldly
intereſt, worketh death. In the preſent caſe, 11.
mark it [a], that godly ſorrow, which you had, what
carefulneſs it wrought in you, to conform yourſelves
to my orders, ver. 15. yea, what clearing yourſelves
from your former miſcarriages; yea, what indignation
againſt thoſe, who led you into them; yea,
what fear to offend me [b]; yea, what vehement deſire
of ſatisfying me; yea, what zeal for me; yea,
what revenge againſt yourſelves, for having been ſo
miſled! You have ſhewn yourſelves to be ſet right
*, and be, as you ſhould be, in every thing, by this
carriage of yours †. If, therefore, I wrote unto 12.
you, concerning the fornicator, it was not for his
ſake, that had done, nor his that had ſuffered, the
wrong; but principally, that my care and concern
for you might be made known to you, as in the preſence
of God. Therefore, I was comforted in your 13.
comfort: but much more exceedingly rejoiced I, in
the joy of Titus; becauſe his mind was ſet at eaſe,
by the good diſpoſition he found you all in, towards
me.

NOTES.

11 [a] St. Paul, writing to thoſe, who knew the temper they were in, and what were the objects of the ſeveral paſſions, which were raiſed in them, doth both here, and in the 7th verſe, forbear to mention, by, and to, what they were moved, out of modeſty, and reſpect to them. This is neceſſary, for the information of ordinary readers, to be ſupplied, as can be beſt collected from the main deſign of the apoſtle, in theſe two epiſtles, and from ſeveral paſſages, giving us light in it.

[b] Vid. ver. 15. * “Clear.” This word anſwers very well ἁγνὸς, in the Greek: but then, to be clear, in Engliſh, is generally underſtood to ſignify, not to have been guilty; which could not be the ſenſe of the apoſtle, he having charged the Corinthians ſo warmly, in his firſt epiſtle. His meaning muſt therefore be, “that they had now reſolved on a contrary courſe, and were ſo far clear,” i. e. were ſet right, and in good diſpoſition again, as he deſcribes it, in the former part of this verſe. † And therefore I think ἐν τῷ πράγματι, may beſt be rendered, “in fact,” i. e. by your ſorrow, your fear, your indignation, your zeal, &c. I think it cannot well be tranſlated, “in this matter,” underſtanding thereby the puniſhment of the fornicator. For that was not the matter, St. Paul had been ſpeaking of; but the Corinthians ſiding with the falſe apoſtle againſt him, was the ſubject of the preceding part of this, and of the three, or four, foregoing chapters, wherein he juſtifies himſelf againſt their ſlanders, and invalidates the pretences of the adverſe party. This is that, which lay chiefly upon his heart, and which he labours, might and main, both in this and the former epiſtle, to rectify, as the foundation of all the diſorders amongſt them; and, conſequently, is the matter, wherein he rejoices to find them all ſet right. Indeed, in the immediately following verſe, he mentions his having writ to them, concerning the fornicator; but it is only as an argument of his kindneſs and concern for them: but that, what was the great cauſe of his rejoicing, what it was that gave him the great ſatisfaction, was the breaking the faction, and the re-uniting them “all” to himſelf, which he expreſſes in the word, “all,” emphatically uſed, ver. 13, 15. and, from thence, he concludes thus, ver. 16. “I rejoice, therefore, that I have confidence in you in all things.” His mind was now at reſt, the partiſans of his oppoſer, the falſe apoſtle, having forſaken that leader, whom they had ſo much gloried in, and being all now come over to St. Paul, he doubted not, but all would go well; and ſo leaves off the ſubject he had been upon, in the ſeven foregoing chapters, viz. the juſtification of himſelf, with here-and-there reflections on that falſe apoſtle.

PARAPHRASE.

me [a]. So that I am not aſhamed of having boaſted
14. of you to him; for all that I have ſaid to you, is
truth; ſo, what I ſaid to Titus, in your commen-
15. dation, he has found to be true; Whereby his affec-
tion to you is abundantly increaſed, he carrying in
his mind the univerſal obedience of you all, unani-
mouſly, to me, and the manner of your receiving
16. him with fear and trembling. I rejoice, therefore,
that I have confidence in you in all things.

TEXT.

For if I have boaſted any thing to him of you, I am not aſhamed; but as we ſpake all things to you in truth, even ſo our boaſting, which I made before Titus, is found a truth. 14

And his inward affection is more abundant toward you, whilſt he remembreth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling you received him. 15

I rejoice, therefore, that I have confidence in you, in all things. 16

NOTE.

13 [a] Vid. ver. 15.

SECT. III.

CHAP. VIII. 1.—IX. 15.

CONTENTS.

THE apoſtle having imployed the ſeven foregoing chapters, in his own juſtification, in the cloſe whereof he expreſſes the great ſatisfaction, he had, in their being all united again, in their affection and obedience to him, he, in the two next chapters, exhorts them, eſpecially by the example of the churches of Macedonia, to a liberal contribution to the poor Chriſtians in Judea.

PARAPHRASE.

1. MOreover, brethren, I make known to you the
gift [a], which, by the grace of God, is given
2. in the churches of Macedonia: viz. That, amidſt the
afflictions [b], they have been much tried with, they
have, with exceeding chearfulneſs and joy, made
their very low eſtate of poverty yield a rich contri-
3. bution of liberality: Being forward of themſelves
(as I muſt bear them witneſs) to the utmoſt of their
4. power; nay, and beyond their power: Earneſtly
intreating me to receive their contribution, and be
a partner with others, in the charge of conveying
5. and diſtributing it to the ſaints. And in this they
out-did my expectation, who could not hope for ſo
large a collection from them. But they gave them-
ſelves firſt to the Lord, and to me, to diſpoſe of
what they had, according as the good pleaſure of
6. God ſhould direct. Inſomuch that I was moved to
perſuade Titus, that, as he had begun, ſo he would
alſo

TEXT.

MOreover, brethren, we do you to wit of the grace of God, beſtowed on the churches of Macedonia: 1

How that, in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy, and their deep poverty, abounded unto the riches of their liberality. 2

For to their power, (I bear record) yea, and beyond their power, they were willing of themſelves. 3

Praying us, with much intreaty, that we would receive the gift, and take upon us the fellowſhip of the miniſtring to the ſaints. 4

And this they did, not as we hoped; but firſt gave their own ſelves to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God. 5

Inſomuch that we deſired Titus, that, as he had begun, 6

NOTES.

1 [a] Χάρις, which is tranſlated, "grace," is here uſed, by St. Paul, for "gift," or "liberality," and is ſo uſed, ver. 4, 6, 7, 9, 19. and 1 Cor. xvi. 3. It is called alſo χάρις Θεοῦ, the "gift of God," becauſe God is the author and procurer of it, moving their hearts to it. Beſides δεδομένην ἐν cannot ſignify "beſtowed on," but "given in," or "by."

2 [b] How ill-diſpoſed and rough to the Chriſtians the Macedonians were, may be ſeen, Acts xvi. and xvii.

ſo he would alſo finiſh in you the ſame grace alſo.

7 Therefore, as ye abound in every thing, in faith, in utterance, and knowledge, and in all diligence, and in your love to us; ſee that you abound in this grace alſo.

8 I ſpeak not by commandment, but by occaſion of the forwardneſs of others, and to prove the ſincerity of your love.

9 For ye know the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that, though he was rich, yet, for your ſakes, he became poor, that ye, through his poverty, might be rich.

10 And herein I give my advice: for this is expedient for you, who have begun before, not only to do, but alſo to be forward, a year ago.

11 Now, therefore, perform the doing of it; that, as there was a readineſs to will, ſo there may be a performance alſo, out of that which you have.

12 For, if there be firſt a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not.

13 For I mean not, that other men may be eaſed, and you burdened:

14 But, by an equality, that now, at this time, your abundance may be a ſupply for their want; that their abundance alſo may be a ſupply for your want, that there may be equality.

15 As it is written, "He that "had gathered much, had "nothing over; and he that "had gathered little, had no "lack."

16 But thanks be to God, which put the ſame earneſt

alſo ſee this charitable contribution carried on among
you, till it was perfected: That, as you excel in 7.
every thing, abounding in faith, in well-ſpeaking,
in knowledge, in every good quality, and in your
affection to me; ye might abound in this act of
charitable liberality alſo. This I ſay to you, not as 8.
a command from God, but on occaſion of the great
liberality of the churches of Macedonia, and to ſhew
the world a proof of the genuine, noble temper of
your love [a]. For ye know the munificence [b] of 9.
our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who, being rich, made himſelf
poor for your ſakes, that you, by his poverty,
might become rich. I give you my opinion in the 10.
caſe, becauſe it becomes you ſo to do, as having
begun not only to do ſomething in it, but to ſhew a
willingneſs to it, about a year ago. Now, therefore, 11.
apply yourſelves to the doing of it in earneſt; ſo
that, as you undertook it readily, you would as
readily perform it, out of what you have: For 12.
every man's charity is accepted by God, according
to the largeneſs and willingneſs of his heart, in
giving, and not according to the narrowneſs of his
fortune. For my meaning is not, that you ſhould 13.
be burdened to eaſe others: But that, at this time, 14.
your abundance ſhould make up, what they, through
want, come ſhort in; that, in another occaſion,
their abundance may ſupply your deficiency, that
there may be an equality. As it is written, "He 15.
that had much, had nothing over, and he that had
little, had no lack." But thanks be to God, who 16.
put into the heart of Titus the ſame concern for
you:

NOTES.

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8 [a] Τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης γνήσιον δοκιμάζων, "ſhewing the world a proof of the genuine temper of your love." Thus, I think, it ſhould be rendered. St. Paul, who is ſo careful, all along in this epiſtle, to ſhew his eſteem and good opinion of the Corinthians, taking all occaſions to ſpeak and preſume well of them, whereof we have an eminent example in theſe words, "ye abound in your love to us," in the immediately preceding verſe; he could not, in this place, ſo far forget his deſign, of treating them very tenderly, now they were newly returned to him, as to tell them, that he ſent Titus, for the promoting their contribution, to make a trial of "the ſincerity of their love:" this had been but an ill expreſſion of that confidence, which, ch. vii. 16. he tells them, "he has in them in all things." Taking, therefore, as, without violence to the words, one may, δοκιμάζων for "drawing out a proof," and γνήσιον for "genuine," the words very well expreſs St. Paul's obliging way of ſtirring up the Corinthians to a liberal contribution, as I have underſtood them. For St. Paul's diſcourſe to them briefly ſtands thus: "The great liberality of the poor Macedo-"nians, made me ſend Titus to you, to carry on the collection of your charity, which he had "begun, that you, who excel in all other virtues, might be eminent alſo in this. But this I "urge, not as a command from God; but, upon occaſion of others liberality, lay before you "an opportunity of giving the world a proof of the genuine temper of your charity, which, like "that of your other virtues, loves not to come behind that of others."

9 [b] Τὴν χάριν, "the grace, rather the munificence," the ſignification, wherein St. Paul uſes χάρις over and over again in this chapter, and is tranſlated "gift," ver. 4.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. VIII. you: Who not only yielded to my exhortation[a];
17. but, being more than ordinary concerned for you, of
18. his own accord went unto you: With whom I have
ſent the brother[b], who has praiſe through all the
19. churches, for his labour in the goſpel (And not that
only, but who was alſo choſen of the churches, to
accompany me, in the carrying this collection, which
ſervice I undertook for the glory of our Lord, and
for your encouragement to a liberal contribution):
20. To prevent any aſperſion might be caſt on me, by
any one, on occaſion of my meddling with the ma-
21. nagement of ſo great a ſum; And to take care, by
having ſuch men joined with me, in the ſame truſt,
that my integrity and credit ſhould be preſerved, not
only in the ſight of the Lord, but alſo in the ſight
22. of men. With them I have ſent our brother, of
whom I have had frequent experience in ſundry af-
fairs, to be a forward, active man; but now much
more earneſtly intent, by reaſon of the ſtrong perſua-
23. ſion he has, of your contributing liberally. Now,
whether I ſpeak of Titus, he is my partner, and
one, who, with me, promotes your intereſt; or the
two other brethren ſent with him, they are the meſ-
ſengers of the churches of Macedonia, by whom their
collection is ſent, and are promoters of the glory of
24. Chriſt. Give, therefore, to them, and, by them,
Chap. IX. to thoſe churches, a demonſtration of your love, and
1. a juſtification of my boaſting of you. For, as
touching the relief of the poor Chriſtians in Jeruſa-
2. lem, it is needleſs for me to write to you. For I
know the forwardneſs of your minds, which I
boaſted of, on your behalf, to the Macedonians,
that[c] Achaia was ready a year ago, and your zeal in
3. this matter hath been a ſpur to many others. Yet I
have ſent theſe brethren, that my boaſting of you
may not appear to be vain and groundleſs, in this
part; but that you may, as I ſaid, have your col-
4. lection ready: Leſt, if perchance the Macedonians
ſhould come with me, and find it not ready, I (not
to ſay, you) ſhould be aſhamed in this matter, where-
5. of I have boaſted. I thought it, therefore, neceſ-
ſary to put the brethren upon going before unto
you, to prepare things, by a timely notice before-
hand,

TEXT.

care into the heart of Titus for you.

For, indeed, he accepted the exhortation; but being more forward, of his own accord, he went unto you. 17

And we have ſent with him the brother, whoſe praiſe is in the goſpel, throughout all the churches: 18

(And not that only, but who was alſo choſen of the churches to travel with us, with this grace, which is adminiſtred by us, to the glory of the ſame Lord, and declaration of your ready mind) 19

Avoiding this, that no man ſhould blame us, in this abundance, which is adminiſtred by us: 20

Providing for honeſt things, not only in the ſight of the Lord, but alſo in the ſight of men. 21

And we have ſent with them our brother, whom we have often-times proved diligent in many things; but now, much more diligent, upon the great confidence which I have in you. 22

Whether any do inquire of Titus, he is my partner, and fellow-helper concerning you: or our brethren be inquired of, they are the meſſengers of the churches, and the glory of Chriſt. 23

Wherefore ſhew ye to them, and before the churches, the proof of your love, and of our boaſting on your behalf. 24

For, as touching the miniſtring to the ſaints, it is ſuperfluous for me to write to you. 1

For I know the forwardneſs of your mind, for which I boaſt of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago, and your zeal hath provoked very many. 2

Yet have I ſent the brethren, leſt our boaſting of you ſhould be in vain, in this behalf; that, as I ſaid, ye may be ready: 3

Leſt haply, if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we ſay not, you) ſhould be aſhamed in this ſame confident boaſting. 4

Therefore, I thought it neceſſary to exhort the brethren, that they would go before un- 5

NOTES.

17 [a] Vid. ver. 6.

18 [b] This brother moſt take to be St. Luke, who now was, and had been a long while, St. Paul's companion in his travels.

2 [c] Achaia, i. e. the church of Corinth, which was made up of the inhabitants of that town, and of the circumjacent parts of Achaia. Vid. ch. i. 1.

TEXT.

to you, and make up beforehand your bounty, whereof ye had notice before, that the ſame might be ready, as a matter of bounty, and not as of covetouſneſs.

6 But this I ſay, He, which ſoweth ſparingly, ſhall reap alſo ſparingly: and he, which ſoweth bountifully, ſhall reap alſo bountifully.

7 Every man, according as he purpoſeth in his heart, ſo let him give; not grudgingly, or of neceſſity: for God loveth a chearful giver.

8 And God is able to make all grace abound towards you; that ye, always having all ſufficiency, in all things, may abound to every good work.

9 (As it is written, "He hath "diſperſed abroad; he hath "given to the poor: his "righteouſneſs remaineth for "ever."

10 Now He that miniſtreth ſeed to the ſower, both miniſter bread for your food, and multiply your ſeed ſown, and increaſe the fruits of your righteouſneſs):

11 Being enriched in every thing to all bountifulneſs, which cauſeth, through us, thankſgiving to God.

12 For the adminiſtration of this ſervice, not only ſupplieth the want of the ſaints; but is abundant alſo, by many thankſgivings unto God.

13 (Whilſt, by the experiment of this miniſtration, they glorify God, for your profeſſed ſubjection unto the goſpel of Chriſt, and for your liberal diſtribution unto them, and unto all men);

14 And, by their prayer for you, which long after you, for the exceeding grace of God in you.

15 Thanks be unto God for his unſpeakable gift.

PARAPHRASE.

hand; that your contribution may be ready, as a
free benevolence of yours, and not as a niggardly
gift, extorted from you. This, I ſay, "He who 6.
ſoweth ſparingly, ſhall reap alſo ſparingly; and he
who ſoweth plentifully, ſhall alſo reap plentifully."
So give, as you find yourſelves diſpoſed, every one, 7.
in his own heart, not grudgingly, as if it were
wrung from you; for God loves a chearful giver.
For God is able to make every charitable gift [a] of 8.
yours redound to your advantage; that, you having
in every thing, always, a fulneſs of plenty, ye may
abound in every good work (As it is written, "He 9.
hath ſcattered, he hath given to the poor, and his
liberality [b] remaineth for ever." Now he, that ſup- 10.
plies ſeed to the ſower, and bread for food, ſupply
and multiply your ſtock of ſeed [c], and increaſe the
fruit of your liberality): Enriched in every thing to 11.
all beneficence, which, by me, as inſtrumental in it,
procureth thankſgiving to God. For the perfor- 12.
mance of this ſervice doth not only bring ſupply
to the wants of the ſaints; but reacheth farther,
even to God himſelf, by many thankſgivings (whilſt 13.
they, having ſuch a proof of you, in this your ſup-
ply, glorify God for your profeſſed ſubjection to the
goſpel of Chriſt, and for your liberality, in com-
municating to them, and to all men;) And to the 14.
procuring their prayers for you, they having a great
inclination towards you, becauſe of that gracious
gift of God beſtowed on them, by your liberality.
Thanks be to God for this his unſpeakable gift. 15.

NOTES.

8 [a] Χάρις "grace," rather "charitable gift," or "liberality," as it ſignifies in the former chapter, and as the context determines the ſenſe here.

9, 10 [b] Δικαιοσύνη "righteouſneſs," rather "liberality;" for ſo δικαιοσύνη, in ſcripture language, often ſignifies. And ſo Matt. vi. 1. for ἐλεημοσύνη "alms," ſome copies have δικαιοσύνην "liberality." And ſo Joſeph, Matt. i. 19. is called δίκαιος "juſt, benign."

10 [c] Σπόρον "ſeed ſown," rather, "your ſeed, and ſeed-plot," i. e. increaſe your plenty, to be laid out in charitable uſes.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. X. 1—XIII. 10.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul having finiſhed his exhortation to liberality, in their collection for the Chriſtians at Jeruſalem, he here reſumes his former argument, and proſecutes the main purpoſe of this epiſtle, which was totally to reduce and put a final end to the adverſe faction, (which ſeems not yet to be entirely extinct) by bringing the Corinthians wholly off from the falſe apoſtle, they had adhered to; and to re-eſtabliſh himſelf and his authority in the minds of all the members of that church. And this he does, by the ſteps, contained in the following numbers.

SECT. IV. N. 1.

CHAP. X. 1—6.

CONTENTS.

HE declares the extraordinary power he hath in preaching the goſpel, and to puniſh his oppoſers amongſt them.

PARAPHRASE.

1. NOW I, the ſame Paul, who am (as 'tis ſaid amongſt[a] you) baſe and mean, when preſent with you, but bold towards you, when abſent, beſeech you, by the meekneſs and gentleneſs[b] of
2. Chriſt: I beſeech you, I ſay, that I may not, when preſent among you, be bold, after that manner, I have reſolved to be bold towards ſome, who account that, in my conduct and miniſtry, I regulate my-
3. ſelf wholly by carnal conſiderations. For, though I live in the fleſh, yet I do not carry on the work of the goſpel (which is a warfare) according to the
4. fleſh (For the weapons of my warfare are not fleſhly[c], but ſuch, as God hath made mighty, to the pulling down of ſtrong holds, i. e. whatever is
5. made uſe of, in oppoſition): Beating down human reaſonings, and all the towering and moſt elevated ſuperſtructures raiſed thereon, by the wit of men, againſt the knowledge of God, as held forth in the goſpel; captivating all their notions, and bringing
6. them into ſubjection to Chriſt: And having by me, in a readineſs, power, wherewithal to puniſh and chaſtiſe

TEXT.

NOW I Paul, myſelf, beſeech you, by the meekneſs and gentleneſs of Chriſt, who in preſence am baſe among you, but being abſent am bold toward you. 1

But I beſeech you, that I may not be bold, when I am preſent, with that confidence, wherewith I think to be bold againſt ſome, which think of us, as if we walked according to the fleſh. 2

For, though we walk in the fleſh, we do not war after the fleſh. 3

(For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of ſtrong holds): 4

Caſting down imaginations, and every high thing, that exalteth itſelf againſt the knowledge of God; and bringing into captivity every thought, to the obedience of Chriſt: 5

And having in a readineſs 6

NOTES.

1 [a] Vid. ver. 10.

1 [b] St. Paul, thinking it fit to forbear all ſeverity, till he had by fair means reduced many of the contrary party, as he could, to a full ſubmiſſion to his authority, (vid. ver. 6.) begins, here, his diſcourſe, by conjuring them, by the meekneſs and gentleneſs of Chriſt, as an example, that might excuſe his delay of exemplary puniſhment on the ringleaders and chief offenders, without giving them reaſon to think, it was for want of power.

4 [c] What the ὅπλα σαρκικά, "the carnal weapons," and thoſe other, oppoſed to them, which he calls δυνατὰ τῷ Θεῷ, "mighty through God," are, may be ſeen, if we read and compare 1 Cor. i. 23, 24. and ii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 13. 2 Cor. iv. 2, 6.

TEXT.

to revenge all diſobedience, when your obedience is fulfilled.

PARAPHRASE.

chaſtiſe all diſobedience; when you, who have been miſled by your falſe apoſtle, withdrawing yourſelves from him, ſhall return to a perfect obedience [a].

NOTE.

6 [a] Thoſe, whom he ſpeaks to, here, are the Corinthian converts, to whom this epiſtle is written. Some of theſe had been drawn into a faction, againſt St. Paul; theſe he had been, and was endeavouring to bring back, to that obedience and ſubmiſſion, which the reſt had continued in, to him, as an apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt. The Corinthians of theſe two ſorts, are thoſe he means, when he ſays to them, chap. ii. 3. and chap. vii. 13, 15. "You all," i. e. all ye Chriſtians of Corinth and Achaia. For he, that had raiſed the faction amongſt them, and given ſo much trouble to St. Paul, was a ſtranger, and a Jew, vid. chap. xi. 22 crept in amongſt them, after St. Paul had gathered and eſtabliſhed that church, 1 Cor. iii 6, 10. 2 Cor. x. 5, 16. Of whom St. Paul ſeems to have no hopes, chap. xi. 13—15. And, therefore, he every where threatens, 1 Cor. iv. 19. and here particularly, ver. 6, and 11. to make an example of him and his adherents, (if any were ſo obſtinate to ſtick to him) when he had brought back again all the Corinthians, that he could hope to prevail on.

SECT. IV. N. 2.

CHAP. X. 7—18.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul examines the falſe apoſtle's pretenſions, and compares his own with his performances.

TEXT.

7 DO ye look on things after the outward appearance? If any man truſt to himſelf, that he is Chriſt's, let him, of himſelf, think this again, that, as he is Chriſt's, even ſo are we Chriſt's.

8 For, though I ſhould boaſt ſomewhat more of our authority, (which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your deſtruction) I ſhould not be aſhamed:

9 That I may not ſeem, as if I would terrify you by letters.

10 "For his letters (ſay they) "are weighty and powerful, "but his bodily preſence is "weak, and his ſpeech contemptible."

11 Let ſuch an one think this, that ſuch as we are in word by letters, when we are abſent, ſuch will we be alſo, in deed, when we are preſent.

12 For we dare not make ourſelves of the number, or com-

PARAPHRASE.

DO ye judge of men, by the outward appearance of things? Is it by ſuch meaſures, you take an eſtimate of me and my adverſaries? If he has confidence in himſelf, that he is Chriſt's, i. e. aſſumes to himſelf the authority of one imployed and commiſſioned by Chriſt [a]? let him, on the other ſide, count thus with himſelf, that, as he is Chriſt's, ſo I alſo am Chriſt's. 7.
Nay, if I ſhould boaſtingly ſay ſomething more [b], of the authority and power, which the Lord has given me for your edification, and not for your deſtruction *, I ſhould not be put to ſhame [c]: 8.
But that I may not ſeem to terrify you by letters, 9.
as is objected to me by ſome, Who ſay, that my letters are weighty and powerful, but my bodily preſence weak, and my diſcourſe contemptible. 10.
Let him, that ſays ſo, reckon upon this, that ſuch as I am in word, by letters, when I am abſent, ſuch ſhall I be alſo in deed, when preſent. 11.
For I dare not be ſo bold, as to rank or compare myſelf with ſome, who vaunt themſelves: but 12.

NOTES.

7 [a] Vid. chap. xi. 23.

8 [b] "More," vid. chap. xi. 23. * Another reaſon inſinuated by the apoſtle for his forbearing ſeverity to them.

[c] "I ſhould not be put to ſhame," i. e. the truth would juſtify me in it.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

CHAP. X.

PARAPHRASE.

but they, measuring themselves within themselves [a], and comparing themselves with themselves, do not
13. understand [b]. But I, for my part, will not boast of myself, in what has not been measured out, or allotted to me [c]; i. e. I will not go out of my own province, to seek matter of commendation; but proceeding orderly, in the province, which God hath measured out, and allotted to me, I have reached even unto you; i. e. I preached the goſpel in every country, as I went, till I came as far as
14. you. For I do not extend myself farther than I should, as if I had skipped over other countries in my way, without proceeding gradually to you; no, for I have reached even unto you, in preaching of the goſpel, in all countries, as I passed along [d]:
15. Not extending my boasting [e], beyond my own bounds, into provinces not allotted to me, nor vaunting myself of any thing, I have done, in another's labour [f], i. e. in a church planted by another man's pains: but having hope, that, your faith increasing, my province will be inlarged by you yet
16. farther: So that I may preach the goſpel to the yet unconverted countries beyond you, and not take glory to myself, from another man's province, where
17. all things are made ready to my hand [f]. But he that will glory, let him glory, or seek praise, from that which is committed to him by the Lord, or in that

TEXT.

pare ourselves with some, that commend themselves: but they, measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves amongst themselves, are not wise.

13 But we will not boast of things without our measure, but according to the measure of the rule, which God hath distributed to us, a measure to reach even unto you.

14 For we stretch not ourselves beyond our measure, as though we reached not unto you; for we are come as far as to you also, in preaching the goſpel of Christ:

15 Not boasting of things without our measure, that is, of other men's labours; but having hope, when your hope is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you, according to our rule, abundantly:

16 To preach the goſpel in the regions beyond you, and not to boast, in another man's line, of things made ready to our hand.

17 But he, that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.

NOTES.

12 [a] This is spoken ironically: ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, "amongst themselves," rather "within themselves." For in all likelihood, the faction and opposition against St. Paul was made by one person, as we before observed. For though he speaks here, in the plural number, which is the softer and decenter way in such cases; yet we see, in the foregoing verse, he speaks directly and expressly, as of one person; and therefore ἐν ἑαυτοῖς may, most consonantly to the apostle's meaning here, be understood to signify, "within themselves," i. e. with what they find in themselves. The whole place shewing, that this person made an estimate of himself, only by what he found in himself; and thereupon preferred himself to St. Paul, without considering, what St. Paul was, or had done.

[b] "Do not understand," that they ought not to intrude themselves into a church, planted by another man, and there vaunt themselves, and set themselves above him that planted it; which is the meaning of the four next verses.

13 [c] Ἄμετρα, here and in ver. 15. doth not signify immense, or immoderate, but something, that hath not been measured out, and allotted to him, something, that is not committed to him, nor within his province.

14 [d] This seems to charge the false, pretended apostle, who had caused all this disturbance in the church of Corinth, that, without being appointed to it, without preaching the goſpel, in his way thither, as became an apostle, he had crept into the church of Corinth.

15 [e] "Boasting," i. e. intermeddling, or assuming to myself authority to meddle, or honour for meddling.

15, 16 [f] Here St. Paul visibly taxes the false apostle, for coming into a church, converted and gathered by another, and there pretending to be some body, and to rule all. This is another thing, that makes it probable, that the opposition made to St. Paul, was but by one man, that had made himself the head of an opposite faction. For it is plain, it was a stranger, who came thither, after St. Paul had planted this church, who pretending to be more an apostle than St. Paul, with greater illumination, and more power, set up against him, to govern that church, and withdraw the Corinthians from following St. Paul's rules and doctrine. Now this can never be supposed to be a combination of men, who came to Corinth with that design, nor that they were different men, that came thither separately, each setting up for himself; for then they would have fallen out, one with another, as well as with St. Paul. And, in both cases, St. Paul must have spoken of them, in a different way, from what he does now. The same character and carriage is given to them, all throughout both these epistles; and 1 Cor. iii. 10. he plainly speaks of one man; and that setting up thus to be a preacher of the goſpel, amongst those, that were already Christians, was looked upon, by St. Paul, to be a fault, we may see, Rom. xv. 20.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.
Chap. X.

TEXT.

18 For not he, that commendeth himſelf, is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth.

PARAPHRASE.

that which is acceptable to the Lord. For not he, 18.
who commends himſelf, does thereby give a proof
of his authority, or miſſion; but he, whom the
Lord commends, by the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt [a].

NOTE.

18 [a] 'Tis of theſe weapons of his warfare, that St. Paul ſpeaks, in this chapter; and 'tis by them, that he intends to try, which is the true apoſtle, when he comes to them.

SECT. IV. N. 3.

CHAP. XI. 1—6.

CONTENTS.

HE ſhews that their pretended apoſtle, bringing to them no other Saviour, or goſpel, nor conferring greater power of miracles, than he [St. Paul] had done, was not to be preferred before him.

TEXT.

1 WOuld to God ye could bear with me a little, in my folly; and, indeed, bear with me.

2 For I am jealous over you with godly jealouſy: for I have eſpouſed you to one huſband, that I may preſent you, as a chaſte virgin, to Chriſt.

3 But I fear leſt, by any means, as the ſerpent beguiled Eve, through his ſubtilty, ſo your minds ſhould be corrupted from the ſimplicity, that is in Chriſt.

4 For if he, that cometh, preacheth another Jeſus, whom we have not preached; or if ye receive another Spirit, which ye have not received; or an-

PARAPHRASE.

1. WOuld you could bear me a little, in my folly [a];
2. and, indeed, do bear with me. For I am
jealous over you, with a jealouſy, that is for God:
for I have fitted and prepared you for one alone, to
be your huſband, viz. that I might deliver you up, a
pure virgin, to Chriſt. But I fear, leſt, ſome way 3.
or other, as the ſerpent beguiled Eve by his cunning;
ſo your minds ſhould be debauched from that ſingleneſs which is due to Chriſt [b]. For if this intruder, 4.
who has been a leader amongſt you, can preach to
you another Saviour, whom I have not preached;
or if you receive from him other, or greater gifts of
the Spirit, than thoſe you received from me; or another goſpel, than what you accepted from me; you
might

NOTES.

1 [a] "Folly;" ſo he modeſtly calls his ſpeaking in his own defence.

3 [b] Ἁπλότητος τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν· "The ſimplicity that is in," rather "towards, Chriſt," anſwers to ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ Χριστῷ, "to one huſband, Chriſt," in the immediately foregoing verſe. For ἑνὶ "one," is not put here for nothing, but makes the meaning plainly this: "I have formed and fitted you "for one perſon alone, one huſband, who is Chriſt: I am concerned, and in care, that you may "not be drawn aſide from that ſubmiſſion, that obedience, that temper of mind, that is due "ſingly to him; for I hope to put you into his hands, poſſeſſed with pure virgin thoughts, wholly "fixed on him, not divided, nor roving after any other, that he may take you to wiſe, and marry "you to himſelf for ever." 'Tis plain, their perverter, who oppoſed St. Paul, was a Jew, as we have ſeen. 'Twas from the Jews, from whom, of all, profeſſing Chriſtianity, St. Paul had moſt trouble and oppoſition. For they, having their hearts ſet upon their old religion, endeavoured to mix Judaiſm and Chriſtianity together. We may ſuppoſe the caſe, here, to be much the ſame with that, which he more fully expreſſes, in the epiſtle to the Galatians, particularly Gal. i. 6—12. and ch. iv. 9—11. and 16—21. and ch. v. 1—13. The meaning of this place here ſeems to be this: "I have taught you the goſpel alone, in its pure and unmixed ſimplicity, by which only you "can be united to Chriſt: but I fear, leſt this, your new apoſtle, ſhould draw you from it; "and that your minds ſhould not ſtick to that ſingly, but ſhould be corrupted by a mixture of "Judaiſm." After the like manner, St. Paul expreſſes Chriſtians being delivered from the law, and their freedom from the ritual obſervances of the Jews, by being married to Chriſt, Rom. vii. 4. which place may give ſome light to this.

PARAPHRASE.

might well bear with him, and allow his pretenſions
5. of being a new and greater apoſtle. For, as to the
apoſtles of Chriſt, I ſuppoſe I am not a whit be-
6. hind the chiefeſt of them. For though I am but a
mean ſpeaker, yet I am not without knowledge;
but in every thing have been made manifeſt unto
you, i. e. to be an apoſtle.

TEXT.

other goſpel, which ye have
not accepted, ye might well
bear with him.

For, I ſuppoſe, I was not a 5
whit behind the very chiefeſt
apoſtles.

But, though I be rude in 6
ſpeech, yet not in knowledge;
but we have been throughly
made manifeſt, among you,
in all things.

SECT. IV. N. 4.

CHAP. XI. 7—15.

CONTENTS.

HE juſtifies himſelf to them, in his having taken nothing of them. There had been great talk about this, and objections raiſed againſt St. Paul thereupon; vid. 1 Cor. ix. 1—3. As if, by this, he had diſcovered himſelf not to be an apoſtle: to which he there anſwers, and here toucheth it again, and anſwers another objection, which it ſeems was made, viz. that he refuſed to receive maintenance from them out of unkindneſs to them.

PARAPHRASE.

7. HAVE I committed an offence[a] in abaſing my-
ſelf, to work with my hands, neglecting my
right of maintenance, due to me, as an apoſtle, that
you might be exalted in Chriſtianity, becauſe I
8. preached the goſpel of God to you gratis? I robbed
other churches, taking wages of them, to do you
9. ſervice. And, being with you and in want, I was
chargeable to not a man of you: for the brethren,
who came from Macedonia, ſupplied me with what
I needed: and, in all things, I have kept myſelf
from being burdenſome to you, and ſo will I con-
10. tinue to do. The truth and ſincerity I owe to Chriſt
is, in what I ſay to you, viz. This boaſting of mine
ſhall not in the regions of Achaia be ſtopped in me.
11. Why ſo? Is it, becauſe I love you not? For that
12. God can be my witneſs, he knoweth. But what I
do, and ſhall do[b], is, that I may cut off all occaſion
from thoſe, who, if I took any thing of you, would
be

TEXT.

HAVE I committed an 7
offence, in abaſing my-
ſelf, that you might be ex-
alted, becauſe I have preached
to you the goſpel of God
freely?

I robbed other churches, 8
taking wages of them, to do
you ſervice.

And, when I was preſent 9
with you, and wanted, I was
chargeable to no man: for
that, which was lacking to
me, the brethren, which came
from Macedonia, ſupplied:
and in all things I have kept
myſelf from being burdenſome
unto you, and ſo will I keep
myſelf.

As the truth of Chriſt is in 10
me, no man ſhall ſtop me of
this boaſting, in the regions of
Achaia.

Wherefore? becauſe I love 11
you not? God knoweth.

But what I do, that I will 12
do, that I may cut off occa-

NOTES.

7 [a] The adverſe party made it an argument againſt St. Paul, as an evidence, that he was no apoſtle, ſince he took not from the Corinthians maintenance, 1 Cor. ix. 1—3. Another objection raiſed againſt him from hence, was, that he would receive nothing from them, becauſe he loved them not, 2 Cor. xi. 11. This he anſwers here, by giving another reaſon for his ſo doing. A third allegation was, That it was only a crafty trick in him to catch them, 2 Cor. xii. 16. which he anſwers there.

12 [b] Καὶ ποιήσω, "that I will do," rather, "and will do;" ſo the words ſtand in the Greek, and do not refer to ver 10. as a profeſſion of his reſolution to take nothing of them; but to ver. 11. to which it is joined; ſhewing that his refuſing any reward from them, was not out of unkindneſs, but for another reaſon.

TEXT.

ſion from them, which deſire occaſion, that, wherein they glory, they may be found even as we.

13 For ſuch are falſe apoſtles, deceitful workers, transforming themſelves into the apoſtles of Chriſt.

14 And no marvel; for Satan himſelf is transformed into an angel of light.

15 Therefore it is no great thing, if his miniſters alſo be transformed, as the miniſters of righteouſneſs: whoſe end ſhall be according to their works.

PARAPHRASE.

be glad of that occaſion to boaſt, that in it they had
me for a pattern, and did nothing but what even I
myſelf had done. For theſe are falſe [a] apoſtles, de- 13.
ceitful labourers in the goſpel, having put on the
counterfeit ſhape, and outſide of apoſtles of Chriſt:
And no marvel; for Satan himſelf is ſometimes tranſ- 14.
formed into an angel of light. Therefore it is not 15.
ſtrange, if ſo be his miniſters are diſguiſed ſo, as to
appear miniſters of the goſpel: whoſe end ſhall be
according to their works.

NOTE.

13 [a] They had queſtioned St. Paul's apoſtleſhip, 1 Cor. ix. becauſe of his not taking maintenance of the Corinthians. He here directly declares them to be no true apoſtles.

SECT. IV. N. 5.

CHAP. XI. 16—33.

CONTENTS.

HE goes on, in his juſtification, reflecting upon the carriage of the falſe apoſtle towards the Corinthians, ver. 16—21. He compares himſelf with the falſe apoſtle, in what he boaſts of, as being a Hebrew, ver. 21, 22. or miniſter of Chriſt, ver. 23. and here St. Paul inlarges upon his labours and ſufferings.

TEXT.

16 I Say again, Let no man think me a fool; if otherwiſe, yet as a fool receive me, that I may boaſt myſelf a little.

17 That which I ſpeak, I ſpeak it not after the Lord, but, as it were, fooliſhly, in this confidence of boaſting.

18 Seeing that many glory after the fleſh, I will glory alſo,

19 For ye ſuffer fools gladly, ſeeing ye yourſelves are wiſe.

20 For ye ſuffer, if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man

PARAPHRASE.

I Say again, Let no man think me a fool, that I 16.
ſpeak ſo much of myſelf: or, at leaſt, if it be a
folly in me, bear with me as a fool, that I too, as
well as others [a], may boaſt myſelf a little. That, 17.
which I ſay on this occaſion, is not by command
from Chriſt, but, as it were, fooliſhly, in this matter
of boaſting. Since many [b] glory in their circumci- 18.
ſion, or extraction [c], I will glory alſo. For ye bear 19.
with fools eaſily, being yourſelves wiſe [d]. For you 20.
bear with it, if a man bring you into bondage [e], i. e.
domineer over you, and uſe you like his bondmen;
if he make a prey of you; if he take, or extort preſents,

NOTES.

16 [a] Vid. ver. 18.

18 [b] Vid. ch. xii. 11.

[c] After the fleſh." What this glorying "after the fleſh," was, in particular here, vid. ver. 22. viz. being a Jew by deſcent.

19 [d] Spoken ironically, for their bearing with the inſolence and covetouſneſs of their falſe apoſtle.

20 [e] The "bondage" here meant, was, ſubjection to the will of their falſe apoſtle, as appears by the following particulars of this verſe, and not ſubjection to the Jewiſh rites. For if that had been, St. Paul was ſo zealous againſt it, that he would have ſpoke more plainly and warmly, as we ſee in his epiſtle to the Galatians; and not have touched it thus, only by the bye, ſlightly; in a doubtful expreſſion. Beſides, it is plain, no ſuch thing was yet attempted openly; only St. Paul was afraid of it; vid. ver. 3.

PARAPHRASE.

ſents, or a ſalary, from you; if he be elevated, and
high, amongſt you; if he ſmite you on the face, i. e.
21. treat you contumeliouſly. I ſpeak, according to the
reproach has been caſt upon me, as if I were weak,
i. e. deſtitute of what might ſupport me in dignity
and authority, equal to this falſe apoſtle; as if I had
not as fair pretences to power and profit amongſt you,
22. as he. Is he an Hebrew[a], i. e. by language an Hebrew?
So am I. Is he an Iſraelite, truly of the Jewiſh nation,
and bred up in that religion? So am I. Is he
of the ſeed of Abraham, really deſcended from him?
And not a proſelyte, of a foreign extraction? So am
23. I. Is he a miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt? (I ſpeak in my
fooliſh way of boaſting) I am more ſo: in toilſome
labours I ſurpaſs him: in ſtripes I am exceedingly
beyond him[b]: in priſons I have been oftener; and in
24. the very jaws of death, more than once: Of the Jews
I have, five times, received forty ſtripes ſave one.
25. Thrice was I whipped with rods: once was I ſtoned:
thrice ſhipwrecked: I have paſſed a night and a day
26. in the ſea: In journeyings often: in perils by water;
in perils by robbers; in perils by my own countrymen;
in perils from the heathen; in perils in the
city; in perils in the country; in perils at ſea; in
27. perils amongſt falſe brethren: in toil and trouble,
and ſleepleſs nights, often; in hunger and thirſt; in
28. faſtings, often; in cold and nakedneſs. Beſides theſe
troubles from without, the diſturbance that comes
daily upon me, from my concern for all the churches.
29. Who is a weak Chriſtian, in danger, through frailty
or ignorance, to be miſled, whoſe weakneſs I do not
feel and ſuffer in, as if it were my own? Who is
actually miſled, for whom my zeal and concern does
30. not make me uneaſy, as if I had a fire in me? If I
muſt be compelled[c] to glory[d], I will glory of thoſe
things which are of my weak and ſuffering ſide.
31. The God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who
is

TEXT.

take of you, if a man exalt himſelf, if a man ſmite you on the face.

21 I ſpeak, as concerning reproach, as though we had been weak: howbeit, whereinſoever any are bold, (I ſpeak fooliſhly) I am bold alſo.

22 Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Iſraelites? So am I. Are they the ſeed of Abraham? So am I.

23 Are they miniſters of Chriſt? (I ſpeak as a fool) I am more: in labours more abundant, in ſtripes above meaſure, in priſons more frequent, in deaths oft.

24 Of the Jews, five times, received I forty ſtripes ſave one.

25 Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I ſtoned, thrice I ſuffered ſhipwreck; a night and a day I have been in the deep:

26 In journeying often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderneſs, in perils in the ſea, in perils among falſe brethren;

27 In wearineſs and painfulneſs, in watchings often, in hunger and thirſt, in faſtings often, in cold and nakedneſs.

28 Beſides thoſe things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches.

29 Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?

30 If I muſt needs glory, I will glory of the things which concern mine infirmities.

31 The God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which

NOTES.

22 [a] "Is he an Hebrew?" Having, in the foregoing verſe, ſpoke in the ſingular number, I have been fain to continue the ſame number here, though different from that in the text, to avoid an inconſiſtency in the paraphraſe, which could not but ſhock the reader. But this I would be underſtood to do, without impoſing my opinion on any body, or pretending to change the text: but, as an expoſitor, to tell my reader that I think, though St. Paul ſays, "they," he means but one; as often, when he ſays, "we," he means only himſelf, the reaſon whereof I have given elſewhere.

23 [b] Ἐν πληγαῖς ὑπερβαλλόντως, "in ſtripes above meaſure," rather "in ſtripes exceeding." For theſe words, as the other particulars of this verſe, ought to be taken comparatively, with reference to the falſe apoſtle, with whom St. Paul is comparing himſelf, in the miniſtry of the goſpel. Unleſs this be underſtood ſo, there will ſeem to be a diſagreeable tautology in the following verſes; which, taking theſe words in a comparative ſenſe, are proofs of his ſaying, "In ſtripes I am exceedingly beyond him; for of the Jews five times," &c.

30 [c] "Compelled." Vid. ch. xii. 11.

[d] By Καυχᾶσθαι, which is tranſlated ſometimes "to glory," and ſometimes "to boaſt;" the apoſtle, all along, where he applies it to himſelf, means nothing, but the mentioning ſome commendable action of his, without vanity, or oſtentation, but barely upon neceſſity, on the preſent occaſion.

TEXT.

is bleſſed for evermore, knoweth that I lye not.

32 In Damaſcus, the governor under Aretas the king, kept the city of the Damaſcenes, with a garriſon, deſirous to apprehend me:

33 And, through a window, in a baſket, was I let down by the wall, and eſcaped his hands.

PARAPHRASE.

is bleſſed for ever, knoweth that I lye not. In Da- 32.
maſcus, the governor, under Aretas the king, who
kept the town with a garriſon, being deſirous to
apprehend me; I was, through a window, let down 33.
in a baſket, and eſcaped his hands.

SECT. IV. N. 6.

CHAP. XII. 1—11.

CONTENTS.

He makes good his apoſtleſhip, by the extraordinary viſions and revelations, which he had received.

TEXT.

1 It is not expedient for me, doubtleſs, to glory: I will come to viſions and revelations of the Lord.

2 I knew a man in Chriſt, above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth) ſuch an one caught up to the third heaven.

3 And I knew ſuch a man, (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth)

4 How that he was caught up into paradiſe, and heard unſpeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.

5 Of ſuch an one will I glory: yet of myſelf I will not glory, but in mine infirmities.

6 For, though I would deſire to glory, I ſhall not be a fool; for I will ſay the truth: but now I forbear, leſt any man ſhould think of me, above that which he ſeeth me to be, or that he heareth of me.

7 And, leſt I ſhould be exalted above meaſure, through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the fleſh, the meſ-

PARAPHRASE.

If I muſt be forced to glory [a] for your ſakes, (for 1.
me it is not expedient) I will come to viſions
and revelations of the Lord. I knew a man, by 2.
the power of Chriſt, above fourteen years ago,
caught up into the third heaven, whether the intire
man, body and all, or out of the body in an ecſtacy,
I know not; God knows. And I knew ſuch an
one [b], whether in the body, or out of the body, I 3.
know not, God knows, That he was caught up into 4.
paradiſe, and there heard what is not in the power
of man to utter. Of ſuch an one I will glory: but 5.
myſelf I will not mention, with any boaſting, unleſs
in things, that carry the marks of weakneſs, and
ſhew my ſufferings. But, if I ſhould have a mind 6.
to glory in other things, I might do it, without
being a fool; for I would ſpeak nothing but what
is true, having matter in abundance [c]: but I forbear,
leſt any one ſhould think of me beyond what he ſees
me, or hears commonly reported of me. And that 7.
I might not be exalted above meaſure, by reaſon of
the abundance of revelations that I had, there was
given me a thorn in the fleſh [d], the meſſenger of Satan

NOTES.

1 [a] Εἰ καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ, "If I muſt glory," is the reading of ſome copies, and is juſtified by ver. 30. of the foregoing chapter, by the vulgar tranſlation, and by the Syriac, much to the ſame purpoſe; and ſuiting better with the context, renders the ſenſe clearer.

2, 3 [b] Modeſtly ſpeaking of himſelf in a third perſon.

6 [c] Vid. ver. 7.

7 [d] "Thorn in the fleſh," what this was in particular, St. Paul having thought fit to conceal it, is not eaſy for thoſe, who come after, to diſcover, nor is it much material.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.
Chap. XII.

PARAPHRASE.

tan to buffet me, that I might not be over-much
8. elevated. Concerning this thing, I beſought the
9. Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And he
ſaid, My favour is ſufficient for thee; for my power
exerts itſelf, and its ſufficiency is ſeen the more perfectly,
the weaker thou thyſelf art. I, therefore,
moſt willingly chuſe to glory, rather in things that
ſhew my weakneſs, than in my abundance of glorious
revelations, that the power of Chriſt may the
10. more viſibly be ſeen to dwell in me. Wherefore, I
have ſatisfaction in weakneſſes, in reproaches, in neceſſities,
in perſecutions, in diſtreſſes, for Chriſt's
ſake. For when I, looked upon in my outward
ſtate, appear weak, then, by the power of Chriſt,
which dwelleth in me, I am found to be ſtrong.
11. I am become fooliſh in glorying thus; but it is you,
who have forced me to it. For I ought to have
been commended by you; ſince in nothing came I
behind the chiefeſt of the apoſtles, though in myſelf
I am nothing.

TEXT.

ſenger of Satan to buffet me, leſt I ſhould be exalted above meaſure.

For this thing I beſought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. 8

And he ſaid unto me, "My grace is ſufficient for thee: for my ſtrength is made perfect in weakneſs." Moſt gladly, therefore, will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Chriſt may reſt upon me. 9

Therefore, I take pleaſure in infirmities, in reproaches, in neceſſities, in perſecutions, in diſtreſſes for Chriſt's ſake: for when I am weak, then am I ſtrong. 10

I am become a fool in glorying: ye have compelled me: for I ought to have been commended of you; for, in nothing, am I behind the very chiefeſt apoſtles, though I be nothing. 11

SECT. IV. N. 7.

CHAP. XII. 12, 13.

CONTENTS.

He continues to juſtify himſelf to be an apoſtle, by the miracles he did, and the ſupernatural gifts, he beſtowed, amongſt the Corinthians.

PARAPHRASE.

12. Truly the ſigns, whereby an apoſtle might be
known, were wrought among you, by me,
in all patience [a] and ſubmiſſion, under the difficulties
I there met with, in miraculous, wonderful and
13. mighty works, performed by me. For what is there,
which you were any way ſhortened in, and had not
equally with other churches [b], except it be that I
myſelf was not burdenſome to you? Forgive me
this injury.

TEXT.

Truly the ſigns of an apoſtle were wrought among you, in all patience, in ſigns and wonders, and mighty deeds. 12

For what is it, wherein ye were inferior to other churches, except it be that I myſelf was not burdenſome to you? Forgive me this wrong. 13

NOTES.

12 [a] This may well be underſtood to reflect on the haughtineſs and plenty, wherein the falſe apoſtle lived amongſt them.

13 [b] Vid. 1 Cor. i. 4—7.

SECT.

SECT. IV. N. 8.

CHAP. XII. 14—21.

CONTENTS.

HE farther juſtifies himſelf, to the Corinthians, by his paſt diſintereſtedneſs, and his continued kind intentions to them.

TEXT.

14 BEhold, the third time, I am ready to come to you; and I will not be burdenſome to you; for I ſeek not yours, but you: for the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children.

15 And I will very gladly ſpend, and be ſpent, for you; though, the more abundantly I love you, the leſs I be loved.

16 "But be it ſo, I did not "burden you: nevertheleſs "being crafty, I caught you "with guile."

17 Did I make a gain of you, by any of them, whom I ſent unto you?

18 I deſired Titus, and with him I ſent a brother: did Titus make a gain of you? Walked we not in the ſame ſpirit? Walked we not in the ſame ſteps?

19 Again, think you that we excuſe ourſelves unto you? We ſpeak before God, in

PARAPHRASE.

BEhold, this is the third time, I am ready to 14.
come unto you; but I will not be burdenſome
to you; for I ſeek not what is yours, but you: for
'tis not expected, nor uſual, that children ſhould
lay up for their parents, but parents [a] for their
children. I will gladly lay out, whatever is in my 15.
poſſeſſion, or power; nay, even wear out and hazard
myſelf for your ſouls [b], though it ſhould ſo fall out
that the more I love you, the leſs I ſhould be be-
loved by you [c]. "Be it ſo, as ſome ſuggeſt, that I 16.
"was not burdenſome to you; but it was in truth
"out of cunning, with a deſign to catch you, with
"that trick, drawing from you, by others, what
"I refuſed in perſon." In anſwer to which, I aſk, 17.
Did I, by any of thoſe, I ſent unto you, make a
gain of you? I deſired Titus to go to you, and with 18.
him I ſent a brother: Did Titus make a gain of
you? Did not they behave themſelves with the ſame
temper, that I did, amongſt you? Did we not walk
in the ſame ſteps? i. e. neither they, nor I, received
any thing from you. Again [d], do not, upon my 19.
mentioning my ſending of Titus to you, think that
I apologize for my not coming myſelf: I ſpeak,
as in the preſence of God, and as a Chriſtian, there
is

NOTES.

14 [a] Vid. 1 Cor. iv. 14, 15.

15 [b] Vid. 2 Tim. ii. 10.

[c] Vid. ch. vi. 12, 13.

19 [d] He had before given the reaſon, chap. i. 23. of his not coming to them, with the like aſſeveration that he uſes here. If we trace the thread of St. Paul's diſcourſe here, we may obſerve, that having concluded the juſtification of himſelf and his apoſtleſhip by his paſt actions, ver. 13. he had it in his thoughts to tell them, how he would deal with the falſe apoſtle and his adherents, when he came, as he was ready now to do. And, therefore, ſolemnly begins, ver. 14. with "behold;" and tells them now, "the third time," he was ready to come to them, to which joining, (what was much upon his mind) that he would not be burdenſome to them, when he came, this ſuggeſted to his thoughts an objection, viz. that this perſonal ſhineſs in him was but cunning; for that he deſigned to draw gain from them, by other hands. From which he clears himſelf: by the inſtance of Titus, and the brother, whom he had ſent together to them, who were as far from receiving any thing from them, as he himſelf. Titus and his other meſſenger being thus mentioned, he thought it neceſſary to obviate another ſuſpicion, that might be raiſed in the minds of ſome of them, as if he mentioned the ſending of thoſe two, as an apology for his not coming himſelf. This he diſclaims utterly; and, to prevent any thoughts of that kind, ſolemnly proteſts to them, that, in all his carriage to them, he had done nothing, but for their edification; nor had any other aim, in any of his actions, but purely that; and that he forbore coming merely out of reſpect and good will to them. So that all, from "Behold, this third time, I am ready to come to you," ver. 14. to "this third time I am coming to you," chap. xiii. 1. muſt be looked on, as an incident diſcourſe, that fell in occaſionally, though tending to the ſame purpoſe with the reſt; a way of writing very uſual with our apoſtle, and with other writers, who abound in quickneſs and variety of thoughts, as he did. Such men are often, by new matter riſing in their way, put by, from what they were going, and had begun, to ſay; which, therefore, they are fain to take up again, and continue at a diſtance; which St. Paul does here, after the interpoſition of eight verſes. Other inſtances of the like kind, may be found in other places of St. Paul's writings.

Anno Christi 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. XII. is no ſuch thing: in all my whole carriage towards you, beloved, all that has been done, has been done only for your edification. No, there is no need of
20. an apology for my not coming to you ſooner: For I fear, when I do come, I ſhall not find you ſuch as I would, and that you will find me ſuch as you would not: I am afraid, that among you there are diſputes, envyings, animoſities, ſtrifes, backbitings,
21. whiſperings, ſwellings of mind, diſturbances: And that my God, when I come to you again, will humble me amongſt you, and I ſhall bewail many, who have formerly ſinned, and have not yet repented of the uncleanneſs, fornication, and laſciviouſneſs, whereof they are guilty.

TEXT.

Chriſt: but we do all things, dearly beloved, for your edifying.

For I fear, leſt, when I come, I ſhall not find you ſuch as I would, and that I ſhould be found unto you ſuch as ye would not: leſt there be debates, envyings, wraths, ſtrifes, backbitings, whiſperings, ſwellings, tumults: 20

And leſt, when I come again, my God will humble me among you, and that I ſhall bewail many, which have ſinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanneſs, and fornication, and laſciviouſneſs, which they have committed. 21

SECT. IV. N. 9.

CHAP. XIII. 1—10.

CONTENTS.

HE reaſſumes what he was going to ſay, chap. xii. 14. and tells them, how he intends to deal with them, when he comes to them, and aſſures them, that, however they queſtion it, he ſhall be able, by miracles, to give proof of his authority and commiſſion from Chriſt.

PARAPHRASE.

1. THIS is, now, the third time I am coming to you; and, when I come, I ſhall not ſpare you, having proceeded, according to our Saviour's rule, and endeavoured by fair means, firſt to reclaim
2. you, before I come to the laſt extremity. And of this my former epiſtle, wherein I applied myſelf to you, and this, wherein I now, as if I were preſent with you, foretel thoſe, who have formerly ſinned, and all the reſt, to whom being now abſent, I write, that when I come, I will not ſpare you. I ſay, theſe two letters are my witneſſes, according to our Saviour's rule, which ſays, "In the mouth of two or three witneſſes every word ſhall be eſta-
3. bliſhed[*]:" Since you demand a proof of my miſſion, and of what I deliver, that it is dictated by Chriſt, ſpeaking in me, who muſt be acknowledged not

TEXT.

THIS is the third time I am coming to you: in the mouth of two or three witneſſes ſhall every word be eſtabliſhed. 1

I told you before, and foretel you, as if I were preſent the ſecond time; and, being abſent, now I write to them, which heretofore have ſinned, and to all other, that, if I come again, I will not ſpare: 2

Since ye ſeek a proof of Chriſt ſpeaking in me, which 3

NOTE.

2 [*] "In the mouth of two or three witneſſes, ſhall every word be eſtabliſhed." Theſe words ſeem to be quoted from the law of our Saviour, Matt. xviii. 16. and not from the law of Moſes in Deuteronomy; not only becauſe the words are the ſame with thoſe in St. Matthew, but from the likeneſs of the caſe. In Deuteronomy, the rule given concerns only judicial trials: In St. Matthew, it is a rule given for the management of perſuaſion, uſed for the reclaiming an offender, by fair means before coming to the utmoſt extremity, which is the caſe of St. Paul here: In Deuteronomy the judge was to hear the witneſſes, Deut. xvii. 6. and xix. 15. In St. Matthew, the party was

TEXT.

to you-ward is not weak, but is mighty in you.

4 For, though he was crucified through weakneſs, yet he liveth by the power of God: for we alſo are weak in him, but we ſhall live, with him, by the power of God towards you.

5 Examine yourſelves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own ſelves: know ye not your own ſelves, how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, except ye be reprobates?

6 But I truſt that ye ſhall know, that we are not reprobates.

7 Now I pray to God, that ye do no evil; not that we ſhould appear approved, but that ye ſhould do that which is honeſt, though we be as reprobates.

8 For we can do nothing againſt the truth, but for the truth.

9 For we are glad, when we are weak, and ye are ſtrong:

PARAPHRASE.

not to be weak to you-ward, but has given ſufficient
marks of his power amongſt you. For, though his 4.
crucifixion and death were with appearance [a] of
weakneſs; yet he liveth with the manifeſtation [a] of
the power of God, appearing in my puniſhing you.
You examine me, whether I can, by any miraculous 5.
operation, give a proof, that Chriſt is in me. Pray,
examine yourſelves, whether you be in the faith;
make a trial upon yourſelves, whether you yourſelves
are not ſomewhat deſtitute of proofs [b]. Or,
are you ſo little acquainted with yourſelves, as not
to know, whether Chriſt be in you? But, if you do 6.
not know yourſelves, whether you can give proofs
or no, yet I hope, you ſhall know, that I am not
unable to give proof [b] of Chriſt in me. But I pray 7.
to God that you may do no evil, wiſhing not for an
opportunity to ſhew my proofs [b]: but that, you doing
what is right, I may be, as if I had no proofs [b],
no ſupernatural power. For, though I have the 8.
power of puniſhing ſupernaturally, I cannot ſhew
this power upon any of you, unleſs it be that you are
offenders, and your puniſhment be for the advantage
of the goſpel. I am, therefore, glad, when I am 9.
weak, and can inflict no puniſhment upon you; and
you are ſtrong, i. e. clear of faults, that ye cannot
be touched. For all the power I have, is only for
promoting

NOTES.

was to hear the witneſſes, Matt. xviii. 17. which was alſo the caſe of St. Paul here; the witneſſes, which he means, that he made uſe of, to perſuade them, being his two epiſtles. That, by witneſſes, he means his two epiſtles; is plain from his way of expreſſing himſelf here, where he carefully ſets down his telling them twice, viz. "before," in his former epiſtle, ch. iv. 19. and now a "ſecond time," in his ſecond epiſtle; and alſo, by theſe words, ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον, "as if I were preſent with you a ſecond time." By our Saviour's rule, the offended perſon was to go twice to the offender; and therefore St. Paul ſays, "as if I were with you a ſecond time," counting his letters, as two perſonal applications to them, as our Saviour directed, ſhould be done, before coming to rougher means. Some take the witneſſes to be the three meſſengers, by whom his firſt epiſtle is ſuppoſed to be ſent. But this would not be, according to the method, preſcribed by our Saviour, in the place, from which St. Paul takes the words he uſes: for there were no witneſſes to be made uſe of, in the firſt application; neither, if thoſe had been the witneſſes meant, would there have been any need for St. Paul, ſo carefully and expreſly, to have ſet down ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον, "as if preſent a ſecond time," words which, in that caſe, would be ſuperfluous. Beſide, thoſe three men are no-where mentioned, to have been ſent by him, to perſuade them, nor the Corinthians required to hear them, or reproved for not having done it: and laſtly, they could not be better witneſſes of St. Paul's endeavours, twice to gain the Corinthians, by fair means, before he proceeded to ſeverity, than the epiſtles themſelves.

4 [a] Ἐξ ἀσθενείας, "through weakneſs," ἐκ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ, "by the power of God," I have rendered "with the appearance of weakneſs, and with the manifeſtation of the power of God;" which, I think, the ſenſe of the place, and the ſtyle of the apoſtle, will juſtify. St. Paul, ſometimes, uſes the Greek prepoſitions, in a larger ſenſe, than that tongue ordinarily allows. Farther, it is evident, that ἐξ, joined to ἀσθενείας, has not a caſual ſignification; and therefore, in the antitheſis, ἐκ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ, it cannot be taken caſually. And it is uſual for St. Paul, in ſuch caſes, to continue the ſame word, though it happens, ſometimes, ſeemingly to carry the ſenſe another way. In ſhort, the meaning of the place is this; "Tho' Chriſt, in his crucifixion, appeared weak and deſpicable; yet he "now lives, to ſhew the power of God, in the miracles, and mighty works, which he "does: ſo I, though I, by my ſufferings and infirmities, appear weak and contemptible; yet "ſhall I live to ſhew the power of God, in puniſhing you miraculouſly."

5, 6, 7 [b] Ἀδόκιμοι, tranſlated here "reprobates," 'tis plain in theſe three verſes has no ſuch ſignification, reprobation being very remote from the argument the apoſtle is here upon; but the word ἀδόκιμος, is here uſed for one, that cannot give proof of Chriſt being in him; one that is deſtitute of a ſupernatural power: for thus ſtands St. Paul's diſcourſe, ver. 3. ἐπεὶ δοκιμὴν ζητεῖτε, ver. 6. γνώσεσθε ὅτι οὐκ ἀδόκιμοι ἐσμεν, "Since you ſeek a proof, you ſhall know, that I am not deſtitute of a proof."

PARAPHRASE. **TEXT.**

promoting the truth of the goſpel; whoever are faithful and obedient to that, I can do nothing to; I cannot make examples of them, by all the extraordinary power I have, if I would; nay, this alſo I wiſh, even your perfection.

10. Theſe things, therefore, I write to you, being abſent, that when I come, I may not uſe ſeverity, according to the power which the Lord hath given me, for edification, not for deſtruction.

and this alſo we wiſh, even your perfection.

Therefore I write theſe things, being abſent; leſt, being preſent, I ſhould uſe ſharpneſs, according to the power, which the Lord hath given me, to edification, and not to deſtruction. 10

SECT. V.

CHAP. XIII. 11—14.

CONCLUSION.

PARAPHRASE.

11. Finally, brethren, farewel: bring yourſelves into one well united, firm, un-jarring ſociety [a]. Be of good comfort; be of one mind; live in peace, and the God of love and peace ſhall be with you.
12. Salute one another with a holy kiſs:
13. All the ſaints ſalute you.
14. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you all. Amen.

TEXT.

Finally, brethren, farewel; be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace ſhall be with you. 11

Greet one another with an holy kiſs. 12

All the ſaints ſalute you. 13

The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you all. Amen. 14

NOTE.

11 [a] The ſame, that he exhorts them to, in the beginning of the firſt epiſtle, ch. i. ver. 10.

A
PARAPHRASE
AND
NOTES
ON THE
EPISTLE of St. *PAUL*
TO THE
ROMANS.

SYNOPSIS.

Written from Corinth, Anno Æræ vulg. 57, Neronis 3.

BEFORE we take into conſideration the epiſtle to the Romans in particular, it may not be amiſs to premiſe, that the miraculous birth, life, death, reſurrection and aſcenſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, were all events, that came to paſs within the confines of Judea; and that the ancient writings of the Jewiſh nation, allowed by the Chriſtians to be of divine original, were appealed to, as witneſſing the truth of his miſſion and doctrine, whereby it was manifeſt, that the Jews were the depoſitaries of the proofs of the Chriſtian religion. This could not chuſe but give the Jews, who were owned to be the people of God, even in the days of our Saviour, a great authority among the convert Gentiles, who knew nothing of the Meſſiah, they were to believe in, but what they derived from that nation, out of which he and his doctrine ſprung. Nor did the Jews fail to make uſe of this advantage, ſeveral ways, to the diſturbance of the Gentiles, that embraced Chriſtianity. The Jews, even thoſe of them that received the Goſpel, were, for the moſt part, ſo devoted to the law of Moſes and their ancient rites, that they could, by no means, bring themſelves to think, that they were to be laid aſide. They were, every where, ſtiff and zealous for them, and contended that they were neceſſary to be obſerved, even by Chriſtians, by all that pretended to be the people of God, and hoped to be accepted by him. This gave no ſmall trouble to the newly converted Gentiles, and was a great prejudice to the Goſpel, and therefore we find it complained of, in more places than one; vid. Acts xv. 1. 2 Cor. xi. 3. Gal. ii. 4. and v. 1, 10, 12. Phil. iii. 2. Col. ii. 4, 8, 16. Tit. i. 10, 11, 14, &c. This remark may ſerve to give light, not only to this epiſtle to the Romans, but to ſeveral other of St. Paul's epiſtles, written to the churches of converted Gentiles.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

As to this epiſtle to the Romans, the Apoſtle's principal aim in it ſeems to be, to perſuade them to a ſteady perſeverance in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, by convincing them, that God is the God of the Gentiles, as well as of the Jews; and that now, under the Goſpel, there is no difference between Jew and Gentile. This he does ſeveral ways.

1. By ſhewing that, though the Gentiles were very ſinful, yet the Jews, who had the law, kept it not, and ſo could not, upon account of their having the law (which being broken, aggravated their faults, and made them as far from righteous, as the Gentiles themſelves) have a title to exclude the Gentiles, from being the people of God, under the Goſpel.

2. That, Abraham was a father of all that believe, as well uncircumciſed, as circumciſed; ſo that thoſe, that walk in the ſteps of the faith of Abraham, though uncircumciſed, are the ſeed, to which the promiſe is made, and ſhall receive the bleſſing.

3. That, it was the purpoſe of God, from the beginning, to take the Gentiles to be his people under the Meſſias, in the place of the Jews, who had been ſo, till that time, but were then nationally rejected, becauſe they nationally rejected the Meſſias, whom he ſent to them to be their King and Deliverer, but was received by but a very ſmall number of them, which remnant was received into the kingdom of Chriſt, and ſo continued to be his people, with the converted Gentiles, who all together made now the church and people of God.

4. That, the Jewiſh nation had no reaſon to complain of any unrighteouſneſs in God, or hardſhip from him, in their being caſt off, for their unbelief, ſince they had been warned of it, and they might find it threatened in their antient prophets. Beſides, the raiſing, or depreſſing of any nation is the prerogative of God's ſovereignty. Preſervation in the land, that God has given them, being not the right of any one race of men, above another. And God might, when he thought fit, reject the nation of the Jews, by the ſame ſovereignty, whereby he at firſt choſe the poſterity of Jacob to be his people, paſſing by other nations, even ſuch as deſcended from Abraham and Iſaac: but yet he tells them, that at laſt they ſhall be reſtored again.

Besides the aſſurance he labours to give the Romans, that they are, by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, the people of God, without circumciſion, or other obſervances of the Jews, whatever they may ſay, (which is the main drift of this epiſtle), it is farther remarkable, that this epiſtle being writ to a church of Gentiles, in the metropolis of the Roman empire, but not planted by St. Paul himſelf, he, as Apoſtle of the Gentiles, out of care that they ſhould rightly underſtand the Goſpel, has woven into his diſcourſe the chief doctrines of it, and given them a comprehenſive view of God's dealing with mankind, from firſt to laſt, in reference to eternal life. The principal heads whereof are theſe:

That, by Adam's tranſgreſſion, ſin entered into the world, and death by ſin, and ſo death reigned over all men, from Adam to Moſes.

That, by Moſes, God gave the children of Iſrael (who were his people, i. e. owned him for their God, and kept themſelves free from the idolatry and revolt of the heathen world) a law, which if they obeyed, they ſhould have life thereby, i. e. attain to immortal life, which had been loſt by Adam's tranſgreſſion.

That, though this law, which was righteous, juſt and good, were ordained to life, yet not being able to give ſtrength, to perform what it could not but require, it failed, by reaſon of the weakneſs of human nature, to help men to life. So that, though the Iſraelites had ſtatutes, which if a man did, he ſhould live in them; yet they all tranſgreſſed, and attained not to righteouſneſs and life, by the deeds of the law.

That, therefore, there was no way to life left to thoſe under the law, but by the righteouſneſs of faith in Jeſus Chriſt, by which faith alone they were that ſeed of Abraham, to whom the bleſſing was promiſed.

This was the ſtate of the Iſraelites.

As to the Gentile world; he tells them,

That, though God made himſelf known to them, by legible characters of his being and power, viſible in the works of the creation; yet they glorified him not, nor were thankful to him; they did not own nor worſhip the one, only, true, inviſible God, the creator of all things, but revolted from him, to gods ſet up by themſelves, in their own vain imaginations, and worſhipped ſtocks and ſtones, the corruptible images of corruptible things.

That, they having thus caſt off their allegiance to him, their proper Lord, and revolted to other gods, God, therefore, caſt them off, and gave them up to vile affections, and to the conduct of their own darkned hearts, which led them into all ſorts of vices.

That, both Jews and Gentiles, being thus all under ſin, and coming ſhort of the glory of God: God, by ſending his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, ſhews himſelf to be the God both of Jews and Gentiles, ſince he juſtifieth the circumciſion by faith, and the uncircumciſion through faith, ſo that all, that believe, are freely juſtified by his grace.

That, though juſtification unto eternal life be only by grace, through faith in Jeſus Chriſt; yet we are, to the utmoſt of our power, ſincerely to endeavour after righteouſneſs, and from our hearts obey the precepts of the Goſpel, whereby we become the ſervants of God, for his ſervants we are whom we obey, whether of ſin unto death, or of obedience unto righteouſneſs.

These are but ſome of the more general and comprehenſive heads of the Chriſtian doctrine, to be found in this epiſtle. The deſign of a ſynopſis will not permit me to deſcend more minutely to particulars. But this let me ſay, that he, that would have an enlarged view of true Chriſtianity, will do well to ſtudy this epiſtle.

Several exhortations, ſuited to the ſtate that the Chriſtians of Rome were then in, make up the latter part of the epiſtle.

This epiſtle was writ from Corinth, the year of our Lord, according to the common account, 57, the third year of Nero, a little after the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians.

SECT. I.

CHAP. I. 1—15.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION, with his profeſſion of a deſire to ſee them.

TEXT.

1 PAUL a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, called to be an apoſtle, ſeparated unto the goſpel of God,

2 (Which he had promiſed afore, by his prophets, in the holy ſcriptures)

3 Concerning his ſon Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, (which was made of the ſeed of David, according to the fleſh;

4 And declared to be the ſon

PARAPHRASE.

PAUL a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, called [a] to be an 1.
Apoſtle, ſeparated [b] to the preaching of the
Goſpel of God (Which he had heretofore promiſed, 2.
by his prophets, in the holy ſcriptures) Concerning 3.
his ſon Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; (who according to
the fleſh, i. e. as to the body, which he took in the
womb of the bleſſed virgin, his mother, was of the
poſterity and lineage of David [c]; According to the 4.
ſpirit

NOTES.

1 [a] "Called." The manner of his being called, ſee Acts ix. 1—22.

[b] Separated, vid. Acts xiii. 2.

3 [c] "Of David," and ſo would have been regiſtered of the houſe and lineage of David, as both his mother and reputed father were, if there had been another tax in his days. Vid. Luke ii. 4. Matt. xiii. 55.

PARAPHRASE.

ſpirit of holineſs [a], i. e. as to that more pure and
ſpiritual part, which in him over-ruled all, and kept
even his frail fleſh holy, and ſpotleſs from the leaſt
taint of ſin [b], and was of another extraction, with
moſt mighty power [c], declared [d] to be the ſon of God,
5. by his reſurrection from the dead; By whom I have
received favour, and the office of an Apoſtle, for
the bringing of the Gentiles, every where, to the
6. obedience of faith, which I preach in his name; Of
which number, i. e. Gentiles, that I am ſent to
preach to, are ye who are already called [e], and be-
7. come Chriſtians). To all the beloved of God [f], and cal-
led to be ſaints, who are in Rome, favour and peace
be to you from God our Father, and the Lord Jeſus
8. Chriſt. In the firſt place, I thank my God, through
Jeſus Chriſt for you all, that your faith is ſpoken of
9. throughout the whole world. For God is my witneſs,
whom I ſerve with the whole bent of my mind, in
preaching the goſpel of his ſon, that without ceaſing
10. I conſtantly make mention of you in my prayers, Re-
queſting (if it be God's will, that I may now at length,
if poſſible, have a good opportunity) to come unto you.
11. For I long to ſee you, that I may communicate to
you ſome ſpiritual gift [g], for your eſtabliſhment [h] in
12. the faith, That is [i], that when I am among you, I
may

TEXT.

of God with power, according to the ſpirit of holineſs, by the reſurrection from the dead:

By whom we have received grace and apoſtleſhip, for obedience to the faith among all nations, for his name; 5

Among whom are ye alſo the called of Jeſus Chriſt:) 6

To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be ſaints: Grace to you, and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. 7

Firſt, I thank my God, through Jeſus Chriſt, for you all, that your faith is ſpoken of, throughout the whole world. 8

For God is my witneſs, whom I ſerve with my ſpirit, in the goſpel of his ſon, that without ceaſing I make mention of you always in my prayers; 9

Making requeſt (if by any means, now at length, I might have a proſperous journey, by the will of God) to come unto you. 10

For I long to ſee you, that I may impart unto you ſome ſpiritual gift, to the end you may be eſtabliſhed; 11

That is, that I may be com- 12

NOTES.

4 [a] “According to the ſpirit of holineſs,” is here manifeſtly oppoſed to, “according to the fleſh,” in the foregoing verſe, and ſo muſt mean that more pure and ſpiritual part in him, which, by divine extraction, he had immediately from God; unleſs this be ſo underſtood, the antitheſis is loſt.

[b] See paraphraſe, chap. viii. 3.

[c] Ἐν δυνάμει, with power: he that will read in the original what St. Paul ſays, Eph. i. 19, 20. of the power, which God exerted, in raiſing Chriſt from the dead, will hardly avoid thinking that he there ſees St. Paul labouring for words to expreſs the greatneſs of it.

[d] “Declared” does not exactly anſwer the word in the original, nor is it, perhaps, eaſy to find a word in Engliſh, that perfectly anſwers ὁρισθέντος, in the ſenſe the Apoſtle uſes it here, ὁρίζειν ſignifies properly to bound, terminate, or circumſcribe, by which termination the figure of things ſenſible is made, and they are known to be of this, or that race, and are diſtinguiſhed from others. Thus St. Paul takes Chriſt's reſurrection from the dead, and his entering into immortality, to be the moſt eminent and characteriſtical mark, whereby Chriſt is certainly known, and as it were determined to be the ſon of God.

6 [e] To take the thread of St. Paul's words here right, all from the word Lord in the middle of ver. 3. to the beginning of this 7th, muſt be read as a parentheſis.

6 and 7 [f] “Called of Jeſus Chriſt; called to be ſaints; beloved of God;” are but different expreſſions for profeſſors of Chriſtianity.

11 [g] “Spiritual gift.” If any one deſire to know more particularly the ſpiritual gifts, he may read 1 Cor. xii.

[h] “Eſtabliſhment.” The Jews were the worſhippers of the true God, and had been, for many ages, his people; this could not be denied by the Chriſtians. Whereupon they were very apt to perſuade the convert Gentiles, that the Meſſias was promiſed, and ſent to the Jewiſh nation alone, and that the Gentiles could claim, or have no benefit by him; or, if they were to receive any benefit by the Meſſias, they were yet bound to obſerve the law of Moſes, which was the way of worſhip, which God had preſcribed to his people. This, in ſeveral places, very much ſhook the Gentile converts. St. Paul makes it (as we have already obſerved) his buſineſs, in this epiſtle, to prove, that the Meſſias was intended for the Gentiles, as much as for the Jews, and that to make any one partaker of the benefits and privileges of the Goſpel, there was nothing more required, but to believe and obey it: And accordingly, here in the entrance of the epiſtle, he wiſhes to come to Rome, that, by imparting ſome miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghoſt to them, they might be eſtabliſhed in the true notion of Chriſtianity, againſt all attempts of the Jews, who would either exclude them from the privileges of it, or bring them under the law of Moſes. So, where St. Paul expreſſes his care, that the Coloſſians ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the faith, Col. ii. 7. it is viſible, by the context, that what he oppoſed was Judaiſm.

12 [i] “That is.” St. Paul, in the former verſe, had ſaid that he deſired to come amongſt them, to eſtabliſh them; in theſe words, “that is,” he explains, or as it were recals, what he had ſaid, that he might not ſeem to think them not ſufficiently inſtructed, or eſtabliſhed in the faith, and there-

fore

TEXT.

forted together with you, by the mutual faith both of you and me.

13 Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purpoſed to come unto you (but was let hitherto) that I might have ſome fruit among you alſo, even as among other Gentiles.

14 I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians, both to the wiſe and to the unwiſe.

15 So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the goſpel to you that are at Rome alſo.

PARAPHRASE.

CHAP. I.

may be comforted together with you, both with your
faith and my own. This I think fit you ſhould know, 13.
brethren, that I often purpoſed to come unto you,
that I may have ſome fruit of my miniſtry, among
you alſo, even as among other Gentiles. I owe, 14.
what ſervice I can do, to the Gentiles of all kinds,
whether Greeks or Barbarians, to both the more
knowing and civilized, and the uncultivated and ignorant; 15.
So that, as much as in me lies, I am ready
to preach the goſpel to you alſo, who are at Rome.

NOTE.

fore turns the end of his coming to them, to their mutual rejoicing in one another's faith, when he and they came to ſee and know one another.

SECT. II.

CHAP. I. 16—II. 29.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul, in this ſection, ſhews, that the Jews exclude themſelves from being the people of God, under the goſpel, by the ſame reaſon that they would have the Gentiles excluded.

It cannot be ſufficiently admired how ſkilfully, to avoid offending thoſe of his own nation, St. Paul here enters into an argument, ſo unpleaſing to the Jews, as this of perſuading them, that the Gentiles had as good a title to be taken in, to be the people of God, under the Meſſias, as they themſelves, which is the main deſign of this epiſtle.

In this latter part of the firſt chapter, he gives a deſcription of the Gentile world, in very black colours, but very adroitly interweaves ſuch an apology for them, in reſpect of the Jews, as was ſufficient to beat that aſſuming nation, out of all their pretences to a right, to continue to be alone the people of God, with an excluſion of the Gentiles. This may be ſeen, if one carefully attends to the particulars, that he mentions, relating to the Jews and Gentiles, and obſerves how, what he ſays of the Jews, in the ſecond chapter, anſwers to what he had charged on the Gentiles, in the firſt. For there is a ſecret compariſon of them, one with another, runs through theſe two chapters, which, as ſoon as it comes to be minded, gives ſuch a light and luſtre to St. Paul's diſcourſe, that one cannot but admire the ſkilful turn of it; and look on it as the moſt ſoft, the moſt beautiful, and moſt preſſing argumentation, that one ſhall any where meet with, altogether: Since it leaves the Jews nothing to ſay for themſelves, why they ſhould have the privilege continued to them, under the Goſpel, of being alone the people of God. All the things, they ſtood upon, and boaſted in, giving them no preference, in this reſpect, to the Gentiles; nor any ground to judge them to be uncapable, or unworthy to be their fellow-ſubjects, in the kingdom of the Meſſias. This is what he ſays, ſpeaking of them nationally. But as to every one's perſonal concerns in a future ſtate, he aſſures them, both Jews and Gentiles, that the unrighteous of both nations, whether admitted, or not, into the viſible communion of the people of God, are liable to condemnation. Thoſe, who have ſinned without law, ſhall periſh without law; and thoſe, who have ſinned in the law, ſhall be judged, i. e. condemned by the law.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis

Chap. I.

Perhaps ſome readers will not think it ſuperfluous, if I give a ſhort draught of St. Paul's management of himſelf here, for allaying the ſourneſs of the Jews, againſt the Gentiles, and their offence at the Goſpel, for allowing any of them place among the people of God, under the Meſſias.

After he had declared that the Goſpel is the power of God unto ſalvation, to thoſe who believe; to the Jew firſt, and alſo to the Gentile; and that the way of this ſalvation is revealed to be, by the righteouſneſs of God, which is by faith; he tells them, that the wrath of God is alſo now revealed againſt all atheiſm, polytheiſm, idolatry, and vice whatſoever, of men holding the truth in unrighteouſneſs, becauſe they might come to the knowledge of the true God, by the viſible works of the creation; ſo that the Gentiles were without excuſe, for turning from the true God to idolatry, and the worſhip of falſe gods, whereby their hearts were darkened; ſo that they were without God in the world. Wherefore, God gave them up to vile affections, and all manner of vices, in which ſtate, though, by the light of nature, they knew what was right, yet underſtanding not that ſuch things were worthy of death, they not only do them themſelves, but abſtaining from cenſure, live fairly, and in fellowſhip with thoſe that do them. Whereupon he tells the Jews, that they are more inexcuſable than the Heathen, in that they judge, abhor, and have in averſion, the Gentiles, for what they themſelves do with greater provocation. Their cenſure and judgment in the caſe is unjuſt and wrong: But the judgment of God is always right and juſt, which will certainly overtake thoſe, who judge others, for the ſame things they do themſelves; and do not conſider, that God's forbearance to them ought to bring them to repentance. For God will render to every one according to his deeds; to thoſe that in meekneſs and patience continue in well-doing, everlaſting life; but to thoſe, who are cenſorious, proud and contentious, and will not obey the Goſpel, condemnation and wrath, at the day of judgment, whether they be Jews or Gentiles: For God puts no difference between them. Thou, that art a Jew, boaſteſt that God is thy God; that he has enlightened thee by the law that he himſelf gave thee from heaven, and hath, by that immediate revelation, taught thee what things are excellent and tend to life, and what are evil and have death annexed to them. If, therefore, thou tranſgreſſeſt, doſt not thou more diſhonour God and provoke him, than a poor heathen, that knows not God, nor that the things he doth, deſerve death, which is their reward? Shall not he, if, by the light of nature, he do what is comformable to the revealed law of God, judge thee, who haſt received that law from God, by revelation, and breakeſt it? Shall not this, rather than circumciſion, make him an Iſraelite? For he is not a Jew, i. e. one of God's people, who is one outwardly, by circumciſion of the fleſh, but he that is one inwardly, by the circumciſion of the heart.

PARAPHRASE.

16. FOR I am not aſhamed to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt, even at Rome itſelf, that miſtreſs of the world: for, whatever it may be thought of there [a], by that vain and haughty people, it is that, wherein God exerts himſelf, and ſhews his power [b], for the ſalvation of thoſe who believe, of the Jews in the
17. firſt [c] place, and alſo of the Gentiles. For therein is the righteouſneſs [d], which is the free grace of God, through

TEXT.

FOR I am not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt; for it is the power of God unto ſalvation, to every one that believeth, to the Jew firſt, and alſo to the Greek. 16

For therein is the righteouſneſs of God revealed from 17

NOTES.

16 [a] Vid. ver. 22. and 1 Cor. i. 21.

[b] Vid. Eph. i. 19.

[c] "Firſt." The Jews had the firſt offers of the Goſpel, and were always conſidered as thoſe, who were firſt regarded in it. Vid. Luke xxiv. 47. Matt. x. 6. and xv. 24. Acts xiii. 46. and xvii. 2.

17 [d] Δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ, "the righteouſneſs of God," called ſo, becauſe it is a righteouſneſs of his contrivance, and his beſtowing. It is God that juſtifieth, Ch. iii. 21—24, 26, 30. and viii. 33. Of which St. Paul ſpeaks thus, Phil. iii. 9. "Not having mine own righteouſneſs, which is of the law, "but what which is through the faith of Chriſt, the righteouſneſs which is of God by faith."

TEXT.

faith to faith: as it is written, the juſt ſhall live by faith.

18 For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven, againſt all ungodlineſs, and unrighteouſneſs of men, who hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs.

19 Becauſe that, which may be known of God, is manifeſt in them; for God hath ſhewed it unto them.

20 For the inviſible things of him, from the creation of the world, are clearly ſeen, being underſtood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead; ſo that they are without excuſe.

21 Becauſe that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their fooliſh heart was darkened.

PARAPHRASE.

through Jeſus Chriſt, revealed to be wholly by faith[a]; 18.
as it is written, the juſt ſhall live by faith. And it
is no more than need, that the Goſpel, wherein the
righteouſneſs of God, by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, is re-
vealed, ſhould be preached to you Gentiles, ſince the
wrath of God is now revealed[b] from heaven, by Jeſus
Chriſt, againſt all ungodlineſs[c] and unrighteouſneſs
of men[d], who live not up to the light that God has
given them[e]. Becauſe God, in a clear manifeſtation 19.
of himſelf amongſt them, has laid before them, ever
ſince the creation of the world, his divine nature and
eternal power; So that what is to be known, of his 20.
inviſible being, might be clearly diſcovered and un-
derſtood, from the viſible beauty, order, and opera-
tions, obſervable in the conſtitution and parts of the
univerſe, by all thoſe, that would caſt their regards,
and apply their minds[f] that way: inſomuch that they
are utterly without excuſe: For that, when the deity 21.
was ſo plainly diſcovered to them, yet they glorified
him not, as was ſuitable to the excellency of his di-
vine nature: nor did they, with due thankfulneſs,
acknowledge him as the author of their being, and
the giver of all the good they enjoyed: but, follow-
ing the vain fancies of their own vain[g] minds, ſet up
to

NOTES.

[a] "From faith to faith." The deſign of St. Paul here, being to ſhew, that neither Jews nor Gentiles could, by works, attain to righteouſneſs, i. e. ſuch a perfect and compleat obedience, whereby they could be juſtified, which he calls "their own righteouſneſs," ch. x. 3. He here tells them, that in the Goſpel, the righteouſneſs of God, i. e. the righteouſneſs, of which he is the author, and which he accepts, in the way of his own appointment, is revealed from faith to faith, i. e. to be all through, from one end to the other, founded in faith. If this be not the ſenſe of this phraſe here, it will be hard to make the following words, as it is written, the juſt ſhall live by faith, cohere: But thus they have an eaſy and natural connexion, viz. whoever are juſtified either before, without, or under the law of Moſes, or under the Goſpel, are juſtified, not by works, but by faith alone. Vid. Gal. iii. 11. which clears this interpretation. The ſame figure of ſpeaking St. Paul uſes, in other places, to the ſame purpoſe; ch. vi. 19. "Servants to iniquity unto iniquity;" i. e. wholly to iniquity. 2 Cor. iii. 18. "From glory to glory," i. e. wholly glorious.

18 [b] "Now revealed." Vid. Acts xvii. 30, 31. "God now commandeth all men, every where, "to repent, becauſe he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righte- "ouſneſs, by the man, whom he hath ordained." Theſe words of St. Paul to the Athenians, give light to theſe here, to the Romans. A life again after death, and a day of judgment, wherein men ſhould be all brought to receive ſentence, according to what they had done, and be puniſhed for their miſdeeds, was what was before unknown, and was brought to light, by the revelation of the Goſpel from heaven, 2 Tim. i. 10. Matt. xiii. 40, &c. Luke xiii. 27. and Rom. ii. 5. he calls the day of judgment, the day of wrath, conſonant to his ſaying here, the wrath of God is revealed.

[c] Ἀσέβειαν, "ungodlineſs," ſeems to comprehend the atheiſm, polytheiſm and idolatry of the heathen world, as ἀδικίαν, "unrighteouſneſs," their other miſcarriages and vicious lives, according to which, they are diſtinctly threatened by St. Paul, in the following verſes. The ſame appropriation of theſe words, I think, may be obſerved in other parts of this epiſtle.

[d] "Of men," i. e. of all men, or as in the xvii^th^ of Acts, before cited, "all men, every where," i. e. all men of all nations: before it was only to the children of Iſrael, that obedience and tranſgreſſion were declared and propoſed, as terms of life and death.

[e] "Who hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs," i. e. who are not wholly without the truth, but yet do not follow what they have of it, but live contrary to that truth they do know, or neglect to know what they might. This is evident from the next words, and from the ſame reaſon of God's wrath, given, chap. ii. 8. in theſe words, "who do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteouſneſs.

20 [f] St. Paul ſays, νοούμενα καθορᾶται, if they are minded they are ſeen: the inviſible things of God lie within the reach and diſcovery of men's reaſon and underſtandings, but yet, they muſt exerciſe their faculties, and employ their minds about them.

21 [g] Ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν, "became vain in their imaginations," or reaſonings. What it is, to become vain, in the ſcripture-language, one may ſee in theſe words, "and they fol- "lowed vanity, and became vain, and went after the heathen, and made to themſelves molten

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to themſelves fictitious no gods, and their fooliſh un-
22. derſtandings were darkened: Aſſuming to themſelves
the opinion and name[a] of being wiſe, they became
23. fools; And, quitting the incomprehenſible majeſty
and glory of the eternal, incorruptible Deity, ſet up
to themſelves the images of corruptible men, birds,
beaſts, and inſects, as fit objects of their adoration
24. and worſhip. Wherefore, they having forſaken God,
he alſo left them to the luſts of their own hearts, and
that uncleanneſs their darkned hearts led them into,
to diſhonour their bodies among themſelves: Who
25. ſo much debaſed themſelves, as to change the true
God, who made them, for a lie[b] of their own mak-
ing, worſhipping and ſerving the creature, and things
even of a lower rank than themſelves, more than the
Creator, who is God over all, bleſſed for evermore,
26. Amen. (For this cauſe God gave them up to ſhame-
ful and infamous luſts and paſſions: for even their
women did change their natural uſe, into that which
27. is againſt nature: And likewiſe, their men, leaving
alſo the natural uſe of the woman, burned in their
luſts one towards another, men with men practiſing
that which is ſhameful, and receiving in themſelves
28. a fit reward of their error, i. e. idolatry[c].) And[d],
as they did not ſearch out[e] God, whom they had in
the world, ſo as to have him with a due acknowledg-
ment[f] of him, God gave them up to an unſearching
and unjudicious[g] mind, to do things incongruous,
and

TEXT.

22 Profeſſing themſelves to be wiſe, they became fools:

23 And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God, into an image, made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beaſts, and creeping things.

24 Wherefore God alſo gave them up to uncleanneſs, through the luſts of their own hearts, to diſhonour their own bodies between themſelves:

25 Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worſhipped and ſerved the creature more than the Creator, who is bleſſed for ever. Amen.

26 For this cauſe God gave them up unto vile affections: for even their women did change the natural uſe, into that which is againſt nature:

27 And likewiſe alſo the men, leaving the natural uſe of the woman, burned in their luſt, one toward another, men with men, working that which is unſeemly, and receiving in themſelves that recompence of their error, which was meet.

28 And, even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to

NOTES.

"images, and worſhipped all the hoſt of heaven, and ſerved Baal," 2 Kings xvii. 15, 16. And accordingly, the forſaking of idolatry and the worſhip of falſe gods, is called by St. Paul, "turning from vanity to the living God," Acts xiv. 15.

22 [a] Φασκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ, "profeſſing themſelves to be wiſe;" though the nations of the heathens generally thought themſelves wiſe, in the religions they embraced; yet, the Apoſtle here having all along in this and the following chapter, uſed Greeks for Gentiles, he may be thought to have an eye to the Greeks, among whom the men of ſtudy and enquiry had aſſumed to themſelves the name of σοφοὶ wiſe.

25 [b] The falſe and fictitious gods of the heathen are very fitly called in the ſcripture, "lies," Amos ii. 4. Jer. xvi. 19, 20.

27 [c] "Error," ſo idolatry is called, 2 Pet. ii. 18. As they, againſt the light of nature, debaſed and diſhonoured God, by their idolatry, it was a juſt and fit recompence they received, in being left to debaſe and diſhonour themſelves by unnatural luſts.

28 [d] "And." This copulative joins this verſe to the 25th, ſo that the Apoſtle will be better underſtood, if all between be look'd on as a parentheſis, this being a continuation of what he was there ſaying, or rather a repetition of it in ſhort, which led him into the thread of his diſcourſe.

[e] 'Ουκ ἐδοκίμασαν, "did not like," rather did not try, or ſearch; for the Greek word ſignifies to ſearch, and find out by ſearching: ſo St. Paul often uſes it, chap. ii. 18. and xii. 2. compared, and xiv. 22. Eph. v. 10.

[f] 'Εν ἐπιγνώσει, with acknowledgment. That the Gentiles were not wholly without the knowledge of God in the world, St. Paul tells us, in this very chapter, but they did not acknowledge him, as they ought, ver. 21. They had God εἶχον Θεὸν, but ὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, did not ſo improve that knowledge, as to acknowledge, or honour him, as they ought. This verſe ſeems, in other words, to expreſs the ſame that is ſaid, ver. 21.

[g] 'Εις ἀδόκιμον νοῦν, "to a reprobate mind," rather to an unſearching mind, in the ſenſe of St. Paul, who often uſes compounds and derivatives in the ſenſe, wherein, a little before, he uſed the primitive words, though a little varying from the preciſe Greek idiom: an example whereof we have, in this very word ἀδόκιμος, 2 Cor. xiii. where having, ver. 3. uſed δοκιμὴν for a proof of his miſſion by ſupernatural gifts, he uſes ἀδόκιμος for one that was deſtitute of ſuch proofs. So here he tells the Romans, that, the Gentiles not exerciſing their minds, to ſearch out the truth, and form their judgments right, God left them to an unſearching, unjudicious mind.

Non explorantibus permiſit mentem non exploratricem.

TEXT.

do thoſe things which are not convenient:

29 Being filled with all unrighteouſneſs, fornication, wickedneſs, covetouſneſs, maliciouſneſs; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whiſperers,

30 Backbiters, haters of God, deſpightful, proud, boaſters, inventors of evil things, diſobedient to parents,

31 Without underſtanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful:

32 Who knowing the judgment of God (that they which commit ſuch things are worthy of death) not only do the ſame, but have pleaſure in them that do them.

1 Therefore thou art inexcu-

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Chap. I.

and not meet [a] to be done; Being filled with all manner of iniquity, fornication, wickedneſs, covetouſneſs, 29.
malice, full of envy, contention, deceit, malignity
even to murder, Backbiters, haters of God, inſulters
of men, proud, boaſters, inventors of new arts of 30.
debauchery, diſobedient to parents, Without underſtanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affec- 31.
tion, implacable, unmerciful: Who, though they acknowledge the rule of right [b] preſcribed them by God, 32.
and diſcovered by the light of nature, did not yet
underſtand [c] that thoſe, who did ſuch things, were
worthy of death, do [d] not only do them themſelves,
but live well together, without any mark of diſeſteem, or cenſure, with them that do them. [e] There- Chap. II. 1.
fore, thou art inexcuſable, O man, whoſoever thou
art,

NOTES.

[a] A diſcourſe like this of St. Paul here, wherein idolatry is made the cauſe of the enormous crimes and profligate lives, men run into, may be read, Wiſdom xiv. 11, &c.

32 [b] Τὸ δικαίωμα τȣ̃ Θεȣ̃, "the judgment of God," might it not be tranſlated, the rectitude of God, i. e. that rule of rectitude, which God had given to mankind, in giving them reaſon? as that righteouſneſs, which God requires, for ſalvation, in the Goſpel, is called "the righteouſneſs of God," ver. 17. Rectitude, in the tranſlation, being uſed in this appropriated ſenſe, as δικαίωμα is in the original. Vid. note, chap. ii. 26.

[c] Ουκ ἐνόησαν ὅτι, did not underſtand that they who commit, &c. This reading is juſtified by the Clermont, and another ancient language, as well as by that, which the old Latin verſion followed, as well as Clement, Iſiodore, and Oecumenius, and will, probably, be thought the more genuine by thoſe, who can hardly ſuppoſe that St. Paul ſhould affirm, that the Gentile world did know, that he, who offended againſt any of the directions of this natural rule of rectitude, taught, or diſcoverable by the light of reaſon, was worthy of death, eſpecially if we remember what he ſays, chap. v. 13. "That ſin is not imputed when there is no poſitive law:" and chap. vii. 9. "I was alive without the law, once:" both which places ſignifying, that men did not know death to be the wages of ſin, in general, but by the declaration of a poſitive law.

[d] Συνευδοκȣ̃σι τοῖς πράσσȣσι, "have pleaſure in thoſe that do them." He that conſiders, that the deſign of the apoſtle here, manifeſt in the immediately following words, is to combat the animoſity of the Jews againſt the Gentiles, and that there could not be a more effectual way to ſhame them into a more modeſt and mild temper, than by ſhewing them that the Gentiles, in all the darkneſs that blinded them, and the extravagancies they run into, were never guilty of ſuch an abſurdity as this, to cenſure and ſeparate from others, and ſhew an implacable averſion to them, for what they themſelves were equally guilty of. He, I ſay, that conſiders this, will be eaſily perſuaded to underſtand συνευδοκȣ̃σι here as I do, for a complacency, that avoided cenſuring, or breaking with them, who were in the ſame ſtate and courſe of life with themſelves, that did nothing amiſs, but what they themſelves were equally guilty of. There can be nothing clearer than that συνευδοκȣ̃σι, have pleaſure, in this verſe, is oppoſed to κρίνεις, judgeſt, in the next verſe, without which I do not ſee how it is poſſible to make out the inference, which the Apoſtle draws here.

1 [e] "Therefore." This is a term of illation, and ſhews the conſequence here, drawn from the foregoing words. Therefore the Jew is inexcuſable in judging, becauſe the Gentiles, with all the darkneſs that was on their minds, were never guilty of ſuch a folly, as to judge thoſe, who were no more faulty than themſelves. For the better underſtanding of this place, it may not, perhaps, be amiſs to ſet the whole argumentation of the Apoſtle here in its due light: it ſtands thus; "the "Gentiles acknowledged the rectitude of the law of nature, but knew not that thoſe, who break "any of its rules, incurred death, by their tranſgreſſion: but, as much in the dark as they were, "they are not guilty of any ſuch abſurdity, as to condemn others, or refuſe communication with "them, as unworthy of their ſociety, who are no worſe than themſelves, nor do any thing, but "what they themſelves do equally with them, but live in complacency, on fair terms, with them, "without cenſure, or ſeparation, thinking as well of their condition as of their own: therefore, if "the blinded heathen do ſo, thou, O Jew, art inexcuſable, who having the light of the revealed "law of God, and knowing by it, that the breaches of the law merit death, doſt judge others to "perdition, and ſhut them out from ſalvation, for that, which thou thyſelf art equally guilty "of, viz. diſobedience to the law. Thou, a poor, ignorant, conceited, fallible man, ſitteſt in "judgment upon others, and committeſt the ſame things, thou condemneſt them for: but this "thou mayſt be ſure, that the judgment and condemnation of God is right and firm, and will "certainly be executed upon thoſe, who do ſuch things. For thou, who adjudgeſt the heathen "to condemnation, for the ſame things which thou doſt thyſelf, canſt thou imagine that thou "thyſelf ſhalt eſcape the ſame judgment of God? God, whatever thou mayſt think, is no re-

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

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Chap. II.

art [a], that judgeſt [b] or cenſureſt another; for where-
in thou judgeſt another, thou condemneſt thyſelf:
for thou, that judgeſt, art alike guilty, in doing the
2. ſame things. But this we are ſure of, that the
judgment, that God paſſes upon any offenders, is ac-
3. cording to [c] truth, right and juſt. Canſt thou, who
doſt thoſe things which thou condemneſt in another,
think that thou ſhalt eſcape the condemning ſentence
4. of God? Or ſlighteſt thou the riches of his goodneſs,
forbearance and long-ſuffering, not knowing, nor con-
ſidering, that the goodneſs of God ought to lead thee
5. to repentance? But layeſt up to thyſelf wrath and
puniſhment, which thou wilt meet with, at the day
of judgment, and that juſt retribution, which ſhall
be awarded thee by God, in proportion to thy impe-
6. nitency, and the hardneſs of thy heart; Who will re-
7. tribute to every one according to his works, viz. Eter-
nal life to all thoſe who by patience [d] and gentleneſs
in well-doing ſeek glory and honour, and a ſtate of
8. immortality: But to them who are contentious * and
froward,

TEXT.

ſable, O man, whoſoever thou art that judgeſt: for, wherein thou judgeſt another, thou condemneſt thyſelf; for thou, that judgeſt, doſt the ſame things.

But we are ſure that the 2 judgment of God is according to truth, againſt them which commit ſuch things.

And thinkeſt thou this, O 3 man, that judgeth them which do ſuch things, and doſt the ſame, that thou ſhalt eſcape the judgment of God?

Or deſpiſeth thou the riches 4 of his goodneſs, and forbearance, and long-ſuffering; not knowing that the goodneſs of God leadeth thee to repentance?

But, after thy hardneſs and 5 impenitent heart, treaſureſt up unto thyſelf wrath, againſt the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God;

Who will render to every 6 man according to his deeds:

To them who by patient 7 continuance in well-doing, ſeek for glory, and honour, and immortality; eternal life:

But unto them that are con- 8

NOTES.

“ ſpecter of perſons: both Jews as well as Gentiles, that are perverſely contentious againſt others, “ and do not themſelves obey the Goſpel, ſhall meet with wrath and indignation from God: and “ Gentiles as well as Jews, whom the goodneſs and forbearance of God bringeth to repentance, “ and an humble, ſubmiſſive acceptance of the Goſpel, ſhall find acceptance with God, and eter- “ nal life, in the kingdom of the Meſſias; from which, if thou art contentious to ſhut out the “ Gentiles, thou manifeſtly ſhutteſt out thyſelf.”

[a] “ O man, whoſoever thou art.” It is plain from ver. 17, and 27. and the whole tenor of this chapter, that St. Paul, by theſe words, means the Jews; but there are two viſible reaſons, why he ſpeaks in theſe terms: 1ſt, he makes his concluſion general, as having the more force, but leſs offence, than if he had bluntly named the Jews, whom he is very careful, in all this epiſtle, to treat in the ſofteſt manner imaginable. 2dly, He uſes the term, man, emphatically, in oppoſition to God, in the next verſe.

[b] “ Judgeſt.” There will need nothing to be ſaid to thoſe, who read this epiſtle with the leaſt attention, to prove, that the judging, which St. Paul here ſpeaks of, was, that averſion, which the Jews generally had to the Gentiles, ſo that the unconverted Jews could not bear with the thoughts of a Meſſias, that admitted the heathen, equally with them, into his kingdom; nor could the converted Jews be brought to admit them into their communion, as the people of God, now equally with themſelves; ſo that they generally, both one and t'other, judged them unworthy the favour of God, and out of capacity to become his people, any other way, but by circumciſion and an obſervance of the ritual parts of the law, the inexcuſableneſs and abſurdity whereof St. Paul ſhews in this chapter.

2 [c] “ According to truth,” doth, I ſuppoſe, ſignify not barely a true judgment, which will ſtand in oppoſition to erroneous, and that will not take effect, but ſomething more, i. e. according to the truth of his predictions and threats. As if he had ſaid, “ But if God in judgment caſt off “ the Jews, from being any longer his people, we know this to be according to his truth, who “ hath forewarned them of it. Ye Jews judge the Gentiles not to be received into the people of “ God, and refuſe them admittance into the kingdom of the Meſſias though you break the law, “ as well as they; you judge as prejudiced, paſſionate men. But the judgment of God againſt you “ will ſtand firm.” The reaſon, why he does it ſo covertly, may be that, which I have before mentioned, his great care not to ſhock the Jews, eſpecially here in the beginning, till he had got faſt hold upon them. And hence poſſibly it is, that he calls obeying the Goſpel, obeying the truth, ver. 8. and uſes other the like ſoft expreſſions in this chapter.

7 [d] Patience, in this verſe, is oppoſed to contentious * in the next, and ſeems principally to regard the Jews, who had no patience for any conſideration of the Gentiles, but, with a ſtrange peeviſhneſs and contention, oppoſed the freedom of the Goſpel, in admitting the believing Gentiles to the franchiſes of the kingdom of the Meſſias, upon equal terms with themſelves.

TEXT.

tentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteouſneſs; indignation, and wrath:

9 Tribulation and anguiſh, upon every ſoul of man that doth evil, of the Jew firſt, and alſo of the Gentile.

10 But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew firſt, and alſo to the Gentile.

11 For there is no reſpect of perſons with God.

12 For, as many as have ſinned without law, ſhall alſo periſh without law: and as many as have ſinned in the law, ſhall be judged by the law.

13 (For not the hearers of the law are juſt before God, but the doers of the law ſhall be juſtified.

14 For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, theſe, having not the law, are a law unto themſelves.

15 Which ſhew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conſcience alſo bearing witneſs, and their thoughts, the mean while, accuſing, or elſe excuſing one another)

16 In the day, when God ſhall

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froward, and will not obey the truth [a], but ſubject
themſelves to unrighteouſneſs, indignation and wrath;
Tribulation and anguiſh ſhall be poured out upon every 9.
ſoul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew firſt, and
alſo of the Gentile. But glory, honour and peace, 10.
ſhall be beſtowed on every man, that worketh good,
on the Jew firſt [b], and alſo on the Gentile. For with 11.
God there is no reſpect of perſons. For all, that 12.
have ſinned without having the poſitive law of God,
which was given the Iſraelites, ſhall periſh [c] without
the law; and all, who have ſinned, being under the
law, ſhall be judged by the law. (For the bare 13.
hearers of the law are not thereby juſt, or righteous,
in the ſight of God, but the doers of the law; they,
who exactly perform all that is commanded in it,
ſhall be juſtified. For, when the Gentiles, who have 14.
no poſitive law given them by God [d], do, by the direction
of the light of nature, obſerve, or keep to,
the moral rectitude, contained in the poſitive law,
given by God to the Iſraelites, they, being without
any poſitive law given them, have nevertheleſs a law
within themſelves; And ſhew the rule of the law 15.
written in their hearts, their conſciences alſo bearing
witneſs to that law, they amongſt themſelves, in the
reaſoning of their own minds, accuſing, or excuſing
one another) At the day of judgment, when as I make 16.
known

NOTES.

8 [a] Though by "truth," the Goſpel be here meant, yet I doubt not but St. Paul uſed the term, truth, with an eye to the Jews, who though ſome few of them received the Goſpel, yet even a great part of thoſe few joined, with the reſt of their nation, in oppoſing this great truth of the Goſpel, that, under the Meſſias, the Gentiles, who believed, were the people of God, as well as the Jews, and ſuch as were to be received by them.

9, 10 [b] "The Jew firſt and alſo the Gentile." We ſee, by theſe two verſes, and ch. i. 16. that St. Paul carefully lays it down, that there was now, under the Goſpel, no other national diſtinction between the Jews and the Gentiles, but only a priority in the offer of the Goſpel, and in the deſign of rewards and puniſhments, according as the Jews obeyed, or not. Which may farther ſatisfy us, that the diſtinction, which St. Paul inſiſts on ſo much here, and all through the firſt part of this epiſtle, is national; the compariſon being between the Jews, as nationally the people of God; and the Gentiles, as not the people of God, before the Meſſias; and that, under the Meſſias, the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, conſiſting moſt of converted Gentiles, were the people of God, owned and acknowledged as ſuch by him, the unbelieving Jews being rejected, and the unbelieving Gentiles never received, but that yet perſonally both Jews and Gentiles, every ſingle perſon, ſhall be puniſhed for his own particular ſin, as appears by the two next verſes.

12 [c] Ἀπολοῦνται, "ſhall periſh;" κριθήσονται, "ſhall be judged." Thoſe under the law, St. Paul ſays, "ſhall be judged by the law;" and this is eaſy to conceive, becauſe they were under a poſitive law, wherein life and death were annexed, as a reward and puniſhment of obedience and diſobedience; but of the Gentiles, who were not under that poſitive law, he ſays barely, that "they ſhall periſh." St. Paul does not uſe theſe ſo eminently differing expreſſions for nothing; they will, I think, give ſome light to chap. v. 13. and my interpretation of it, if they lead us no farther.

14 [d] Μὴ νόμον ἔχοντες, "having not the law," or not having a law. The Apoſtle, by the word law, generally, in this epiſtle, ſignifying a poſitive law, given by God, and promulgated by a revelation from heaven, with the ſanction of declared rewards and puniſhments annexed to it, it is not improbable, that in this verſe (where by the Greek particle, he ſo plainly points out the law of Moſes) by νόμος, without the article, may intend law, in general, in his ſenſe of a law, and ſo this verſe may be tranſlated thus; "for when the Gentiles, who have not a law, do by nature the "things contained in the law; theſe, not having a law, are a law to themſelves." And ſo ver. 12. "As many as have ſinned, being under a law, ſhall be judged by a law." For though, from Adam to Chriſt, there was no revealed, poſitive law, but that given to the Iſraelites; yet it is certain that, by Jeſus Chriſt, a poſitive law from heaven is given to all mankind, and that thoſe, to whom this has been promulgated, by the preaching of the Goſpel, are all under it, and ſhall be judged by it.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. II. known in my preaching the Goſpel [a], God ſhall judge
17. all the actions of men, by Jeſus Chriſt. Behold thou
art named [b] a Jew; and thou, with ſatisfaction, reſteſt
in the privilege of having the law, as a mark of
God's peculiar favour [c], whom thou glorieſt in, as
being thy God, and thou one of his people; a people,
who alone know and worſhip the true God;
18. And thou knoweſt his will, and haſt the touch-ſtone
of things excellent [d], having been educated in the
19. law. And takeſt upon thee as one, who art a guide
to the blind [e], a light to the ignorant Gentiles, who
20. are in darkneſs [e], An inſtructor of the fooliſh [e], a
teacher of babes, having an exact draught, and a
complete ſyſtem [f] of knowledge and truth in the law.
21. Thou, therefore, who art a maſter in this knowledge,
and teacheſt others, teacheſt thou not thyſelf?
thou, that preacheſt that a man ſhould not ſteal,
22. doſt thou ſteal? Thou, that declareſt adultery to be
unlawful, doſt thou commit it? thou, that abhorreſt
23. idols, doſt thou commit ſacrilege? Thou, who glorieſt
in the law, doſt thou, by breaking of the law,
24. diſhonour God? For the name of God is blaſphemed
amongſt the Gentiles, by reaſon of your miſcarriages,
25. as it is written [g], Circumciſion [h] indeed, and thy being
a Jew, profiteth [i], if thou keep the law: but, if thou
be a tranſgreſſor of the law, thy circumciſion is made
uncircumciſion; thou art no way better than an heathen.

TEXT.

judge the ſecrets of men, by Jeſus Chriſt, according to my Goſpel.

17 Behold, thou art called a Jew, and reſteſt in the law, and makeſt thy boaſt of God;

18 And knoweſt his will, and approveſt the things that are more excellent, being inſtructed out of the law,

19 And art confident that thou thyſelf art a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkneſs,

20 An inſtructer of the fooliſh, a teacher of babes, which haſt the form of knowledge, and of the truth in the law.

21 Thou, therefore, which teacheſt another, teacheſt thou not thyſelf? thou that preacheſt a man ſhould not ſteal, doſt thou ſteal?

22 Thou, that ſayeſt a man ſhould not commit adultery, doſt thou commit adultery? thou, that abhorreſt idols, doſt thou commit ſacrilege?

23 Thou, that makeſt thy boaſt of the law, through breaking the law diſhonoureſt thou God?

24 For the name of God is blaſphemed among the Gentiles, through you, as it is written;

25 For circumciſion verily profiteth, if thou keep the law: but if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumciſion is made uncircumciſion.

NOTES.

16 [a] "According to my Goſpel," i. e. as I make known in my preaching the Goſpel. That this is the meaning of this phraſe, may be ſeen, 2 Tim. ii. 8. And of St. Paul's declaring of it, in his preaching, we have an inſtance left upon record, Acts xvii. 31.

17 [b] Ἐπονομάζῃ, thou art named, emphatically ſaid by St. Paul; for he, that was ſuch a Jew, as he deſcribes in the following verſe, he inſiſts on it, was a Jew only in name, not in reality, for ſo he concludes, ver. 28, and 29. he is not, in the eſteem of God, a Jew, who is ſo outwardly only.

17——20 [c] In theſe four verſes St. Paul makes uſe of the titles, the Jews aſſumed to themſelves, from the advantages they had, of light and knowledge, above the Gentiles, to ſhew them how inexcuſable they were, in judging the Gentiles, who were even in their own account ſo much beneath them in knowledge, for doing thoſe things, which they themſelves were alſo guilty of.

17 [c] Vid. Mic. iii. 11.

18 [d] Τὰ διαφέροντα, ſignifies things excellent, convenient, controverted or differing. In either of theſe ſenſes it may be underſtood here, though the laſt, viz. their difference in reſpect of lawful and unlawful, I think may be pitched on, as moſt ſuited to the Apoſtle's deſign here, and that which the Jews much ſtood upon, as giving them one great preeminence above the defiled Gentiles.

19, 20 [e] "Blind, in darkneſs, fooliſh, babes," were appellations which the Jews gave to the Gentiles, ſignifying how much inferior to themſelves they thought them in knowledge.

20 [f] Μόρφωσις, "form," ſeems here to be the ſame with τύπος, "form," chap. vi. 17. i. e. "ſuch a draught, as contained and repreſented the parts and lineaments of the whole." For it is to be remembred, that the Apoſtle uſes theſe expreſſions and terms here, in the ſame ſenſe the Jews ſpoke of themſelves, vauntingly, over the Gentiles, he thereby aggravating their fault, in judging the Gentiles as they did.

24 [g] See 2 Sam. xii. 14. Ezek. xxxvi. 23.

25 [h] Circumciſion is here put for being a Jew, as being one of the chief and moſt diſcriminating rites of that people.

[i] "Profiteth, if thou keep the law;" becauſe a Jew, that kept the law, was to have life therein, Lev. xviii. 5.

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NERONIS 3.

CHAP. II.

TEXT.

26 Therefore, if the uncircumciſion keep the righteouſneſs of the law, ſhall not his uncircumciſion be counted for circumciſion?

27 And ſhall not uncircumciſion, which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumciſion doſt tranſgreſs the law?

PARAPHRASE.

then. If, therefore, an uncircumciſed Gentile keep the moral rectitudes [a] of the law, ſhall he not be reckoned and accounted of, as if he were circumciſed, and every way a Jew, and ſhall not a Gentile, who in his natural ſtate of uncircumciſion, fulfils the 26. 27.

NOTES.

26 [a] Τὰ δικαιώματα τȣ̃ νόμȣ, "the righteouſneſs of the law." I have taken the liberty to render it, the rectitude of the law, in an appropriated ſenſe of the word, rectitude, in imitation of St. Paul, who uſes δικαιώματα here for all thoſe precepts of the law, which contain in them any part of the natural and eternal rule of rectitude, which is made known to men, by the light of reaſon. This rule of their actions all mankind, uncircumciſed as well as circumciſed, had, and is that, which St. Paul calls δικαίωμα τȣ̃ Θεȣ̃, ch. i. 32. Becauſe it came from God, and was made by him; the moral rule to all mankind being laid within the diſcovery of their reaſon, which if they kept to, it was δικαίωμα, righteouſneſs to them, or they were juſtified. And this rule of morality St. Paul ſays the Gentile world did acknowledge. So that δικαίωμα τȣ̃ Θεȣ̃, chap. i. 32. ſignifies that rule of right, taken in general, and δικαιώματα τȣ̃ νόμȣ here ſignifies the particular branches of it, contained in the law of Moſes. For no other part of the law of Moſes could an heathen be ſuppoſed to obſerve, or be concerned in: and, therefore, thoſe only can be the δικαιώματα τȣ̃ νόμȣ here meant. If we conſider the various ſenſes, that tranſlators and expoſitors have given to this term δικαίωμα, in the ſeveral places of St. Paul's epiſtles, where it occurs, we ſhall have occaſion to think that the Apoſtle uſed this word with great latitude and variety of ſignifications; whereas I imagine, that, if we carefully read thoſe paſſages, we ſhall find, that he uſed it, every where in the ſame ſenſe, i e. for that rule, which, if complied with, juſtified, or rendered perfect, the perſon, or thing it referred to. For example:

Rom. i. 32. Δικαίωμα Θεȣ̃, tranſlated "the judgment of God," is that rule of right, which, if the heathen world had kept and perfectly obeyed, they had been righteous before God.

Rom. ii. 26. Δικαιώματα τȣ̃ νόμȣ, "the righteouſneſs of the law," are thoſe precepts of the law of Moſes, which, if the uncircumciſed, whom he there ſpeaks of, had kept, they had been righteous before God.

Rom. v. 16. Εἰς δικαίωμα, "to juſtification," is to the obtaining of righteouſneſs.

Rom. v. 18. Δἰ ἑνὸς δικαιώματος, "by one righteouſneſs," is by one act, whereby he was juſtified, or completely perfected, to be what he had undertaken to be, viz. the redeemer and ſaviour of the world. For it was διὰ παθημάτων, or as ſome copies read it, διὰ παθήματος, by his ſuffering, viz. death on the croſs, that he was perfected, Heb. ii. 9, 10. and 14, 15. and v. 7——9. Rom. v. 10. Phil. ii. 8. Col. i. 21, 22. Rom. viii. 4. τὸ δικαίωμα τȣ̃ νόμȣ, "the righteouſneſs of the law." Here, as Rom. ii 26. it is that rule of right, contained in the law, which, if a man exactly performed, he was righteous and perfect before God.

Heb. ix. i. Δικαιώματα λατρείας, "Ordinances of divine ſervice," are thoſe rules, or precepts, concerning the outward worſhip of God, which, when conformed to, render it perfect, and ſuch as was right and unblameable before God.

Heb. ix. 10. Δικαιώματα σαρκὸς, "carnal ordinances," are ſuch rules, concerning ritual performances, as when obſerved, juſtified the fleſh. By theſe obſervances, according as they were preſcribed, the fleſh, or natural, outward man, obtained a legal, outward holineſs, or righteouſneſs; there was no exception againſt him, but he was freely admitted into the congregation, and into the ſanctuary.

In the ſame ſenſe δικαιώματα is alſo uſed in the Apocalypſe.

Rev. xv. 4. Τὰ δικαιώματά σȣ ἐφανερώθησαν, "thy judgments are made manifeſt," i. e. thoſe terms whereupon men are to be juſtified before God, were clearly and fully made known, under the Goſpel. Here, as Rom. i. they are called δικαιώματα Θεȣ̃, the terms which God had preſcribed to men, for their juſtification. And,

Rev, xix, 8. Τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἁγίων, "the righteouſneſs of the ſaints," i. e. the performances, whereby the ſaints ſtand juſtified before God.

So that, if we will obſerve it, δικαίωμα is the rule of right; as having God for its author, it is δικαίωμα Θεȣ̃; as contained in the precepts of the law, it is δικαιώματα τȣ̃ νόμȣ; as it concerns the external, inſtituted rites, of the levitical worſhip of God, it is δικαιώματα λατρείας; as it concerns the outward, legal, or ritual holineſs of the Jews, it is δικαιώματα σαρκὸς; as it is in holy men made perfect, it is δικαιώματα ἁγίων.

It may not be amiſs to take a little notice alſo of St. Paul's uſe of the other term here, νόμος, "law," which he commonly puts for a poſitive rule given to men, with the ſanction of a penalty annexed; and in particular, frequently (ſometimes with, ſometimes without, the particle) for the law of Moſes, without naming what law he means, as if there had been no other law in the world, as indeed there was not any other in St. Paul's notion of a law, from the fall, to our Saviour's time, but only the law, given by God to the Iſraelites, by the hand of Moſes. Under the Goſpel the law of Moſes was abrogated: but yet the δικαιώματα τȣ̃ νόμȣ were not abrogated. The δικαιώμα τȣ̃ Θεȣ̃ not only ſtood firm, but was, by the divine authority, promulgated new, by Jeſus Chriſt, the King and Saviour of the world. For it is of this that he ſays, "that he is not come to deſtroy the law, but to fulfil it," i. e. to give it poſitively and plainly, in

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the law, condemn[a] thee, who, notwithſtanding the advantage of having the law and circumciſion[b], art a tranſgreſſor of the law? 28. For he is not a Jew, who is one in outward appearance and conformity[c], nor is that the circumciſion, which renders a man accepta-
29. ble to God, which is outwardly in the fleſh. But he is a Jew, and one of the people of God, who is one in an inward conformity to the law: and that is the circumciſion, which avails a man, which is of the heart[d], according to the ſpiritual ſenſe of the law, which is the purging our hearts from iniquity, by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and not in an external obſervance of the letter[e], by which a man cannot attain life; ſuch true Iſraelites as theſe, though they are judged, condemned, and rejected, by men of the Jewiſh nation, are nevertheleſs honoured and accepted by God.

TEXT.

For he is not a Jew, which 28
is one outwardly; neither is that circumciſion, which is outward in the fleſh.

But he is a Jew, which is 29
one inwardly; and circumciſion is that of the heart, in the ſpirit, and not in the letter, whoſe praiſe is not of men, but of God.

NOTES.

in its full latitude and extent, and ſet theſe δικαιώματα τȣ̃ νόμȣ in their due light and full force; and, accordingly, we ſee all the branches of it more expreſly commanded, and with penalties more vigorouſly inforced, on all his ſubjects, by our Saviour and his Apoſtles, than they were in the law of Moſes.

Thus we ſee that, by the doctrine of St. Paul and the new teſtament, there is one and the ſame rule of rectitude ſet to the actions of all mankind, Jews, Gentiles, and Chriſtians; and that failing of a complete obedience to it in every tittle, makes a man unrighteous, the conſequence whereof is death. For the Gentiles, that have ſinned without a law, ſhall periſh without a law; the Jews, that have ſinned, having a law, ſhall be judged by that law; but that both Jews and Gentiles ſhall be ſaved from death, if they believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and ſincerely endeavour after righteouſneſs, though they do not attain unto it, their faith being accounted to them for righteouſneſs, Rom. iii. 19——24.

27 [a] "Judge thee." This he ſaith, proſecuting the deſign he began with, ver. 1. of ſhewing the folly and unreaſonableneſs of the Jews, in judging the Gentiles, and denying them admittance and fellowſhip with themſelves, in the kingdom of the Meſſias.

[b] It is plain that by nature, and by the letter and circumciſion, are there oppoſed to one another, and mean the one, a man, in his natural ſtate, wholly a ſtranger to the law of God revealed by Moſes, and the other, a Jew, obſerving the external rites contained in the letter of that law.

28 [c] Vid. ch. ix. 6, 7. Gal. vi. 15, 16.

29 [d] St. Paul's expoſition of this, ſee Phil. iii. 3. Col. ii. 11.

[e] "Letter," vid. ch. vii. 6. 2 Cor. iii. 6, 7. compared with 17.

SECT. III.

CHAP. III. 1——31.

CONTENTS.

IN this third chapter, St. Paul goes on to ſhew, that the national privileges, the Jews had over the Gentiles, in being the people of God, gave them no peculiar right, or better title to the kingdom of the Meſſias, than what the Gentiles had. Becauſe they, as well as the Gentiles, all ſinned, and, not being able to attain righteouſneſs by the deeds of the law, more than the Gentiles, juſtification was to be had, only by the free grace of God, through faith in Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that, upon their believing, God, who is the God not of the Jews alone, but alſo of the Gentiles, accepted the Gentiles, as well as the Jews; and now admits all, who profeſs faith in Jeſus Chriſt, to be equally his people.

To clear his way to this, he begins, with removing an objection of the Jews, ready to ſay; "if it be ſo, as you have told us in the foregoing ſection, that it "is the circumciſion of the heart alone that availeth, what advantage have the

“ Jews, who keep to the circumciſion of the fleſh, and the other obſervances “ of the law, by being the people of God? To which he anſwers, that the Jews had many advantages above the Gentiles; but yet that, in reſpect of their acceptance with God under the Goſpel, they had none at all. He declares that both Jews and Gentiles are ſinners, both equally uncapable of being juſtified by their own performances: that God was equally the God, both of Jews and Gentiles, and out of his free grace juſtified thoſe, and only thoſe, who believed, whether Jews, or Gentiles.

TEXT.

1 WHat advantage then hath the Jew? or what profit is there of circumciſion?

2 Much every way: chiefly, becauſe that unto them were committed the oracles of God.

3 For what if ſome did not believe? ſhall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect?

4 God forbid: yea, let God be true, but every man a liar; as it is written, that thou mighteſt be juſtified in thy ſayings, and mighteſt overcome, when thou art judged.

5 But if our unrighteouſneſs commend the righteouſneſs of God, what ſhall we ſay? Is God unrighteous, who taketh vengeance? (I ſpeak as a man)

6 God forbid: for then, how ſhall God judge the world?

7 For, if the truth of God

PARAPHRASE.

IF it be thus, that circumciſion, by a failure of 1.
obedience to the law, becomes uncircumciſion;
and that the Gentiles, who keep the righteouſneſs,
or moral part of the law, ſhall judge the Jews, that
tranſgreſs the law, what advantage have the Jews?
or what profit is there of circumciſion? I anſwer,
Much every way[a]; chiefly, that God, particularly 2.
preſent amongſt them, revealed his mind and will,
and engaged himſelf in promiſes to them, by Moſes
and other his prophets, which oracles they had, and
kept amongſt them, whilſt the reſt of mankind had
no ſuch communication with the Deity, had no revelation
of his purpoſes of mercy to mankind, but
were, as it were, without God in the world. For, 3.
though ſome of the Jews, who had the promiſes of
the Meſſias, did not believe in him, when he came,
and ſo did not receive the righteouſneſs, which is by
faith in Jeſus Chriſt; yet their unbelief cannot render
the faithfulneſs and truth of God of no effect, who
had promiſed to be a God to Abraham and his ſeed
after him, and bleſs them to all generations[b]. No, 4.
by no means. God forbid, that any one ſhould entertain
ſuch a thought! Yea, let God be acknowledged
to be true, and every man a liar, as it is written,
that thou mighteſt be juſtified in thy ſayings,
and mighteſt overcome when thou art judged.

But you will ſay farther, if it be ſo, that our ſin- 5.
fulneſs commendeth the righteouſneſs of God, ſhewn
in keeping his word[c] given to our forefathers, what
ſhall I ſay, is it not injuſtice in God to puniſh us for
it, and caſt us off (I muſt be underſtood to ſay this,
in the perſon of a carnal man, pleading for himſelf)
God forbid! For if God be unrighteous, how ſhall 6.
he judge the world[d]? For[e], if the truth and veracity 7.
of

NOTES.

2 [a] A liſt of the advantages, the Jews had over the Gentiles, he gives, chap. ix. 4, 5. but here mentions only one of them, that was moſt proper to his preſent purpoſe.

3 [b] How this was made good, St. Paul explains more at large in the following chapter, and chap. ix. 6—13.

5 [c] That, by “ the righteouſneſs of God,” St. Paul here intends God's faithfulneſs, in keeping his promiſe of ſaving believers, Gentiles as well as Jews, by righteouſneſs through faith in Jeſus Chriſt, is plain, ver. 4, 7, 26. St. Paul's great deſign here, and all through the eleven firſt chapters of this epiſtle, being to convince the Romans, that God purpoſed, and in the old teſtament declared, that he would receive and ſave the Gentiles, by faith in the Meſſias, which was the only way, whereby Jews, or Gentiles (they being all ſinners, and equally deſtitute of righteouſneſs by works) were to be ſaved. This was a doctrine, which the Jews could not bear, and therefore the Apoſtle here, in the perſon of a Jew, urges, and, in his own perſon, anſwers their objections againſt it, confirming to the Romans the veracity and faithfulneſs of God, on whom they might, with all aſſurance, depend, for the performance of whatever he ſaid.

6 [d] This, which is an argument in the mouth of Abraham, Gen. xviii. 25. St. Paul very appoſitely makes uſe of, to ſtop the mouths of the blaſphemous Jews.

7 [e] “ For.” This particle plainly joins what follows, in this and the next verſe, to vengeance in the 5th verſe, and ſhews it to be, as it is, a continuation of the objection begun in that verſe,
why

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of God hath the more appeared to his glory, by rea-
ſon of my lie [a], i. e. my ſin, why yet am I condemned
8. for a ſinner, and puniſhed for it? Why rather ſhould
not this be thought a right conſequence, and a juſt
excuſe? Let us do evil that good may come of it,
that glory may come to God by it. This [b] ſome
maliciouſly and ſlanderouſly report us Chriſtians to
ſay, for which they deſerve, and will from God re-
ceive, puniſhment, as they deſerve.

9. Are we Jews, then, in any whit a better condi-
tion than the Gentiles [c]? Not at all. For I have al-
ready [d] brought a charge of guilt and ſin, both againſt
Jews and Gentiles, and urged that there is not one
of them clear, which I ſhall prove now againſt you
10. Jews; for it is written, There is none righteous, no
11. not one: There is none that underſtandeth, there is
12. none that ſeeketh after God. They are all gone out
of the way, they are together become unprofitable,
13. there is none that doth good, no, not one. Their
throat is an open ſepulchre; with their tongues they
have uſed deceit; the poiſon of aſps is under their
14. lips; Whoſe mouth is full of curſing and bitterneſs.
15, 16. Their feet are ſwift to ſhed blood: Deſtruction and
17. miſery are in their ways, And the way of peace have
18. they not known. There is no fear of God before
19. their eyes. This is all ſaid in the ſacred book of our
law [e]; and what is ſaid there, we know is ſaid to the
Jews,

TEXT.

hath more abounded, through
my lie, unto his glory; why
yet am I alſo judged as a ſin-
ner?

And not rather (as we be 8
ſlanderouſly reported, and as
ſome affirm that we ſay)
"Let us do evil, that good
"may come?" whoſe dam-
nation is juſt.

What then? are we better 9
than they? No in no wiſe:
for we have before proved
both Jews and Gentiles, that
they are all under ſin;

As it is written, there is 10
none righteous, no not one:

There is none that under- 11
ſtandeth, there is none that
ſeeketh after God.

They are all gone out of 12
the way, they are together be-
come unprofitable, there is
none that doth good, no not
one.

Their throat is an open ſe- 13
pulchre; with their tongues
they have uſed deceit; the
poiſon of aſps is under their
lips;

Whoſe mouth is full of 14
curſing and bitterneſs.

Their feet are ſwift to ſhed 15
blood.

Deſtruction and miſery are 16
in their ways:

And the way of peace have 17
they not known.

There is no fear of God 18
before their eyes.

Now we know that what 19

NOTES.

why St. Paul broke it into pieces, by intruding the 6th verſe into the middle of it, there is a very plain reaſon. In the objection there were two things to be corrected; firſt, the charging God with unrighteouſneſs, which as ſoon as mentioned, it was a becoming interruption in St. Paul, to quaſh immediately, and to ſtop the Jews mouths, with the words of Abraham. 2dly, The other thing, in the objection, was a falſe calumny upon the Chriſtians, as if they, preaching juſtification by free grace, ſaid, "let us do evil that good may come of it." To which the Apoſtle's anſwer was the more diſtinct, being ſubjoined to that branch, ſeparated from the other.

[a] "Lie." The ſenſe of the place makes it plain, that St. Paul, by lie, here means ſin in general, but ſeems to have uſed the word lie, as having a more forcible and graceful antitheſis to the truth of God, which the objection pretends, to be thereby illuſtrated.

8 [b] "Some." It is paſt doubt that theſe were the Jews. But St. Paul, always tender towards his own nation, forbears to name them, when he pronounces this ſentence, that their caſting-off and deſtruction now at hand, for this ſcandal and other oppoſition to the Chriſtian religion, was juſt.

9 [c] Having, in the ſix foregoing verſes, juſtified the truth of God, notwithſtanding his caſting off the Jews, and vindicating the doctrine of grace; againſt the cavils of the Jews, which two objections of theirs came naturally in his way, the Apoſtle takes up, here again, the Jews queſtion propoſed, ver. 1. and argues it home to the caſe in hand. Τί οὖν προεχόμεθα; being but the ſame with Τὶ οὖν τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου; ver. 1. "Have Jews, then, any preference in the kingdom of the Meſſias?" To which he anſwers, "No, not at all." That this is the meaning, is viſible from the whole chapter, where he lays both Jews and Gentiles in an equal ſtate, in reference to juſtification.

[d] "Already," viz. chap. ii. 3, where St. Paul, under the gentler compellation of, "O man," charges the Jews to be ſinners, as well as the Gentiles: and ver. 17—24. ſhews, that, by having the law, they were no more kept from being ſinners, than the Gentiles were, without the law. And this charge againſt them, that they were ſinners, he here proves againſt them, from the teſtimony of their own ſacred books, contained in the old teſtament.

19 [e] The law here ſignifies the whole old teſtament, which containing revelations from God, in the time of the law, and being, to thoſe under the law, of divine authority, and a rule, as well as the law itſelf, it is ſometimes in the new teſtament called the law; and ſo our Saviour himſelf

TEXT.

things ſoever the law ſaith, it ſaith to them who are under the law; that every mouth may be ſtopped, and all the world may become guilty before God.

20 Therefore by the deeds of the law, there ſhall no fleſh be juſtified in his ſight: for by the law is the knowledge of ſin.

21 But now the righteouſneſs of God, without the law, is manifeſted, being witneſſed by the law and the prophets;

22 Even the righteouſneſs of God, which is by faith of Jeſus Chriſt, unto all, and upon all them that believe; for there is no difference:

23 For all have ſinned, and come ſhort of the glory of God;

24 Being juſtified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jeſus Chriſt:

PARAPHRASE.

Jews, who are under the law, that the mouth of
every Jew, that would juſtify himſelf, might be
ſtopped, and all the world, Jews as well as Gentiles,
may be forced to acknowledge themſelves guilty before
God. From whence it is evident, that by his 20.
own performances, in obedience to a law[a], no[b] man
can attain to an exact conformity to the rule of right,
ſo as to be righteous in the ſight of God. For by
law, which is the publiſhing the rule with a penalty,
we are not delivered from the power of ſin, nor can
it help men to righteouſneſs[c], but by law we come
experimentally to know ſin, in the force and power
of it, ſince we find it prevail upon us, notwithſtanding
the puniſhment of death is, by the law, annexed
to it[d]. But the righteouſneſs of God, that righteouſneſs 21.
which he intended, and will accept, and is a
righteouſneſs not within the rule and rigour of law,
is now made manifeſt, and confirmed by the teſtimony
of the law and the prophets, which bear witneſs
to this truth, that Jeſus is the Meſſias, and that
it is according to his purpoſe and promiſe, that the
righteouſneſs of God, by faith in Jeſus the Meſſias, 22.
is extended to, and beſtowed on, all who believe in
him[e], (for there is no difference between them. They 23.
have all, both Jews and Gentiles, ſinned, and fail of
attaining that glory[f] which God hath appointed for 24.
the righteous) being made righteous gratis, by the
favour of God, through the redemption[g] which is
by

NOTES.

uſes the term law, John x. 34. The meaning of St. Paul here is, that the declarations of God, which he had cited out of the old teſtament, were ſpoken of the Jews, who were under the diſpenſation of the old teſtament, and were, by the word of God to them, all of them pronounced ſinners.

20 [a] Ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, I ſhould render, "by deeds of law," i. e. by actions of conformity to a law requiring the performance of the δικαίωμα Θεοῦ, the right rule of God (mentioned, chap. i. 32.) with a penalty annexed, "no fleſh can be juſtified:" but every one failing of an exact conformity of his actions, to the immutable rectitude of that eternal rule of right, will be found unrighteous, and ſo incur the penalty of the law. That this is the meaning of ἔργα νόμου, is evident, becauſe the Apoſtle's declaration here is concerning all men, πᾶσα σάρξ. But we know the heathen world were not under the law of Moſes: and accordingly, St. Paul does not ſay, ἐξ ἔργων τοῦ νόμου, "by the deeds of the law," but ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, "by deeds of law." Though in the foregoing and following verſe, where he would ſpecify the law of Moſes, he uſes the article with νόμος three times.

[b] "No man." St. Paul uſes here the word fleſh, for man, emphatically, as that wherein the force of ſin is ſeated. Vid. chap. vii. 14, 18. and viii. 13.

[c] The law cannot help men to righteouſneſs. This, which is but implied here, he is large and expreſs in, chap. vii. and is ſaid expreſly, chap. viii. 3. Gal. iii. 21.

[d] Chap. vii. 13.

22 [e] Vid. chap. x. 12. Gal. iii. 22—28.

23 [f] Here the glory, that comes from God, or by his appointment, is called, "the glory of God," as the righteouſneſs, which comes from him, or by his appointment, is called, "the righteouſneſs of God," chap. i. 17. and the rule of moral rectitude, which has God for its author, or is appointed by him, is called δικαίωμα Θεοῦ, chap. i. 32. That this is the glory here meant, vid. ch. ii. 7, 10. In the ſame ſenſe the glory of God is uſed, chap. v. 2.

24 [g] Redemption ſignifies deliverance, but not deliverance from every thing, but deliverance from that, to which a man is in ſubjection, or bondage. Nor does redemption by Jeſus Chriſt import, there was any compenſation made to God, by paying what was of equal value, in conſideration whereof they were delivered; for that is inconſiſtent with what St. Paul expreſly ſays here, viz. that ſinners are juſtified by God gratis, and of his free bounty. What this redemption is, St. Paul tells us, Eph. i. 7. Col. i. 14. even the forgiveneſs of ſins. But if St. Paul had not been ſo expreſs in defining, what he means by redemption, they yet would be thought to lay too much ſtreſs upon the criticiſm of a word, in the tranſlation, who would thereby force from the word,

PARAPHRASE.

25. by Jeſus Chriſt; whom God hath ſet forth to be the propitiatory, or mercy-ſeat [a] in his own blood [b], for the manifeſtation of his [God's] righteouſneſs [c], by paſſing over [d] their tranſgreſſions, formerly committed, which he hath bore with hitherto, ſo as to withhold his hand from caſting off the nation of the
26. Jews, as their paſt ſins deſerved, For the manifeſting of his righteouſneſs [e] at this time [f], that he might be juſt, in keeping his promiſe, and be the juſtifier of every one, not who is of the Jewiſh nation, or extraction,

TEXT.

25 Whom God hath ſet forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteouſneſs for the remiſſion of ſins that are paſt, through the forbearance of God.

26 To declare, I ſay, at this time his righteouſneſs; that he might be juſt, and the juſtifier of him which believeth in Jeſus.

NOTES.

word, in the original, a neceſſary ſenſe, which it is plain it hath not. That redeeming, in the ſacred ſcripture-language, ſignifies not preciſely paying an equivalent, is ſo clear, that nothing can be more. I ſhall refer my reader to three or four places, amongſt a great number; Exod. vi. 6. Deut. vii. 8. and xv. 15. and xxiv. 18. But if any one will, from the literal ſignification of the word in Engliſh, perſiſt in it, againſt St. Paul's declarations, that it neceſſarily implies an equivalent price paid, I deſire him to conſider to whom: and that, if we will ſtrictly adhere to the metaphor, it muſt be to thoſe, whom the redeemed are in bondage to, and from whom we are redeemed, viz. ſin and Satan. If he will not believe his own ſyſtem for this, let him believe St. Paul's words; Tit. ii. 14. "Who gave himſelf for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity." Nor could the price be paid to God, in ſtrictneſs of juſtice (for that is made the argument here); unleſs the ſame perſon ought, by that ſtrict juſtice, to have both the thing redeemed, and the price paid for its redemption. For it is to God we are redeemed, by the death of Chriſt, Rev. v. 9. "Thou waſt ſlain and haſt redeemed us to God by thy blood."

25 [a] Ἱλαστήριον, ſignifies propitiatory, or mercy-ſeat, and not propitiation, as Mr. Mede has rightly obſerved upon this place, in his diſcourſe of God's houſe, §. 1.

[b] The Alexandrine copy omits the words δια πίστεως, "by faith:" which ſeems conformable to the ſenſe of the Apoſtle here: he ſays, that God hath ſet forth Chriſt to be the propitiatory, in his blood. The atonement, under the law, was made by blood, ſprinkled on the propitiatory, or mercy-ſeat, Lev. xvi. 14. Chriſt, ſays St. Paul here, is now ſet out, and ſhewn by God, to be the real propitiatory, or mercy-ſeat, in his own blood; ſee Heb. ix. 25, 26. where the ſacrifice of himſelf is oppoſed to the blood of others. God hath ſet him out to be ſo, to declare his righteouſneſs; the mercy-ſeat being the place, wherein God ſpake and declared his pleaſure, Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. xvii. 8, 9. And it was there, where God always appeared, Lev. xvi. 2. It was the place of his preſence, and therefore he is ſaid to dwell between the cherubim, Pſal. lxxx. 1. 2 Kings xix. 15. For between the cherubim was the mercy-ſeat. In all which reſpects our Saviour, who was the antitype, is properly called the propitiatory.

[c] Δικαιοσύνη, "righteouſneſs," ſeems to be uſed here, in the ſame ſenſe it is ver. 5. for "the righteouſneſs of God," in keeping his word with the nation of the Jews, notwithſtanding their provocations. And, indeed, with the following words of this verſe, contains in it a farther anſwer to the Jews inſinuation, of God's being hard to their nation, by ſhewing that God had been very favourable to them, in not caſting them off, as they had deſerved, till, according to his promiſe, he had ſent them the Meſſias, and they had rejected him.

[d] Διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν, "by paſſing over." I do not remember any place where πάρεσις ſignifies remiſſion, or forgiveneſs, but paſſing by, or paſſing over, as our tranſlation has it in the margin, i. e. over-looking, or as it were, not minding; in which ſenſe, it cannot be applied to the paſt ſins of private perſons, for God neither remits, nor paſſes them by, ſo as not to take notice of them. But this πάρεσις τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων, paſſing over paſt ſins, is ſpoken nationally, in reſpect of the people of the Jews; who, though they were a very ſinful nation, as appears by the places, here brought againſt them, by St. Paul, yet God paſſed by all that, and would not be hindered by their paſt ſinfulneſs, from being juſt, in keeping his promiſe, in exhibiting to them Chriſt, the propitiatory. But, though he would not be provoked by their paſt ſins, ſo as to caſt them off from being his people, before he had ſent them the promiſed Meſſias, to be their Saviour; yet, after that, when, at the due time, he had manifeſted his righteouſneſs to them, "that he might be juſt, and the juſtifier of thoſe who believe in Jeſus," he no longer bore with their ſinful obſtinacy; but, when they rejected the Saviour (whom he had ſent, according to his promiſe) from being their King, God rejected them from being his people, and took the Gentiles into his church, and made them his people, jointly and equally with the few believing Jews. This is plainly the ſenſe of the Apoſtle here, where he is diſcourſing of the nation of the Jews, and their ſtate, in compariſon with the Gentiles; not of the ſtate of private perſons. Let any one without prepoſſeſſion attentively read the context, and he will find it to be ſo.

26 [e] Δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, "his righteouſneſs," is here to be underſtood in both ſenſes, in which St. Paul had uſed it before, in this chapter, viz. ver. 5, and 22. as it is manifeſt by St. Paul's explaining of it himſelf, in theſe words immediately following: "that he might be juſt, and the juſtifier of him who believeth in Jeſus," which are the two ſenſes, wherein the righteouſneſs of God is uſed.

[f] "At this time," viz. The fulneſs of time, according to his promiſe.

TEXT.

27 Where is boaſting then? it is excluded. By what law? of works? nay: but by the law of faith.

28 Therefore we conclude, that a man is juſtified by faith, without the deeds of the law.

29 Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not alſo of the Gentiles? yes, of the Gentiles alſo:

30 Seeing it is one God, which ſhall juſtify the circumciſion by faith, and uncircumciſion through faith.

31 Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we eſtabliſh the law.

PARAPHRASE.

extraction, but of the faith [a] in Jeſus Chriſt. What 27.
reaſon, then, have you Jews to glory [b], and ſet your
ſelves ſo much above the Gentiles, in judging them,
as you do? None at all: boaſting is totally excluded.
By what law? By the law of works? No, but by
the law of faith. I conclude therefore [c], that a man 28.
is juſtified by faith, and not by the works of the
law [d]. Is God the God of the Jews only, and not of 29.
the Gentiles alſo? Yea, certainly, of the Gentiles
alſo. Since the time is come that God is no longer 30.
one to the Jews, and another to the Gentiles, but
he is now become one and the ſame [e] God to them
all, and will juſtify the Jews by faith, and the Gentiles
alſo through faith, who, by the law of Moſes,
were heretofore ſhut out [f] from being the people of
God. Do we then make the law [g] inſignificant, or 31.
uſeleſs, by our doctrine of faith? By no means: but,
on the contrary, we eſtabliſh [h] and confirm the law.

NOTES.

[a] Τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ, if this phraſe had been tranſlated, him that is of the faith of Jeſus, as it is chap. iv. 16. and Gal. iii. 7. rather than him which believeth in Jeſus, it would better have expreſſed the Apoſtle's meaning here, which was to diſtinguiſh οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, thoſe who are of faith, from οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, or οἱ ἐκ νόμου, thoſe who are of the circumciſion, or thoſe who are of the law, ſpeaking of them, as of two ſorts, or races of men, or two different extractions. To underſtand this place fully, let any one read chap. iv. 12—16. Gal. iii. 7—10. where he will find the Apoſtle's ſenſe more at large.

27 [b] The glorying here ſpoken of, is that of the Jews, i. e. their judging of the Gentiles, and their contempt of them, which St. Paul had before in ſeveral places taken notice of. And here, to take down their pride and vanity, he tells them, it is wholly excluded by the Goſpel, wherein God, who is the God of the Gentiles, as well as of the Jews, juſtifieth by faith alone the Jews as well as the Gentiles, ſince no man could be juſtified by the deeds of the law. This ſeems to be ſaid to the converted Jews, to ſtop their thinking that they had any advantage over the Gentiles under the Goſpel. No, ſays he, the Goſpel which is the law of faith lays you equal with the Gentiles, and you have no ground to aſſume any thing to yourſelves, or ſet yourſelves above them, now under the Meſſias. This, and all the reſt to this purpoſe in this epiſtle, is ſaid to eſtabliſh the converted Romans in their title to the favour of God, equally with the Jews, in the Goſpel, and to fortify them againſt any diſturbance that might be given them by the pretending Jews, which is the principal deſign of this epiſtle, as we have already obſerved.

28 [c] "Therefore." This inference is drawn from what he had taught, ver. 23.

[d] Vid. Act xiii. 39. chap. viii. 3. Gal. ii. 16.

30 [e] Ἐπείπερ εἷς ὁ Θεὸς, "ſince God is one." He that will ſee the force of St. Paul's reaſoning here, muſt look to Zachary xiv. 9. from whence theſe words are taken, where the prophet ſpeaking of the time, when the Lord ſhall be King over all the earth, and not barely over the little people, ſhut up in the land of Canaan, he ſays, "in that day there ſhall be one Lord," i. e. God ſhall not be as he is now, the God of the Jews alone, whom only he hath known, of all the people of the earth; but he ſhall be the God of the Gentiles alſo, the ſame merciful, reconciled God to the people of all nations. This prophecy the Jews underſtood of the times of the Meſſias, and St. Paul here preſſes them with it.

[f] It was impoſſible for remote nations to keep the law of Moſes, a great part of the worſhip, required by it, being local, and confined to the temple at Jeruſalem.

31 [g] Νόμον, law, is here repeated twice, without the article, and it is plain that by it St. Paul does not mean preciſely the moſaical law, but ſo much of it, as is contained in the natural and eternal rule of right, mentioned chap. i. 33. and xi. 26. and is again by a poſitive command reenacted and continued as a law under the Meſſias, vid. Mat. xxviii. 20.

[h] "Eſtabliſh." The doctrine of juſtification by faith neceſſarily ſuppoſeth a rule of righteouſneſs, which thoſe, who are juſtified by faith, come ſhort of; and alſo a puniſhment incurred, from which they are ſet free, by being juſtified: and ſo this doctrine eſtabliſhes a law; and accordingly the moral part of the law of Moſes, that δικαίωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, as the Apoſtle calls it in the place above-quoted, chap. i. 32. is inforced again, by our Saviour and the Apoſtles, in the Goſpel, with penalties annexed to the breach of it.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. IV. 1——25.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul having, in the foregoing ſection, cut off all glorying from the Jews, upon the account of their having the law, and ſhewn, that that gave them no manner of title, or pretence to be the people of God, more than the Gentiles under the Meſſias, and ſo they had no reaſon to judge, or exclude the Gentiles, as they did, he comes here to prove that their lineal extraction from their father Abraham, gave them no better a pretence of glorying, or of ſetting themſelves upon that account above the Gentiles, now, in the time of the Goſpel.

1. Becauſe Abraham himſelf was juſtified by faith, and ſo had not whereof to glory; for as much as he that receiveth righteouſneſs, as a boon, has no reaſon to glory: but he that attains it by works.

2. Becauſe neither they, who had circumciſion derived down to them, as the poſterity of Abraham, nor they who had the law; but they only, who had faith, were the ſeed of Abraham, to whom the promiſe was made. And therefore, the bleſſing of juſtification was intended for the Gentiles, and beſtowed on them as well as on the Jews, and upon the ſame ground.

PARAPHRASE.

1. WHAT then ſhall we ſay, of Abraham our
father, according to the fleſh[a], what has he
2. obtained? has not he found matter of glorying? Yes;
if he were juſtified by works, he had matter of glorying[b],
he might then have gloried over the reſt of the
Gentile world, in having God for his God, and he
and his family being God's people, but he had no
3. ſubject of glorying before God, As it is evident from
ſacred ſcripture, which telleth us, that Abraham believed
God, and it was counted to him for righteouſneſs.
4. Now there had been no need of any ſuch
counting, any ſuch allowance, if he had attained
righteouſneſs by works of obedience, exactly conformable,
and coming up, to the rule of righteouſneſs.
For what reward a man has made himſelf a
title to, by his performances, that he receives as a
5. debt that is due, and not as a gift of favour. But to
him, that by his works attains not righteouſneſs, but
only believeth on God, who juſtifieth him, being
ungodly,

TEXT.

WHAT ſhall we ſay then, that Abraham our father, as pertaining to the fleſh, hath found? 1

For, if Abraham were juſtified by works, he hath whereof to glory, but not before God. 2

For what ſaith the ſcripture? Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteouſneſs. 3

Now to him that worketh, is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt. 4

But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him, that 5

NOTES.

1 [a] "Our father, according to the fleſh." St. Paul ſpeaks here, as lineally deſcended from Abraham, and joins himſelf herein, with the reſt of his nation, of whom he calls Abraham the father, according to the fleſh, to diſtinguiſh the Jews by birth, from thoſe, who were Abraham's ſeed according to the promiſe, viz. thoſe, who were of the faith of Abraham, whether Jews, or Gentiles, a diſtinction, which he inſiſts on, all through this chapter.

2 [b] Κάυχημα, tranſlated here "glorying," I take to ſignify the ſame with καυχᾶσαι, tranſlated "boaſting," chap. ii. 17, 23. in which places it is uſed to ſignify the Jews valuing themſelves, upon ſome national privileges, above the reſt of the world, as if they had thereby ſome peculiar right to the favour of God, above other men. This the Jewiſh nation, thinking themſelves, alone, to have a title to be the people of God, expreſſed, in their judging the Gentiles, whom they deſpiſed, and looked on as unworthy and uncapable to be received into the kingdom of the Meſſias, and admitted into fellowſhip with their nation, under the goſpel. This conceit of theirs St. Paul oppoſes here, and makes it his buſineſs to ſhew the falſehood and groundleſſneſs of it, all through the eleven firſt chapters of this epiſtle. I aſk, whether it would not help the Engliſh reader the better to find and purſue the ſenſe of St. Paul, if the Greek term were every where rendred by the ſame Engliſh word? whether "boaſting," or "glorying," I think of no great conſequence, ſo one of them be kept to.

TEXT.

juſtifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteouſneſs.

6 Even as David alſo deſcribeth the bleſſedneſs of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteouſneſs without works.

7 Saying, bleſſed are they, whoſe iniquities are forgiven, and whoſe ſins are covered.

8 Bleſſed is the man, to whom the Lord will not impute ſin.

9 Cometh this bleſſedneſs, then, upon the circumciſion only, or upon the uncircumciſion alſo? for we ſay, that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteouſneſs.

10 How was it, then, reckoned? when he was in circumciſion, or in uncircumciſion? not in circumciſion, but in uncircumciſion.

11 And he received the ſign of circumciſion, a ſeal of the righteouſneſs of the faith, which he had, yet being uncircumciſed: that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumciſed; that righteouſneſs might be imputed unto them alſo:

12 And the father of circumciſion to them, who are not of the circumciſion only, but alſo walk in the ſteps of that faith of our father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumciſed.

PARAPHRASE.

ungodly [a], to him juſtification is a favour of grace: becauſe his believing is accounted to him for righteouſneſs, or perfect obedience. Even as David ſpeaks of the bleſſedneſs of the man, to whom God reckoneth righteouſneſs without works, Saying, "Bleſſed are "they whoſe iniquities are forgiven, and whoſe ſins "are covered. Bleſſed is the man to whom the Lord "will not reckon [b] ſin." Is this bleſſedneſs then upon the circumciſed only, or upon the uncircumciſed alſo? for we ſay, that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteouſneſs. When, therefore, was it reckoned to him? when he was in circumciſion, or in uncircumciſion? not in circumciſion, but in uncircumciſion. For he received the ſign of circumciſion, a ſeal of the righteouſneſs of the faith, which he had, being yet uncircumciſed [c], that he might be the father of all thoſe who believe, being uncircumciſed, that righteouſneſs might be reckoned to them alſo; And the father of the circumciſed, that righteouſneſs might be reckoned, not to thoſe who were barely of the circumciſion, but to ſuch of the circumciſion, as did alſo walk in the ſteps of the faith of our father Abraham, which he had, being uncircumciſed [d]. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

For

NOTES.

5 [a] Τὸν ἀσεβῆ, "him being ungodly." By theſe words St. Paul plainly points out Abraham, who was ἀσεβὴς, "ungodly," i. e. a Gentile, not a worſhipper of the true God, when God called him. Vid. note, ch. i. 18.

8 [b] Λογίζεται, "reckoneth." What this imputing or reckoning of righteouſneſs is, may be ſeen in ver. 8. viz. the not reckoning of ſin to any one, the not putting ſin to his account: the Apoſtle, in theſe two verſes, uſing theſe two expreſſions, as equivalent. From hence the expreſſion, of blotting out of iniquity, ſo frequently uſed in ſacred ſcripture, may be underſtood, i. e. the ſtriking it out of the account. Λογίζεσθαι ſignifies to reckon, or account, and with a dative caſe, to put to any one's account; and accordingly, ver. 3, 4, 5. it is tranſlated, counted, or reckoned; which word, for the ſake of Engliſh readers, I have kept to in this, and ver. 9, 10, and 11.

11 [c] See Gen. xvii. 11.

11, 12 [d] What righteouſneſs reckoned to any one, or as it is uſually called, imputed righteouſneſs, is, St. Paul explains, ver. 6—8. Whom this bleſſing belongs to, he enquires, ver. 9. and here, ver. 11, and 12. he declares, who are the children of Abraham, that from him inherit this bleſſing, ver. 11. he ſpeaks of the Gentiles, and there ſhews that Abraham, who was juſtified by faith, before he was circumciſed, (the want whereof, the Jews, looked on, as a diſtinguiſhing mark of a Gentile) was the father of all thoſe, among the Gentiles, who ſhould believe, without being circumciſed. And here, ver. 12. he ſpeaks of the Jews, and ſays, that Abraham was their father; but not that all ſhould be juſtified, who were only circumciſed; but thoſe, who, to their circumciſion, added the faith of Abraham, which he had, before he was circumciſed. That which miſled thoſe, who miſtook the ſenſe of St. Paul here, ſeems to be, their not obſerving that τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς, is referred to, and governed by εἰς τὸ λογισθῆναι, which muſt be ſuppoſed repeated here, after πατέρα περιτομῆς. Or elſe the Apoſtle's ſenſe and argument will not ſtand in its full force, but the antitheſis will be loſt, by preſerving of which the ſenſe runs thus: And the father, of the circumciſed, that righteouſneſs might be imputed to thoſe who, &c. Another thing very apt to miſlead them, was the joining of μόνον only, to οὐκ not, as if it were οὐ μόνον τοῖς, not only thoſe who are of the circumciſion, whereas it ſhould be underſtood, as it ſtands joined to περιτομῆς, and ſo περιτομῆς μόνον are beſt tranſlated barely circumciſion, and the Apoſtle's ſenſe runs thus: "That he might be the father of the Gentiles that believe, though they be not circumciſed, that "righteouſneſs might be imputed to them alſo; and the father of the Jews, that righteouſneſs "might be imputed, not to them who have circumciſion only, but to them who alſo walk in "the ſteps of the faith of our father Abraham, which he had being uncircumciſed." In which

way

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Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. IV. For the promiſe [a], that he ſhould be poſſeſſor of the
13. world, was not that Abraham, and thoſe of his ſeed,
who were under the law, ſhould, by virtue of their
having and owning the law, be poſſeſſed of it; but
by the righteouſneſs of faith, whereby thoſe who
were, without the law, ſcattered all over the world,
beyond the borders of Canaan, became his poſterity,
and had him for their father [b], and inherited the bleſſing
14. of juſtification by faith. For, if they only who
had the law of Moſes given them, were heirs of
Abraham, faith is made void and uſeleſs [c], it receiving
no benefit of the promiſe, which was made to
the heirs of Abraham's faith, and ſo the promiſe becomes
15. of no effect. Becauſe the law procures them
not juſtification [d], but renders them liable to the
wrath and puniſhment of God [e], who by the law,
has made known to them what is ſin, and what puniſhment
he has annexed to it. For there is no incurring
wrath, or puniſhment, where there is no law
16. that ſays any thing of it [f]: Therefore the inheritance [g]
is of faith, that it might be meerly of favour, to the
end that the promiſe might be ſure to all the ſeed of
Abraham; not to that part of it only, which has
faith, being under the law; but to that part alſo,
who, without the law, inherit the faith of Abraham,
who is the father of us all who believe, whether
17. Jews or Gentiles, (As it is written [h], "I have made
thee a father of many nations.") I ſay the father of
us all (in the account of God, whom he believed,
and

TEXT.

For the promiſe, that he 13
ſhould be the heir of the world,
was not to Abraham, or to his
ſeed, through the law, but
through the righteouſneſs of
faith.

For if they, which are of 14
the law, be heirs, faith is made
void, and the promiſe made of
none effect.

Becauſe the law worketh 15
wrath: for where no law is,
there is no tranſgreſſion.

Therefore it is of faith, that 16
it might be by grace; to the
end the promiſe might be ſure
to all the ſeed, not to that
only, which is of the law, but
to that alſo, which is of the
faith of Abraham, who is the
father of us all,

(As it is written, "I have 17
"made thee a father of many
"nations") before him whom
he believed, even God, who

NOTES.

way of underſtanding this paſſage, not only the Apoſtle's meaning is very plain, eaſy, and coherent; but the conſtruction of the Greek exactly correſponds to that of ver. 11. and is genuine, eaſy, and natural, which any other way will be very perplexed.

13 [a] The promiſe, here meant, is that which he ſpeaks of ver. 11. whereby Abraham was made the father of all that ſhould believe, all the world over, and, for that reaſon, he is called κληρονομος κόσμου, "heir, or Lord of the world." For the believers, of all nations of the world, being given to him for a poſterity, he becomes, thereby, lord and poſſeſſor (for ſo heir amongſt the Hebrews ſignified) of the world. For it is plain, the Apoſtle, in this verſe, purſues the argument he was upon, in the two former. And it is alſo plain, that St. Paul makes circumciſion to be the ſeal of the promiſe, made to Abraham, Gen. xii. as well as of that made to him, Gen. xvii. and ſo both theſe to be but one covenant, and that of ch. xvii. to be but a repetition and farther explication of the former, as is evident from this chapter, compared with Gal. iii. In both which the Apoſtle argues, that the Gentiles were intended to be juſtified, as well as the Jews, and that both Jews and Gentiles, who are juſtified, are juſtified by faith, and not by the works of the law.

[b] Gal. iii. 7.

14 [c] See Gal. iii. 18.

15 [d] Ch. viii. 3. Gall. iii. 21.

[e] See ch. iii. 19, 20. and v. 10, 13, 20. and vii. 7, 8, 10. 1 Cor. xv. 56. Gal. iii. 19. John ix. 41. and xv. 22.

[f] Οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος, οὐδὲ παράβασις, of that, concerning which there is no law, with the ſanction of a puniſhment annexed, there can be no tranſgreſſion, incurring wrath or puniſhment. Thus it may be rendered, if we read ου with an aſpiration, as ſome do. But whether it be taken to ſignify where, or whereof, the ſenſe will be the ſame. Παράβασις here, to make St. Paul's argument of force, muſt ſignify ſuch a tranſgreſſion, as draws on the tranſgreſſor wrath and puniſhment, by the force and ſanction of a law. And ſo the Apoſtle's propoſition is made good, that it is the law alone, that expoſes us to wrath, and that is all that the law can do, for it gives us no power to perform.

16 [g] The grammatical conſtruction does not ſeem much to favour "inheritance," as the word to be ſupplied here, becauſe it does not occur in the preceding verſes. But he, that obſerves St. Paul's way of writing, who more regards things, than forms of ſpeaking, will be ſatisfied, that it is enough that he mentioned, "heirs," ver. 13, and 14. and that he does mean inheritance here, Gal. iii. 11. puts it paſt doubt.

17 [h] See Gen. xvii. 16.

TEXT.

quickneth the dead, and calleth thoſe things, which be not, as though they were:

18 Who, againſt hope, believed in hope, that he might become the father of many nations, according to that which was ſpoken, "ſo ſhall "thy ſeed be."

19 And being not weak in faith, he conſidered not his own body now dead, when he was about an hundred years old, neither yet the deadneſs of Sara's womb.

20 He ſtaggered not at the promiſe of God, through unbelief: but was ſtrong in faith, giving glory to God:

21 And being fully perſuaded, that what he had promiſed, he was able alſo to perform.

22 And, therefore, it was imputed to him for righteouſneſs.

23 Now it was not written for his ſake alone, that it was imputed to him;

24 But for us alſo, to whom it ſhall be imputed, if we believe on him that raiſed up Jeſus our Lord from the dead,

25 Who was delivered for our offences, and was raiſed again for our juſtification.

PARAPHRASE.

and who accordingly quickened the dead, i. e. Abraham and Sarah, whoſe bodies were dead; and calleth things that are not, as if they were [a]:) Who with- 18.
out any hope, which the natural courſe of things
could afford, did in hope believe, that he ſhould become the father of many nations, according to what
God had ſpoken, by God's ſhewing him the ſtars of
heaven, ſaying, ſo ſhall thy ſeed be. And being firm 19.
and unſhaken in his faith, he regarded not his own
body, now dead, he being about an hundred years
old; nor the deadneſs of Sarah's womb; He ſtag- 20.
gered not at the promiſe of God, through unbelief,
but was ſtrong in faith, thereby giving glory to God;
By the full perſuaſion he had, that God was able to 21.
perform what he had promiſed: And therefore it was 22.
accounted to him for righteouſneſs. Now this, of 23.
its being reckoned to him, was not written for his
ſake alone, But for our's alſo, to whom faith will be 24.
reckoned for righteouſneſs, viz. to as many as believe
in him, who raiſed Jeſus our Lord from the dead [b], 25.
Who was delivered to death for our offences [c], and
was raiſed again for our [d] juſtification.

NOTES.

[a] Gen. xvii. 5, 6.

24 [b] St. Paul ſeems to mention this here, in particular, to ſhew the analogy between Abraham's faith, and that of believers, under the Goſpel: ſee ver. 17.

25 [c] See Rom. iii. 25. and v. 6, 10. Eph. i. 7, 11, 14. and v. 2 Col. i. 14, 20—22. 1 Tim. ii. 6. Tit. ii. 14.

[d] 1 Cor. xv. 17. I have ſet down all theſe texts out of St. Paul, that in them might be ſeen his own explication of what he ſays here, viz. that our Saviour, by his death, atoned for our ſins, and ſo we were innocent, and thereby freed from the puniſhment, due to ſin. But he aroſe again to aſcertain to us eternal life, the conſequence of juſtification; for the reward of righteouſneſs is eternal life, which inheritance we have a title to, by adoption in Jeſus Chriſt. But, if he himſelf had not that inheritance, if he had not roſe into the poſſeſſion of eternal life, we who hold, by and under him, could not have riſen from the dead, and ſo could never have come to be pronounced righteous, and to have received the reward of it, everlaſting life. Hence St. Paul tells us, 1 Cor. xv. 17. that "if Chriſt be not raiſed, our faith is vain, we are yet in our ſins," i. e. as to the attainment of eternal life, it is all one as if our ſins were not forgiven. And thus he roſe, for our juſtification, i. e. to aſſure to us eternal life, the conſequence of juſtification. And this I think is confirmed by our Saviour in theſe words, "becauſe I live, ye ſhall live alſo," John xiv. 19.

SECT. V.

CHAP. V. 1—11.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul, in the foregoing chapters, has examined the glorying of the Jews, and their valuing themſelves ſo highly, above the Gentiles, and ſhewn the vanity of their boaſting in circumciſion and the law, ſince neither they, nor their father Abraham, were juſtified, or found acceptance with God, by circumciſion, or the deeds of the law: and therefore they had no reaſon ſo, as they did, to preſs circumciſion and the law on the Gentiles, or exclude thoſe, who had

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them not, from being the people of God, and unfit for their communion, in and under the Goſpel. In this ſection, he comes to ſhew what the convert Gentiles, by faith without circumciſion, or the law, had to glory in, viz. the hope of glory, ver. 2. their ſufferings for the Goſpel, ver. 3. And God as their God, ver. 11. In theſe three it is eaſy to obſerve the thread and coherence of St. Paul's diſcourſe here, the intermediate verſes (according to that abounding with matter, and overflowing of thought, he was filled with) being taken up with an incidental train of conſiderations, to ſhew the reaſon they had to glory in tribulations.

PARAPHRASE.

1. THerefore, being juſtified by faith, we [a] have
peace with God, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,
2. By whom we have had admittance, through faith,
into that favour, in which we have ſtood, and glory
[b] in the hope of the glory, which God has in ſtore
3. for us. And not only ſo, but we glory in tribulation
alſo, knowing that tribulation worketh patience;
4. And patience giveth us a proof of ourſelves, which
5. furniſhes us with hope; And our hope maketh not
aſhamed, will not deceive us, becauſe [c] the ſenſe of
the love of God is poured out into our hearts by the
6. Holy Ghoſt, which is given unto us *. For when
we Gentiles were yet without ſtrength †, void of
all help, or ability to deliver ourſelves, Chriſt in the
time that God had appointed and foretold, died for
us, who lived without the acknowledgment and
7. worſhip of the true God †, Scarce is it to be found,
that any one will die for a juſt man, if peradventure
8. one ſhould dare to die for a good man; But God recommends,
and herein ſhews the greatneſs of his love [d],
towards us, in that, whilſt we Gentiles were a maſs
9. of profligate ſinners [e], Chriſt died for us. Much
more, therefore, now being juſtified by his death,
ſhall

TEXT.

1 THerefore being juſtified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

2 By whom alſo we have acceſs, by faith, into this grace, wherein we ſtand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God.

3 And not only ſo, but we glory in tribulations alſo, knowing that tribulation worketh patience;

4 And patience, experience; and experience, hope;

5 And hope maketh not aſhamed, becauſe the love of God is ſhed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghoſt, which is given unto us.

6 For, when we were yet without ſtrength, in due time Chriſt died for the ungodly.

7 For ſcarcely for a righteous man will one die: yet, peradventure, for a good man ſome would even dare to die.

8 But God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet ſinners, Chriſt died for us.

9 Much more then, being now juſtified by his blood, we

NOTES.

1 [a] "We," i. e. we Gentiles, that are not under the law. It is in their names, that St. Paul ſpeaks, in the three laſt verſes of the foregoing chapter, and all through this ſection, as is evident from the illation here, "therefore, being juſtified by faith, we." It being an inference, drawn from his having proved, in the former chapter, that the promiſe was not to the Jews alone, but to the Gentiles alſo: and that juſtification was, not by the law, but by faith, and conſequently deſigned for the Gentiles, as well as the Jews.

2 [b] Καυχώμεθα, "we glory." The ſame word here for the convert Gentiles, that he had uſed before, for the boaſting of the Jews, and the ſame word he uſed, where he examined what Abraham had found. The taking notice whereof, as we have already obſerved, may help to lead us into the Apoſtle's ſenſe: and plainly ſhews us here, that St. Paul, in this ſection, oppoſes the advantages, the Gentile converts to Chriſtianity have, by faith, to thoſe the Jews gloried in, with ſo much haughtineſs and contempt of the Gentiles.

5 [c] "Becauſe." * The force of this inference ſeems to ſtand thus: The hope of eternal happineſs, which we glory in, cannot deceive us, becauſe the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, beſtowed upon us, aſſure us of the love of God towards us, the Jews themſelves acknowledging that the Holy Ghoſt is given to none, but thoſe who are God's own people.

8 [d] Another evidence St. Paul gives them here, of the love of God towards them, and the ground they had to glory in the hopes of eternal ſalvation, is the death of Chriſt for them, whilſt they were yet in their Gentile ſtate, which he deſcribes by calling them,

6, 8 [e] † Ἀσθενεῖς, "without ſtrength;" Ἀσεβεῖς, "ungodly;" Ἁμαρτωλοὶ, "ſinners;" Ἐχθροὶ, "enemies:" theſe four epithets are given to them as Gentiles, they being uſed, by St. Paul, as the proper attributes of the heathen world, as conſidered in conta-diſtinction to the Jewiſh nation. What St. Paul ſays of the Gentiles, in other places, will clear this. The helpleſs condition of the Gentile world in the ſtate of Gentiliſm, ſignified here by ἀσθενεῖς, without ſtrength, he terms, Col. ii. 13. dead in ſin, a ſtate, if any, of weakneſs. And hence he ſays to the Romans, converted to Jeſus Chriſt, "yield yourſelves unto God, as thoſe that are alive from the dead, and yourſelves "as inſtruments of righteouſneſs unto God," chap. vi. 13. How he deſcribes ἀσέβειαν, ungodli-
neſs,

TEXT.

ſhall be ſaved from wrath through him.

PARAPHRASE.

ſhall we through him be delivered from condemnation

NOTES.

neſs, mentioned chap. i. 18. as the proper ſtate of the Gentiles, we may ſee ver. 21, 23. That he thought the title ἁμαρτωλοὶ, "ſinners," belonged peculiarly to the Gentiles, in contra-diſtinction to the Jews, he puts it paſt doubt, in theſe words, "we who are Jews by nature, and not ſinners of the Gentiles," Gal. ii. 15. See alſo chap. vi. 17—22. And as for ἐχθροὶ, "enemies," you have the Gentiles before their converſion to Chriſtianity ſo called, Col. i. 21. St. Paul, Eph. ii. 1—13. deſcribes the heathen, a little more at large, but yet the parts of the character he there gives them, we may find compriſed in theſe four epithets; the ἀσθενεῖς, "weak," ver. 1, 5. the ἀσεβεῖς, "ungodly," and ἁμαρτωλοὶ, "ſinners," ver. 2, 3. and the ἐχθροὶ, "enemies," ver. 11, 12.

If it were remembered that St. Paul all along, through the eleven firſt chapters of this epiſtle, ſpeaks nationally, of the Jews and Gentiles, as it is viſible he does, and not perſonally, of ſingle men, there would be leſs difficulty, and fewer miſtakes, in underſtanding this epiſtle. This one place, we are upon, is a ſufficient inſtance of it. For if, by theſe terms here, we ſhall underſtand him to denote all men perſonally, Jews as well as Gentiles, before they are ſavingly ingrafted into Jeſus Chriſt, we ſhall make his diſcourſe here disjointed, and his ſenſe mightily perplexed, if at all conſiſtent.

That there were ſome among the heathen, as innocent in their lives, and as far from enmity to God, as ſome among the Jews, cannot be queſtioned. Nay, that many of them were not ἀσεβεῖς, but σεβόμενοι, worſhippers of the true God, if we could doubt of it, is manifeſt out of the Acts of the Apoſtles; but yet St. Paul, in the places above quoted, pronounces them all together, ἀσεβεῖς, and αθεοι, (for that, by theſe two terms, applied to the ſame perſons, he means the ſame, i. e ſuch as did not acknowledge and worſhip the true God, ſeems plain) ungodly, and ſinners of the Gentiles, as nationally belonging to them, in contra-diſtinction to the people of the Jews, who were the people of God, whilſt the other were the provinces of the kingdom of Satan: Not but that there were ſinners, heinous ſinners, among the Jews: but the nation, conſidered as one body and ſociety of men, diſowned and declared againſt, and oppoſed itſelf to, thoſe crimes and impurities, which are mentioned by St. Paul, chap. i. 24, &c. as woven into the religious and politic conſtitutions of the Gentiles. There they had their full ſcope and ſwing, had allowance, countenance, and protection. The idolatrous nations had, by their religions, laws, and forms of government, made themſelves the open votaries, and were the profeſſed ſubjects of devils. So, St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 20, 21. truly calls the gods they worſhipped and paid their homage to. And ſuitably hereunto, their religious obſervances, it is well known, were not without great impurities, which were of right charged upon them, when they had a place in their ſacred offices, and had the recommendation of religion, to give them credit. The reſt of the vices, in St. Paul's black liſt, which were not warmed at their altars, and foſtered in their temples, were yet, by the connivance of the law, cheriſhed in their private houſes, and made a part of the uncondemned actions of common life, and had the countenance of cuſtom to authorize them, even in the beſt regulated and moſt civilized governments of the heathen. On the contrary, the frame of the Jewiſh commonwealth was founded on the acknowledgment and worſhip of the one only, true, and inviſible God, and their laws required an extraordinary purity of life, and ſtrictneſs of manners.

That the Gentiles were ſtiled ἐχθροὶ, "enemies," in a political or national ſenſe, is plain from Eph. ii. where they are called, "aliens from the common wealth of Iſrael, and ſtrangers from the covenant." Abraham, on the other ſide, was called, the friend of God, i. e. one in covenant with him, and his profeſſed ſubject, that owned God to the world: and ſo were his poſterity, the people of the Jews, whilſt the reſt of the world were under revolt, and lived in open rebellion againſt him, vid. Iſa. xli. 8. And here in this epiſtle, St. Paul expreſly teaches, that when the nation of the Jews, by rejecting of the Meſſias, put themſelves out of the kingdom of God, and were caſt off, from being any longer the people of God, they became enemies, and the Gentile world were reconciled. See chap. xi. 15, 28. Hence St. Paul, who was the Apoſtle of the Gentiles, calls his performing that office, the miniſtry of reconciliation, 2 Cor. v. 18. And here in this chapter, ver. 1. the privilege, which they receive, by the accepting of the covenant of grace in Jeſus Chriſt, he tells them is this, that they have peace with God, i. e. are no longer incorporated with his enemies, and of the party of the open rebels againſt him, in the kingdom of Satan, being returned to their natural allegiance, in their owning the one, true, ſupreme God, in ſubmitting to the kingdom, he had ſet up in his ſon, and being received by him, as his ſubjects. Suitably hereunto St. James, ſpeaking of the converſion of the Gentiles to the profeſſion of the Goſpel, ſays of it, that "God did viſit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name." Acts xv 14. and ver. 19. he calls the converts, thoſe who, "from among the Gentiles, are turned to God."

Beſides what is to be found, in other parts of St. Paul's epiſtles, to juſtify the taking of theſe words here, as applied nationally to the Gentiles, in contra-diſtinction to the children of Iſrael, that which St. Paul ſays, ver. 10, 11. makes it neceſſary to underſtand them ſo. "We," ſays he, "when we were enemies were reconciled to God, and ſo we now glory in him, as our God." "We," here, muſt unavoidably be ſpoken in the name of the Gentiles, as is plain, not only by the whole tenour of this ſection, but from this paſſage, "of glorying in God," which he mentions as a privilege now of the believing Gentiles, ſurpaſſing that of the Jews, whom he had taken notice of before, chap. ii. 17. as being forward to glory in God, as their peculiar right, though with no great advantage to themſelves. But the Gentiles, who were reconciled now to God, by Chriſt's death, and taken into covenant with God, as many as received the Goſpel, had a new and better title to this glorying, than the Jews. Thoſe, that now are reconciled, and glory in God as their

God,

PARAPHRASE.

10. tion [a] at the day of judgment. For if, when we were enemies †, we were reconciled to God, by the death of his ſon, much more, being reconciled, ſhall we be ſaved by his life.

11. And not only [b] do we glory in tribulation, but alſo in God, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom now [c] we have received reconciliation.

TEXT.

10 For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the death of his ſon: much more being reconciled, we ſhall be ſaved by his life.

11 And not only ſo, but we alſo joy in God, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom we have now received the atonement.

NOTES.

God, he ſays were enemies. The Jews, who had the ſame corrupt nature, common to them with the reſt of mankind, are no where, that I know, called ἐχθροὶ, enemies, or ἀσεβεῖς, ungodly, whilſt they publickly owned him for their God, and profeſſed to be his people. But the heathen were deemed enemies for being "aliens to the common-wealth of Iſrael, and ſtrangers from the covenants of promiſe." There were never but two kingdoms in the world, that of God, and that of the devil; theſe were oppoſite, and, therefore, the ſubjects of the latter could not but be in the ſtate of enemies, and fall under that denomination. The revolt from God was univerſal, and the nations of the earth had given themſelves up to idolatry, when God called Abraham, and took him into covenant with himſelf, as he did afterwards the whole nation of the Iſraelites, whereby they were re-admitted into his kingdom, came under his protection, and were his people and ſubjects, and no longer enemies, whilſt all the reſt of the nations remained in the ſtate of rebellion, the profeſſed ſubjects of other gods, who were uſurpers upon God's right, and enemies of this kingdom. And, indeed, if the four epithets be not taken, to be ſpoken here, of the Gentile world, in this political and truly evangelical ſenſe, but in the ordinary, ſyſtematical notion, applied to all mankind, as belonging univerſally to every man perſonally, whether by profeſſion Gentile, Jew, or Chriſtian, before he be actually regenerated by a ſaving faith, and an effectual, thorough converſion; the illative particle "wherefore," in the beginning of ver. 12. will hardly connect it, and what follows, to the foregoing part of this chapter. But the eleven firſt verſes muſt be taken for a parentheſis, and then the "therefore," in the beginning of this fifth chapter, which joins it to the fourth, with a very clear connexion, will be wholly inſignificant; and, after all, the ſenſe of the 12th verſe will but ill ſodder with the end of the fourth chapter, notwithſtanding the "wherefore," which is taken to bring them in, as an inference. Whereas, theſe eleven firſt verſes being ſuppoſed to be ſpoken of the Gentiles, makes them not only of a-piece with St. Paul's deſign, in the foregoing and following chapters, but the thread of the whole diſcourſe goes very ſmooth, and the inferences (uſhered in with "therefore," in the firſt verſe, and with "wherefore," in the 12th verſe) are very eaſy, clear, and natural, from the immediately preceding verſes. That of the firſt verſe may be ſeen, in what we have already ſaid, and that of the 12th verſe in ſhort ſtands thus; "We Gentiles have, by Chriſt, received the reconciliation, which we cannot doubt to be intended for us, as well as for the Jews, ſince ſin and death entered into the world by Adam, the common father of us all. And as, by the diſobedience of that one, condemnation of death came on all; ſo by the obedience of one, juſtification to life came upon all."

9 [a] What St. Paul here calls "wrath," he calls "the wrath to come," 1 Theſſ. i. 10. and generally in the new teſtament, "wrath," is put for the puniſhment of the wicked at the laſt day.

11 [b] Οὐ μόνον δὲ, "and not only ſo." I think no body can with the leaſt attention read this ſection, without perceiving that theſe words join this verſe to the 3d. The Apoſtle in the 2d verſe ſays, "we the Gentiles, who believe, glory in the hopes of an eternal, ſplendid ſtate of bliſs." In the third verſe he adds, οὐ μόνον δὲ, "and not only ſo, but our afflictions are to us matter of glorying," which he proves, in the ſeven following verſes, and then ver. 11. adds, οὐ μόνον δὲ, "and not only ſo; but we glory in God alſo, as our God, being reconciled to him in Jeſus Chriſt." And thus he ſhews, that the convert Gentiles had whereof to glory, as well as the Jews, and were not inferior to them, though they had not circumciſion and the law, wherein the Jews gloried ſo much, but with no ground, in compariſon of what the Gentiles had to glory in, by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, now under the Goſpel.

[c] It is true, we Gentiles could not formerly glory in God, as our God, that was the privilege of the Jews, who alone of all the nations owned him for their King and God, and were his people, in covenant with him. All the reſt of the kingdoms of the earth had taken other lords, and given themſelves up to falſe gods, to ſerve and worſhip them, and ſo were in a ſtate of war with the true God, the God of Iſrael. But now we, being reconciled by Jeſus Chriſt, whom we have received, and own for our Lord, and thereby being returned into his kingdom, and to our ancient allegiance, we can truly glory in God, as our God, which the Jews cannot do, who have refuſed to receive Jeſus for their Lord, whom God hath appointed Lord over all things.

SECT. VI.

CHAP. V. 12——VII. 25.

CONTENTS.

THE Apoſtle here goes on with his deſign, of ſhewing that the Gentiles, under the Goſpel, have as good a title to the favour of God, as the Jews; there being no other way, for either Jew, or Gentile, to find acceptance with God, but by faith in Jeſus Chriſt. In the foregoing ſection he reckoned up ſeveral ſubjects of glorying, which the convert Gentiles had, without the law, and concludes them with this chief and principal matter of glorying, even God himſelf, whom, now that they were, by Jeſus Chriſt their Lord, reconciled to him, they could glory in, as their God.

To give them a more full and ſatisfactory comprehenſion of this, he leads them back to the times before the giving of the law, and the very being of the Jewiſh nation; and lays before them, in ſhort, the whole ſcene of God's œconomy, and his dealing with mankind from the beginning, in reference to life and death.

1. He teaches them, that by Adam's lapſe all men were brought into a ſtate of death, and by Chriſt's death all are reſtored to life. By Chriſt alſo, as many as believe are inſtated in eternal life.

2. That the law, when it came, laid the Iſraelites faſter under death, by enlarging the offence, which had death annexed to it. For, by the law, every tranſgreſſion, that any one under the law committed, had death for its puniſhment, notwithſtanding which, by Chriſt, thoſe under the law, who believe, receive life.

3. That, though the Gentiles, who believe, come not under the rigour of the law, yet the covenant of grace, which they are under, requires that they ſhould not be ſervants and vaſſals to ſin, to obey it in the luſts of it, but ſincerely endeavour after righteouſneſs, the end whereof would be everlaſting life.

4. That the Jews alſo, who receive the Goſpel, are delivered from the law; not that the law is ſin; but becauſe, though the law forbid the obeying of ſin, as well as the Goſpel; yet not enabling them to reſiſt their ſinful luſts, but making each compliance with any ſinful luſt deadly, it ſettles upon them the dominion of ſin, by death, from which they are delivered by the grace of God alone, which frees them from the condemnation of the law, for every actual tranſgreſſion, and requires no more, but that they ſhould, with the whole bent of their mind, ſerve the law of God, and not their carnal luſts. In all which caſes the ſalvation of the Gentiles is wholly by grace, without their being at all under the law. And the ſalvation of the Jews is wholly by grace alſo, without any aid, or help from the law: from which alſo, by Chriſt, they are delivered.

Thus lies the thread of St. Paul's argument, wherein we may ſee how he purſues his deſign, of ſatisfying the Gentile converts at Rome, that they were not required to ſubmit to the law of Moſes: and of fortifying them againſt the Jews, who troubled them about it.

For the more diſtinct and eaſy apprehenſion of St. Paul's diſcourſing on theſe four heads, I ſhall divide this ſection into the four following numbers, taking them up, as they lie in the order of the text.

SECT. VI. N. 1.

CHAP. V. 12—19.

CONTENTS.

HERE he inſtructs them in the ſtate of mankind in general, before the law, and before the ſeparation, that was made thereby, of the Iſraelites from all the other nations of the earth. And here he ſhews, that Adam, tranſgreſſing the law, which forbid him the eating of the tree of knowledge, upon pain of death, forfeited immortality, and becoming thereby mortal, all his poſterity, deſcending from the loins of a mortal man, were mortal too, and all died, though none of them broke that law, but Adam himſelf: but, by Chriſt, they are all reſtored to life again. And, God juſtifying thoſe who believe in Chriſt, they are reſtored to their primitive ſtate of righteouſneſs and immortality; ſo that the Gentiles, being the deſcendants of Adam, as well as the Jews, ſtand as fair for all the advantages, that accrue to the poſterity of Adam, by Chriſt, as the Jews themſelves, it being all wholly and ſolely from Grace.

PARAPHRASE.

12. WHerefore, to give you a ſtate of the whole matter, from the beginning, you muſt know, that, as by the act of one man, Adam, the father of us all, ſin entered into the world, and death, which was the puniſhment annexed to the offence of eating the forbidden fruit, entered by that ſin, for that all
13. Adam's poſterity thereby became mortal[a]. It is true, indeed, ſin was univerſally committed in the world, by all men, all the time before the poſitive law of God delivered by Moſes: but it is as true[b] that there is no certain, determined puniſhment affixed

TEXT.

WHerefore, as by one man ſin entered into the world, and death by ſin; and ſo death paſſed upon all men, for that all have ſinned. 12

For until the law ſin was in the world: but ſin is not imputed when there is no law. 13

NOTES.

12 [a] "Have ſinned," I have rendered became mortal, following the rule, I think very neceſſary for the underſtanding St. Paul's epiſtles, viz. the making him, as much as is poſſible, his own interpreter, 1 Cor. xv. 22. cannot be denied to be parallel to this place. This and the following verſes here being, as one may ſay, a comment on that verſe in the Corinthians, St. Paul treating here of the ſame matter, but more at large. There he ſays, "as in Adam all die," which words cannot be taken literally, but thus, that in Adam all became mortal. The ſame he ſays here, but in other words, putting, by a no very unuſual Metonymie, the cauſe for the effect, viz. the ſin of eating the forbidden fruit, for the effect of it on Adam, viz. Mortality, and, in him, on all his poſterity: a mortal father, infected now with death, being able to produce no better than a mortal race. Why St. Paul differs in his phraſe, here, from that which we find he uſed to the Corinthians, and prefers here, that which is harder and more figurative, may perhaps be eaſily accounted for, if we conſider his ſtile and uſual way of writing, wherein is ſhewn a great liking of the beauty and force of antitheſis, as ſerving much to illuſtration and impreſſion. In the xvth chapter of Corinthians, he is ſpeaking of life, reſtored by Jeſus Chriſt, and to illuſtrate and fix that in their minds, the death of mankind beſt ſerved: here, to the Romans, he is diſcourſing of righteouſneſs, reſtored to men by Chriſt, and therefore here, the term ſin is the moſt natural and propereſt to ſet that off. But that neither actual, or imputed ſin is meant here, or ver. 19, where the ſame way of expreſſion is uſed, he, that has need of it, may ſee proved in Dr. Whitby upon the place. If there can be any need of any other proof, when it is evidently contrary to St. Paul's deſign here, which is to ſhew, that all men, from Adam to Moſes, died ſolely, in conſequence of Adam's tranſgreſſion, ſee ver. 17.

13 [b] Οὐκ ἐλλογεῖται, "is not imputed," ſo our tranſlation, but poſſibly not exactly to the ſenſe of the Apoſtle; Ἐλλογεῖν ſignifies to reckon, but cannot be interpreted reckon to, which is the meaning of impute, without a perſon aſſigned, to whom it is imputed. And ſo we ſee, when the word is uſed in that ſenſe, the dative caſe of the perſon is ſubjoined. And therefore, it is well tranſlated, Philem. 18. If he owes thee any thing, ἐμοὶ ἐλλόγει, put it to my account, reckon, or impute it to me. Beſides, St. Paul here tells us, the ſin, here ſpoken of, as not reckoned, was in the world, and had actual exiſtence, during the time between Adam and Moſes, but the ſin, which is ſuppoſed to be imputed, is Adam's ſin, which he committed in paradiſe, and was not in the world, during the time from Adam till Moſes, and therefore ἐλλογεῖται cannot here ſignify imputed. Sins in ſacred ſcripture are called, debts, but nothing can be brought to accounts, as a debt, till a value

TEXT.

14 Nevertheleſs, death reigned from Adam to Moſes, even over them that had not ſinned, after the ſimilitude of Adam's tranſgreſſion, who is the figure of him that was to come.

15 But not as the offence, ſo alſo is the free gift. For if, through the offence of one, many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jeſus Chriſt, hath abounded unto many.

PARAPHRASE.

fixed to ſin, without a poſitive [a] law declaring it. 14. Nevertheleſs, we ſee that, in all that ſpace of time, which was before the poſitive law of God by Moſes, men, from the beginning of the world, died, all as well as their father Adam, though none of them, but he alone, had eaten of the forbidden fruit [b], and thereby, as he had committed that ſin, to which ſin alone the puniſhment of death was annexed, by the poſitive ſanction of God, denounced to Adam, he was the figure and type of Chriſt, who was to come. 15. But yet though he were the type of Chriſt, yet the gift, or benefit, received by Chriſt, is not exactly conformed and confined to the dimenſions of the damage, received by Adam's fall. For if, by the lapſe of one man, the multitude [c], i. e. all men died [c], much more did the favour of God, and the free gift, by the bounty or good-will which is in Jeſus Chriſt, exceed to the multitude [c], i. e. to all men. Furthermore,

NOTES.

be ſet upon it. Now ſins can no way be taxed, or a rate ſet upon them, but by the poſitive declaration and ſanction of the law-maker. Mankind, without the poſitive law of God, knew, by the light of nature, that they tranſgreſſed the rule of their nature, reaſon, which dictated to them what they ought to do. But, without a poſitive declaration of God, their ſovereign, they could not tell at what rate God taxed their treſpaſſes againſt this rule; till he pronounced that life ſhould be the price of ſin, that could not be aſcertained, and conſequently ſin could not be brought to account: and, therefore, we ſee that where there was no poſitive law, affixing death to ſin, men did not look on death as the wages, or retribution for their ſin; they did not account, that they paid their lives as a debt and forfeit for their tranſgreſſion. This is the more to be conſidered, becauſe St. Paul, in this epiſtle, treats of ſin, puniſhment, and forgiveneſs, by way of an account, as it were, of debtor and creditor.

He will be farther confirmed in this ſenſe of theſe words, who will be at the pains to compare chap. iv. 15. and v. 13, 20. and vii. 8, 9. together. St. Paul, chap. iv. 15. ſays the law worketh wrath, i. e. carrieth puniſhment with it. For where there is no law, there is no tranſgreſſion. Whereby is not meant, that there is no ſin, where there is no poſitive law, (the contrary whereof, he ſays in this verſe, viz. that ſin was in the world all the time, before the law) but that there is no tranſgreſſion, with a penalty annexed to it, without a poſitive law. And hence he tells the Romans, chap. i. 32. that they knew not that thoſe things deſerved death, [vid. note, chap. i. 32.] but it was by the poſitive law of God only, that men knew that death was certainly annexed to ſin, as its certain and unavoidable puniſhment; and ſo St. Paul argues, ch. vii. 8, 9.

[a] Νόμου, "law." Whether St. Paul by νόμος here means law in general, as for the moſt part he does, where he omits the article; or whether he means the law of Moſes in particular, in which ſenſe he commonly joins the article to νόμος, this is plain, that St. Paul's notion of a law was conformable to that given by Moſes, and ſo he uſes the word νόμος, in Engliſh law, for the poſitive command of God, with a ſanction of a penalty annexed to it, of which kind there never having being any one, given to any people, but that by Moſes, to the children of Iſrael, till the revelation of the will of God, by Jeſus Chriſt to all mankind, which, for ſeveral reaſons, is always called the Goſpel, in contra-diſtinction to the law of Moſes; when St. Paul ſpeaks of law, in general, it reduces itſelf in matter of fact to the law of Moſes.

14 [b] In this verſe St. Paul proves, that all men became mortal, by Adam's eating the forbidden fruit, and by that alone, becauſe no man can incur a penalty, without the ſanction of a poſitive law, declaring and eſtabliſhing that penalty; but death was annexed, by no poſitive law, to any ſin, but the eating the forbidden fruit; and therefore men's dying, before the law of Moſes, was purely in conſequence of Adam's ſin, in eating the forbidden fruit; and the poſitive ſanction of death annexed to it, an evident proof of man's mortality coming from thence.

15 [c] Οἱ πολλοὶ, and τοὺς πολλοὺς, I ſuppoſe may be underſtood to ſtand here for the multitude, or collective body of mankind. For the Apoſtle, in expreſs words, aſſures us, 1 Cor. xv. 22. "That in Adam all died, and in Chriſt all are made alive:" and ſo here, ver. 18. All men fell under the condemnation of death, and all men were reſtored unto juſtification of life, which all men, in the very next words, ver. 19. are called οἱ πολλοὶ, the many. So that the many in the former part of this verſe, and the many at the end of it, comprehending all mankind, muſt be equal. The compariſon therefore, and the inequality of the things compared, lies not, here, between the numbers of thoſe that died, and the numbers of thoſe, that ſhall be reſtored to life, but the compariſon lies between the perſons, by whom this general death, and this general reſtoration to life came, Adam the type, and Jeſus Chriſt the antitype; and it ſeems to lie in this, that Adam's lapſe came barely for the ſatisfaction of his own appetite, and deſire of good to himſelf,

but

PARAPHRASE.

more, neither is the gift, as was the lapſe, by one
16. ſin [a]. For the judgment or ſentence was for one [a] offence, to condemnation: but the gift of favour reaches, notwithſtanding many [a] ſins, to juſtification of life [b].
17. For if, by one lapſe, death reigned, by reaſon of one offence, much more ſhall they, who receiving the [c] ſurpluſage of favour, and of the gift of righteouſneſs, reign in life by one, even Jeſus Chriſt.
18. Therefore [d] as, by one [e] offence (viz.) Adam's eating the forbidden fruit, all men fell under the condemnation of death; ſo, by one act of righteouſneſs, viz. Chriſt's

TEXT.

And not as it was by one that ſinned, ſo is the gift: for the judgment was by one, to condemnation; but the free gift is of many offences, unto juſtification. 16

For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they, which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteouſneſs, ſhall reign in life by one, Jeſus Chriſt. 17

Therefore as, by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation: even ſo, by the righteouſneſs of one, the free gift 18

NOTES.

but the reſtoration was from the exuberant bounty and good-will of Chriſt towards men, who at the coſt of his own painful death, purchaſed life for them. The want of taking the compariſon here right, and the placing it amiſs, in a greater number reſtored to life, by Jeſus Chriſt, than thoſe brought into death, by Adam's ſin, hath led ſome men ſo far out of the way, as to alledge, that men, in the deluge, died for their own ſins. It is true they did ſo, and ſo did the men of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the Philiſtines cut off by the Iſraelites, and multitudes of others: but it is as true, that, by their own ſins, they were not made mortal: they were ſo before, by their father Adam's eating the forbidden fruit; ſo that what they paid, for their own ſins, was not immortality, which they had not, but a few years of their own finite lives, which having been let alone, would every one of them in a ſhort time have come to an end. It cannot be denied, therefore, but that it is as true of theſe as any of the reſt of mankind, before Moſes, that they died ſolely in Adam, as St. Paul has proved in the three preceding verſes. And it is as true of them, as of any of the reſt of mankind in general, that they died in Adam. For this St. Paul expreſly aſſerts of all, "that in Adam all died," 1 Cor. xv. 22. and in this very chapter, ver. 18. in other words. It is then a flat contradiction to St. Paul to ſay, that thoſe, whom the flood ſwept away, did not die in Adam.

16 [a] Δι' ἑνὸς ἁμαρτήματος, "by one ſin," ſo the Alexandrine copy reads it, more conformable to the Apoſtle's ſenſe. For if ἑνὸς "one" in this verſe be to be taken for the perſon of Adam, and not for his one ſin, of eating the forbidden fruit, there will be nothing to anſwer πολλῶν παραπτωμάτων, "many offences" here, and ſo the compariſon, St. Paul is upon, will be loſt; whereas it is plain, that in this verſe, he ſhews another diſproportion in the caſe, wherein Adam, the type, comes ſhort of Chriſt, the Antitype; and that is, that it was but for one only tranſgreſſion, that death came upon all men: but Chriſt reſtores life unto all, notwithſtanding multitudes of ſins. Theſe two exceſſes both of the good-will of the donor, and the greatneſs of the gift, are both reckoned up together, in the following verſe, and are there plainly expreſſed in περισσείαν τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς; the exceſs of the favour, in the greater good-will and coſt of the donor. And the inequality of the gift itſelf, which exceeds, as many exceeds one; or the deliverance from the guilt of many ſins, does exceed the deliverance from the guilt of one.

[b] Ζωῆς, "Of life," is found in the Alexandrine copy. And he that will read ver. 18. will ſcarce incline to the leaving of it out here.

17 [c] "Surpluſage," ſo περισσεία ſignifies. The ſurpluſage of χάριτος favour, was the painful death of Chriſt, whereas the fall coſt Adam no more pains, but eating the fruit. The ſurpluſage of δωρεᾶς, the gift, or benefit received, was juſtification to life, from a multitude of ſins, whereas the loſs of life came upon all men, only for one ſin; but all men, how guilty ſoever of many ſins, are reſtored to life.

18 [d] "Therefore," here, is not uſed as an illative, introducing an inference from the immediately preceding verſes, but is the ſame "therefore," which began, v. 12. repeated here again, with part of the inference, that was there begun and left incomplete, the continuation of it being interrupted, by the intervention of the proofs of the firſt part of it. The particle "as," immediately following "therefore," ver. 12. is a convincing proof of this, having there, or in the following verſes, nothing to anſwer it, and ſo leaves the ſenſe imperfect and ſuſpended, till you come to this verſe, where the ſame reaſoning is taken up again, and the ſame protaſis, or firſt part of the compariſon repeated: and then the apodoſis, or latter part, is added to it; and the whole ſentence made complete: which to take right, one muſt read thus, ver. 12. "Therefore, as "by one man ſin entered into the world, and death by ſin, and ſo death paſſed upon all men, &c." ver. 18. I ſay therefore, "as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men, to condem-"nation, even ſo by the righteouſneſs of one, the free gift came upon all men to juſtification of "life." A like interruption of what he began to ſay, may be ſeen, 2 Cor. xii. 14. and the ſame diſcourſe, after the interpoſition of eight verſes, began again, ch. xiii. 1. not to mention others, that I think may be found, in St. Paul's epiſtles.

[e] That ἑνὸς παραπτώματος ought to be rendered "one offence;" and not the "offence of one man:" and ſo ἑνὸς δικαιώματος, "one act of righteouſneſs, and not the "righteouſneſs of one," is reaſonable to think: becauſe, in the next verſe, St. Paul compares one man to one man, and therefore, it is fit to underſtand him here (the conſtruction alſo favouring it) of one fact, compa-

CHAP. V.

TEXT.

came upon all men, unto juſtification of life.

19 For, as by one man's diſobedience, many were made ſinners: ſo, by the obedience of one, ſhall many be made righteous.

PARAPHRASE.

19. Chriſt's obedience to death upon the croſs [a], all men are reſtored to life [b]. For as, by one man's diſobedience, many were brought into a ſtate of mortality, which is the ſtate of ſinners [c]; ſo, by the obedience of one, ſhall many be made righteous, i. e. be reſtored to life again, as if they were not ſinners.

NOTES.

red with one fact, unleſs we will make him here (where he ſeems to ſtudy conciſeneſs) guilty of a tautology. But, taken as I think they ſhould be underſtood, one may ſee a harmony, beauty, and fulneſs, in this diſcourſe, which at firſt ſight ſeems ſomewhat obſcure and perplexed. For thus, in theſe two verſes, 18, 19. he ſhews the correſpondence of Adam the type, with Chriſt the antitype, as we may ſee, ver. 14. he deſigned, as he had ſhewn the diſparity between them, ver. 15, 16, 17.

[a] That this is the meaning of δι' ἑνος δικαιώματος, is plain by the following verſe. St. Paul every one may obſerve to be a lover of antitheſis. In this verſe it is ἑνὸς παραπτώματος, one perverſe act of tranſgreſſion," and ἑνὸς δικαιώματος, "one right act of ſubmiſſion:" in the next verſe, it is παρακοὴ "diſobedience, and ὑπακοὴ "obedience," the ſame thing being meant in both verſes. And that this δικαίωμα, this act of obedience, whereby he procured life to all mankind, was his death upon the croſs, I think no body queſtions, ſee ver. 7—9. Heb. ii. 10, 14. Phil. ii. 8. and that δικαιώματα, when applied to men, ſignifies actions, conformable to the will of God, ſee Rev. xix. 8.

[b] By δικαίωσις ζωῆς, "juſtification of life," which are the words of the text, is not meant that righteouſneſs by faith, which is to eternal life. For eternal life is no where, in ſacred ſcripture, mentioned, as the portion of all men, but only of the Saints. But the "juſtification of life," here ſpoken of, is what all men partake in, by the benefit of Chriſt's death, by which they are juſtified, from all that was brought upon them by Adam's ſin, i. e. they are diſcharged from death, the conſequence of Adam's tranſgreſſion; and reſtored to life, to ſtand, or fall by that plea of righteouſneſs, which they can make, either of their own by works, or of the righteouſneſs of God by faith.

19 [c] "Sinners." Here St. Paul uſes the ſame metonymy as above, ver. 12. putting ſinners for mortal, whereby the antitheſis to righteous is the more lively.

SECT. VI. N. 2.

CHAP. V. 20, 21.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul, purſuing his deſign in this epiſtle, of ſatiſfying the Gentiles, that there was no need of their ſubmitting to the law, in order to their partaking of the benefits of the Goſpel, having, in the foregoing eight verſes, taught them, that Adam's one ſin had brought death upon them all, from which they were all reſtored by Chriſt's death, with addition of eternal bliſs and glory, to all thoſe who believe in him; all which being the effect of God's free grace and favour, to thoſe who were never under the law, excludes the law, from having any part in it, and ſo fully makes out the title of the Gentiles to God's favour, through Jeſus Chriſt, under the Goſpel, without the intervention of the law. Here, for the farther ſatisfaction of the Gentile converts, he ſhews them, in theſe two verſes, that the nation of the Hebrews, who had the law, were not delivered from the ſtate of death by it, but rather plunged deeper under it, by the law, and ſo ſtood more in need of favour, and indeed, had a greater abundance of grace afforded them, for their recovery to life by Jeſus Chriſt, than the Gentiles themſelves. Thus the Jews themſelves, not being ſaved by the law, but by an exceſs of grace, this is a farther proof of the point St. Paul was upon, viz. that the Gentiles had no need of the law, for the obtaining of life, under the Goſpel.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

Chap. V.
20.

PARAPHRASE.

THIS was the ſtate of all[a] mankind, before the law, they all died for the one παράπτωμα lapſe, or offence, of one man, which was the only irregularity, that had death annexed to it: but the law entered, and took place over a ſmall part of mankind [b], that this παράπτωμα, lapſe, or offence, to which death was annexed, might abound, i. e. the multiplied tranſgreſſions of many men, viz. all that were under the law of Moſes, might have death annexed to them, by the poſitive ſanction of that law, whereby the offence [c], to which death was annexed, did abound, i. e. ſins, that had death for their puniſhment, were increaſed. But, by the goodneſs of God,

TEXT.

20 MOreover, the law entered, that the offence might abound: but where ſin abounded, grace did much more abound:

NOTES.

20 There can be nothing plainer, than that St. Paul here, in theſe two verſes, makes a compariſon between the ſtate of the Jews, and the ſtate of the Gentiles, as it ſtands deſcribed in the eight preceding verſes, to ſhew wherein they differed, or agreed, ſo far as was neceſſary to his preſent purpoſe, of ſatisfying the convert Romans, that, in reference to their intereſt in the Goſpel, the Jews had no advantage over them, by the law. With what reference to thoſe eight verſes, St. Paul writ theſe two, appears by the very choice of his words. He tells them, ver. 12. "that death by ſin εἰσῆλθε entered into the world," and here he tells them that the law (for ſin and death were entered already) παρεισῆλθεν, entered a little, a word that, ſet in oppoſition to εἰσῆλθε, gives a diſtinguiſhing idea of the extent of the law, ſuch as really it was, little and narrow, as was the people of Iſrael (whom alone it reached) in reſpect of all the other nations of the earth, with whom it had nothing to do. For the law of Moſes was given to Iſrael alone and not to all mankind. The vulgate, therefore, tranſlates this word right, ſubintravit, it entered, but not far, i. e. the death, which followed, upon the account of the Moſaical law, reigned over but a ſmall part of mankind, viz. the children of Iſrael, who alone were under that law; whereas, by Adam's tranſgreſſion of the poſitive law given him in paradiſe, death paſſed upon all men.

[b] Ἵνα, "that." Some would have this ſignify barely the event, and not the intention of the law-giver, and ſo underſtand by theſe words, "that the offence might abound," the increaſe of ſin, or the aggravations of it, as a conſequence of the law. But it is to be remembered, that St. Paul here ſets forth the difference, which God intended to put, by the law which he gave them, between the children of Iſrael and the Gentile world, in reſpect of life and death, life and death being the ſubject St. Paul was upon. And, therefore, to mention barely accidental conſequences of the law, that made the difference, had come ſhort of St. Paul's purpoſe.

All mankind was in an irrecoverable ſtate of death, by Adam's lapſe. It was plainly the intention of God to remove the Iſraelites, out of this ſtate, by the law: and ſo he ſays himſelf, that he gave "them ſtatutes and judgments, which if a man do, he ſhall live in them," Lev. xviii. 5. And ſo St. Paul tells us here, chap. vii. 10. that the law was ordained for life. Whence it neceſſarily follows, that if life were intended them for their obedience, death was intended them for their diſobedience; and accordingly Moſes tells them, Deut. xxx. 19. that he "had ſet before "them life and death." Thus, by the law, the children of Iſrael were put into a new ſtate: and, by the covenant God made with them, their remaining under death, or their recovery of life, was to be the conſequence, not of what another had done, but of what they themſelves did. They were thenceforth put to ſtand or fall, by their own actions, and the death, they ſuffered, was for their tranſgreſſions. Every offence, they committed againſt the law, did, by this covenant, bind death upon them. 'Tis not eaſy to conceive, that God ſhould give them a law, to the end ſin and guilt ſhould abound amongſt them, but yet he might, and did give them a law, that the offence, which had death annexed, ſhould abound, i. e. that death, which before was the declared penalty of but one offence, ſhould to the Jews, be made the penalty of every breach, by the ſanction of this new law, which was not a hardſhip, but a privilege to them. For in their former ſtate, common to them with the reſt of mankind, death was unavoidable to them. But, by the law, they had a trial for life: accordingly our Saviour to the young man, who aſked "what he ſhould do to obtain eternal life," anſwers, "keep the commandments." The law, increaſing the offence in this ſenſe, had alſo another benefit, viz. that the Jews, perceiving they incurred death by the law, which was ordained for life, might thereby, as by a ſchool-maſter, be led to Chriſt, to ſeek life by him. This St. Paul takes notice of, Gal. iii. 24.

[c] Παράπτωμα is another word, ſhewing St. Paul's having an eye, in what he ſays here, to what he ſaid in the foregoing verſes. Our bibles tranſlate it "offence," it properly ſignifies "fall," and is uſed in the foregoing verſes, for that tranſgreſſion, which, by the poſitive law of God, had death annexed to it, and in that ſenſe the Apoſtle continues to uſe it here alſo. There was but one ſuch ſin, before the law, given by Moſes, viz. Adam's eating the forbidden fruit. But the poſitive law of God, given to the Iſraelites, made all their ſins ſuch, by annexing the penalty of death to each tranſgreſſion, and thus the offence abounded, or was increaſed by the law.

TEXT.

21 That, as ſin hath reigned unto death, even ſo might grace reign, through righteouſneſs, unto eternal life, by Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

PARAPHRASE.

God, where ſin [a], with death annexed to it, did abound, grace did much more abound [b]. That as ſin had reigned, or ſhewed its maſtery, in the death of the Iſraelites, who were under the law; ſo grace, in its turn, might reign, or ſhew its maſtery, by juſtifying them, from all thoſe many ſins, which they had committed, each whereof by the law, brought death with it, and ſo beſtowing on them the righteouſneſs of faith, inſtate them in eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. 21.

NOTES.

[a] "Sin." That by "ſin," St. Paul means here ſuch failure, as, by the ſanction of a poſitive law, had death annexed to it, the beginning of the next verſe ſhews, where it is declared to be ſuch ſin, as reigned in, or by death, which all ſin doth not, all ſin is not taxed at that rate, as appears by ver. 13. ſee the note. The article joined here both to παράπτωμα and ἁμαρτία, for it is τὸ παράπτωμα, and ἡ ἁμαρτία the offence and the ſin, limiting the general ſignification of thoſe words, to ſome particular ſort, ſeems to point out this ſenſe. And that this is not a mere groundleſs criticiſm, may appear from ver. 12, and 13. where St. Paul uſes ἁμαρτία, in theſe two different ſenſes, with the diſtinction of the article and no article.

[b] "Grace might much more abound." The reſt of mankind were in a ſtate of death, only for one ſin of one man. This the Apoſtle is expreſs in, not only in the foregoing verſes, but elſewhere. But thoſe who were under the law (which made each tranſgreſſion, they were guilty of, mortal) were under the condemnation of death, not only for that one ſin of another; but alſo for every one of their own ſins. Now to make any one righteous to life, from many, and thoſe his own ſins, beſides that one, that lay on him before, is greater grace, than to beſtow on him juſtification to life, only from one ſin, and that of another man. To forgive the penalty of many ſins, is a greater grace, than to remit the penalty of one.

SECT. VI.

CHAP. VI. 1—23.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul having, in the foregoing chapter, very much magnified free grace, by ſhewing that all men, having loſt their lives by Adam's ſin, were, by grace, through Chriſt, reſtored to life again; and alſo, as many of them as believed in Chriſt, were re-eſtabliſhed in immortality by grace; and that even the Jews, who, by their own treſpaſſes againſt the law, had forfeited their lives, over and over again, were alſo, by grace, reſtored to life, grace ſuper-abounding, where ſin abounded, he here obviates a wrong inference, which might be apt to miſlead the convert Gentiles, viz. "therefore, let us continue in ſin, that "grace may abound." The contrary whereof he ſhews, their very taking upon them the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, required of them, by the very initiating ceremony of baptiſm, wherein they were typically buried with Chriſt, to teach them that they, as he did, ought to die to ſin; and, as he roſe to live to God, they ſhould riſe to a new life of obedience to God, and be no more ſlaves to ſin, in an obedience and reſignation of themſelves to its commands. For, if their obedience were to ſin, they were vaſſals of ſin, and would certainly receive the wages of that maſter, which was nothing but death: but, if they obeyed righteouſneſs, i. e. ſincerely endeavoured after righteouſneſs, though they did not attain it, ſin ſhould not have dominion over them, by death, i. e. ſhould not bring death upon them. Becauſe they were not under the law, which condemned them to death, for every tranſgreſſion; but under grace, which, by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, juſtified them to eternal life, from their many tranſgreſſions. And thus he ſhews the Gentiles not only the no neceſſity, but the advantage of their not being under the law.

PARAPHRASE.

CHAP. VI.

1. WHAT ſhall we ſay then? Shall we continue
2. in ſin that grace may abound? God forbid:
how can it be that we [a], who, by our embracing
Chriſtianity, have renounced our former ſinful cour-
ſes, and have profeſſed a death to ſin, ſhould live any
3. longer in it? For this I hope you are not ignorant of,
that we Chriſtians, who by baptiſm were admitted
into the kingdom and church of Chriſt, were bapti-
4. ſed into a ſimilitude of his death; We did own ſome
kind of death, by being buried under water, which
being buried with him, i. e. in conformity to his bu-
rial, as a confeſſion of our being dead, was to ſignify,
that as Chriſt was raiſed up from the dead, [b] into a
glorious life with his father, even ſo we, being raiſed
from our typical death and burial in baptiſm, ſhould
lead a new ſort of life, wholly different from our
former, in ſome approaches towards that heavenly
5. life that Chriſt is riſen to. For, if we have been in-
grafted into him in the ſimilitude of his death, we
ſhall be alſo in a conformity to the life, which he is
6. entered into, by his reſurrection. Knowing this, that
we are to live ſo, as if our old man, our wicked and
corrupt fleſhly ſelf [c] which we were before, were
crucified with him, that the prevalency of our carnal,
ſinful propenſities, which are from our bodies, might
be deſtroyed, that henceforth we ſhould not ſerve ſin [d],

as

TEXT.

1 WHat ſhall we ſay then? ſhall we continue in ſin that grace may abound?

2 God forbid: how ſhall we that are dead to ſin, live any longer therein?

3 Know ye not, that ſo many of us as were baptized into Jeſus Chriſt, were baptized into his death?

4 Therefore we are buried with him by baptiſm, into death; that, like as Chriſt was raiſed up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even ſo we alſo ſhould walk in newneſs of life.

5 For, if we have been planted together, in the likeneſs of his death; we ſhall be alſo in the likeneſs of his reſurrection:

6 Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of ſin might be deſtroyed, that henceforth we ſhould not ſerve ſin.

NOTES.

2 [a] "We," i. e. I and all converts to Chriſtianity. St. Paul, in this chapter, ſhews it to be the profeſſion and obligation of all Chriſtians, even by their baptiſm, and the typical ſignification of it, to be "dead to ſin, and alive to God," i. e. as he explains it, not to be any longer vaſſals to ſin, in obeying our luſts, but to be ſervants to God, in a ſincere purpoſe and endeavour of obeying him. For, whether under the law, or under grace, whoever is a vaſſal to ſin, i. e. indulges himſelf in a compliance with his ſinful luſts, will receive the wages which ſin pays, i. e. death. This he ſtrongly repreſents here, to the Gentile converts of Rome (for it is to them he ſpeaks in this chapter) that they might not miſtake the ſtate they were in, by being, not under the law, but under grace, of which, and the freedom and largeneſs of it, he had ſpoken ſo much, and ſo highly in the foregoing chapter, to let them ſee, that to be under grace, was not a ſtate of licence, but of exact obedience, in the intention and endeavour of every one under grace, though in the performance they came ſhort of it. This ſtrict obedience, to the utmoſt reach of every one's aim and endeavours, he urges as neceſſary, becauſe obedience to ſin unavoidably produces death, and he urges as reaſonable, for this very reaſon, that they were not under the law, but under grace. For as much as all the endeavours after righteouſneſs, of thoſe who were under the law, were loſt labour, ſince any one ſlip forfeited life: but the ſincere endeavours after righteouſneſs of thoſe, who were under grace, were ſure to ſucceed, to the attaining the gift of eternal life.

[b] Διὰ, in the Helleniſtick Greek, ſometimes ſignifies into, and ſo our tranſlation renders it, 2 Pet. i. 3. And if it be not ſo taken here, the force of St. Paul's argument is loſt, which is to ſhew into what ſtate of life we ought to be raiſed out of baptiſm, in a ſimilitude and conformity to that ſtate of life Chriſt was raiſed into, from the grave.

6 [c] See Gal. v. 24. Eph. iv. 22. Col. ii. 11. 1 Pet. iv. 1.

[d] It will conduce much to the underſtanding of St. Paul, in this and the two following chapters, if it be minded that theſe phraſes, "to ſerve ſin, to be ſervants of ſin, ſin reign in our mortal "bodies, to obey ſin in the luſts of our bodies, to yield our members inſtruments of righteouſneſs "unto ſin, or ſervants of uncleanneſs, and to iniquity unto iniquity, to be free from righteouſneſs, "to walk, live, or be after the fleſh, to be carnally minded," all ſignify one and the ſame thing, viz. the giving ourſelves up to the conduct of our ſinful, carnal appetites, to allow any of them the command over us, and the conduct and prevalency in determining us. "On the contrary, that "walking after the ſpirit, or in newneſs of life, the crucifixion of the old man, the deſtruction of "the body of ſin, the deliverance from the body of death, to be freed from ſin, to be dead to ſin, "alive unto God, to yield yourſelves unto God, as thoſe who are alive from the dead, yield your "members ſervants of righteouſneſs unto holineſs, or inſtruments of righteouſneſs unto God, to be "ſervants of obedience unto righteouſneſs, made free from ſin, ſervants of righteouſneſs, to be af"ter the ſpirit, to be ſpiritually minded, to mortify the deeds of the body," do all ſignify a conſtant and ſteddy purpoſe, and ſincere endeavour to obey the law and will of God, in every thing,

theſe

TEXT.

7 For he, that is dead, is freed from ſin.

8 Now if we be dead with Chriſt, we believe that we ſhall alſo live with him.

9 Knowing that Chriſt, being raiſed from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him.

10 For in that he died, he died unto ſin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.

11 Likewiſe, reckon ye alſo your ſelves to be dead, indeed, unto ſin; but alive unto God, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

12 Let not ſin, therefore, reign in your mortal body, that ye ſhould obey it, in the luſts thereof.

13 Neither yield ye your members, as inſtruments of unrighteouſneſs, unto ſin: but yield your ſelves unto God, as thoſe that are alive from the dead; and your members, as inſtruments of righteouſneſs, unto God.

14 For ſin ſhall not have dominion over you: for ye are

PARAPHRASE.

as vaſſals to it. For he, that is dead, is ſet free from 7.
the vaſſalage [a] of ſin, as a ſlave is from the vaſſalage
of his maſter. Now, if we underſtand by our being 8.
buried in baptiſm, that we died with Chriſt, we cannot but think and believe, that we ſhould live a life
conformable to his; Knowing that Chriſt, being raiſed 9.
from the dead, returns no more to a mortal life, death
hath no more dominion over him, he is no more
ſubject to death. For in that he died, he died unto 10.
ſin, i. e. upon the account of ſin, once [b] for all: but
his life, now after his reſurrection, is a life wholly
appropriated to God, with which ſin, or death, ſhall
never have any more to do, or come in reach of. In 11.
like manner, do you alſo make your reckoning, account your ſelves dead to ſin [c], freed from that maſter; ſo as not to ſuffer yourſelves, any more, to be
commanded, or employed by it, as if it were ſtill
your maſter; but alive to God, i. e. that it is your
buſineſs now to live wholly for his ſervice, and to
his glory [d], through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Permit 12.
not, therefore, ſin to reign over you, by [e] your mortal
bodies, which you will do, if you obey your carnal
luſts: Neither deliver up your members [f] to ſin, to 13.
be employed by ſin, as inſtruments of iniquity, but
deliver up yourſelves unto God, as thoſe who have
got to a new life from among the dead [g], and chuſing him for your Lord and maſter, yield your members to him, as inſtruments of righteouſneſs. For 14.
if you do ſo, ſin ſhall not have dominion over you [h],
you

NOTES.

theſe ſeveral expreſſions being uſed in ſeveral places, as beſt ſerves the occaſion, and illuſtrates the ſenſe.

7 [a] The tenor of St. Paul's diſcourſe here, ſhews this to be the ſenſe of this verſe; and to be aſſured that it is ſo, we need go no farther than ver. 11, 12, 13. He makes it his buſineſs in this chapter, not to tell them what they certainly and unchangeably are, but to exhort them to be what they ought and are engaged to be, by becoming Chriſtians, viz. that they ought to emancipate themſelves from the vaſſalage of ſin, not that they were ſo emancipated, without any danger of return, for then he could not have ſaid what he does, ver. 1, 12, 13. which ſuppoſes it in their power, to continue in their obedience to ſin, or return to that vaſſalage, if they would.

10 [b] See Heb. ix. 26—28. 1 Pet. iv. 1, 2.

11 [c] "Sin" is here ſpoken of as a perſon, a Proſopopœia made uſe of, all through this and the following chapter, which muſt be minded, if we will underſtand them right. The like exhortation upon the ſame ground, ſee 1 Pet. iv. 1—3.

[d] See Gal. ii. 19. 2 Cor. v. 15. Rom. vii. 4. The force of St. Paul's argument here ſeems to be this; in your baptiſm you are ingaged into a likeneſs of Chriſt's death and reſurrection. He once died to ſin, ſo do you count your ſelves dead to ſin. He roſe to life, wherein he lives wholly to God; ſo muſt your new life, after your reſurrection from your typical burial in the water, be under the vaſſalage of ſin no more, but you muſt live intirely to the ſervice of God, to whom you are devoted, in obedience to his will in all things.

12 [e] "In your mortal bodies," i. in the Apoſtle's writings, often ſignifies, by. And he here, as alſo in the followng chapter, ver. 18, and 24. and elſewhere, placing the root of ſin in the body, his ſenſe ſeems to be, let not ſin reign over you, by the luſts of your mortal bodies.

13 [f] "Sinful luſts," at leaſt thoſe, to which the Gentiles were moſt eminently enſlaved, ſeem ſo much placed in the body and the members, that they are called, "the members," Col. iii. 5.

[g] Ἐκ νεκρῶν, "from among the dead." The Gentile world were dead in ſins, Eph. ii. 1, 5. Col. ii. 13. thoſe, who were converted to the Goſpel, were raiſed to life, from among thoſe dead.

14 [h] "Sin ſhall not have dominion over you," i. e. Sin ſhall not be your abſolute maſter, to diſpoſe of your members and faculties, in its drudgery and ſervice, as it pleaſes, you ſhall not be under its controul, in abſolute ſubjection to it, but your own men, that are alive, and at your own diſpoſal, unleſs, by your own free choice, you inthral yourſelves to it, and by a voluntary

obedience,

PARAPHRASE.

you ſhall not be as its ſlaves, in its power, to be by
it delivered over to death. [a] For you are not under
the law, in the legal ſtate, but you are under grace,
15. in the goſpel-ſtate of the covenant of grace. What
then, ſhall we ſin, becauſe we are not under the
law, but under the covenant of grace [b]? God forbid!
16. Know ye not that, to whom you ſubject yourſelves [c]
as vaſſals, to be at his beck, his vaſſals you are whom
you thus obey, whether it be of ſin, which vaſſalage
ends in death; or of Chriſt, in obeying the Goſpel,
17. to the obtaining of righteouſneſs and life. But God
be thanked, that you, who were the vaſſals of ſin,
have ſincerely, and from your heart, obeyed, ſo as
to receive the form, or be caſt into the mould of that
doctrine, under whoſe direction, or regulation [d] you
were

TEXT.

not under the law, but under grace.

15 What then? ſhall we ſin, becauſe we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid!

16 Know ye not, that, to whom ye yield yourſelves ſervants to obey, his ſervants ye are, to whom ye obey; whether of ſin unto death, or of obedience unto righteouſneſs?

17 But God be thanked, that ye were the ſervants of ſin; but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine, which was delivered you.

NOTES.

obedience, give it the command over you, and are willing to have it your maſter. It muſt be remembered, that St. Paul here, and in the following chapter, perſonates ſin, as ſtriving with men for maſtery, to deſtroy them.

[a] "For." The force of St. Paul's reaſoning here ſtands thus: you are obliged by your taking on you the profeſſion of the Goſpel, not to be any longer ſlaves and vaſſals to ſin, nor to be under the ſway of your carnal luſt, but to yield yourſelves up to God, to be his ſervants, in a conſtant and ſincere purpoſe and endeavour of obeying him in all things; this if you do, ſin ſhall not be able to procure you death, for you Gentiles are not under the law, which condemns to death for every the leaſt tranſgreſſion, though it be but a ſlip of infirmity; but, by your baptiſm, are entered into the covenant of grace, and, being under grace, God will accept of your ſincere endeavours, in the place of exact obedience; and give you eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt; but if you, by a willing obedience to your luſts, make yourſelves vaſſals to ſin, ſin, as the lord and maſter to whom you belong, will pay you with death, the only wages that ſin pays.

15 [b] What is meant by being "under grace," is eaſily underſtood, by the undoubted and obvious meaning of the parallel phraſe, "under the law." They, it is unqueſtioned, were under the law, who having by circumciſion, the ceremony of admittance, been received into the common-wealth of the Jews, owned the God of the Jews for their God and King, profeſſing ſubjection to the law he gave by Moſes. And ſo, in like manner, he is under grace, who, having by baptiſm, the ceremony of admittance, been received into the kingdom of Chriſt, or the ſociety of Chriſtians, called by a peculiar name, the Chriſtian Church, owns Jeſus of Nazareth to be the Meſſias, his King, profeſſing ſubjection to his law, delivered in the Goſpel. By which it is plain, that being under grace, is ſpoken here, as being under the law is, in a political and national ſenſe. For whoever was circumciſed, and owned God for his King, and the authority of his law, ceaſed not to be a Jew or member of that ſociety, by every or any tranſgreſſion of the precepts of that law, ſo long as he owned God for his Lord, and his ſubjection to that law; ſo likewiſe, he who, by baptiſm, is incorporated into the kingdom of Chriſt, and owns him for his ſovereign, and himſelf under the law and rule of the Goſpel, ceaſes not to be a Chriſtian, though he offend againſt the precepts of the Goſpel, till he denies Chriſt to be his King and Lord, and renounces his ſubjection to his law in the Goſpel. But God, in taking a people to himſelf to be his, not doing it barely as a temporal prince, or head of a politic ſociety in this world, but in order to his having as many, as in obeying him perform the conditions neceſſary, his ſubjects for ever, in the ſtate of immortality reſtored to them in another world, has, ſince the fall, erected two kingdoms in this world, the one of the Jews, immediately under himſelf, another of Chriſtians under his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, for that farther and more glorious end, of attaining eternal life, which prerogative and privilege, of eternal life, does not belong to the ſociety in general, nor is the benefit granted nationally, to the whole body of the people of either of theſe kingdoms of God, but perſonally, to ſuch of them, who perform the conditions required in the terms of each covenant. To thoſe who are Jews, or under the law, the terms are perfect and complete obedience to every tittle of the law, "do this and live:" to thoſe who are Chriſtians, or under grace, the terms are ſincere endeavours after perfect obedience, though not attaining it, as is manifeſt, in the remaining part of this chapter, where St. Paul acquaints thoſe, who aſk whether they ſhall ſin, becauſe they are not under the law, but under grace? that, though they are under grace, yet they, who obey ſin, are the vaſſals of ſin; and thoſe, who are the vaſſals of ſin, ſhall receive death, the wages of ſin.

16 [c] 'Υπακοὴν, "obedience." That which he calls here ſimply ὑπακοὴ, "obedience," he in other places calls, ὑπακοὴ πίστεως, "obedience of faith," and ὑπακοὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, "obedience of Chriſt," meaning a reception of the Goſpel of Chriſt.

17 [d] 'Εις ὃν παρεδόθητε, "unto which you were delivered;" no harſh, but an elegant expreſſion, if we obſerve that St Paul here ſpeaks of ſin and the Goſpel, as of two maſters, and that thoſe, he writes to, were taken out of the hands of the one, and delivered over to the other, which they having from their hearts obeyed, were no longer the ſlaves of ſin, he whom they obeyed being, by the rule of the foregoing verſe, truly their maſter.

TEXT.

18 Being then made free from ſin, ye became the ſervants of righteouſneſs.

19 I ſpeak after the manner of men, becauſe of the infirmity of your fleſh: for as ye have yielded your members ſervants to uncleanneſs, and to iniquity unto iniquity; even ſo now yield your members ſervants to righteouſneſs, unto holineſs.

20 For, when ye were the ſervants of ſin, ye were free from righteouſneſs.

21 What fruit had ye then, in thoſe things, whereof ye are now aſhamed? for the end of thoſe things is death.

22 But now being made free from ſin, and become ſervants to God, ye have your fruit unto holineſs, and the end everlaſting life.

23 For the wages of ſin is death: but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

PARAPHRASE.

were put, that you might conform yourſelves to it.
Being, therefore, ſet free from the vaſſalage of ſin, 18.
you became the ſervants, or vaſſals of righteouſneſs[a].
(I make uſe of this metaphor, of the paſſing of ſlaves 19.
from one maſter to another[b], well known to you
Romans, the better to let my meaning into your underſtandings,
that are yet weak in theſe matters, being
more accuſtomed to fleſhly than ſpiritual things).
For as you yielded your natural[c] faculties, obedient,
ſlaviſh inſtruments, to uncleanneſs, to be wholly employed
in all manner of iniquity[d]; ſo now, ye ought
to yield up your natural faculties to a perfect and
ready obedience to righteouſneſs. For, when you 20.
were the vaſſals of ſin, you were not at all ſubject to,
nor paid any obedience to righteouſneſs: therefore,
by a parity of reaſon, now righteouſneſs is your maſter,
you ought to pay no obedience to ſin. What 21.
fruit, or benefit, had you then in thoſe things, in that
courſe of things, whereof you are now aſhamed?
For the end of theſe things, which are done in obedience
to ſin, is death. But now, being ſet free from 22.
ſin, being no longer vaſſals to that maſter, but having
God now for your lord and maſter, to whom you
are become ſubjects or vaſſals, your courſe of life tends
to holineſs, and will end in everlaſting life. For the 23.
wages[e] that ſin pays, is death: But that which
God's ſervants receive, from his bounty, is the gift[f]
of eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

NOTES.

18 [a] 'Εδουλώθητε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, "ye became the ſlaves of righteouſneſs." This will ſeem an harſh expreſſion, unleſs we remember that St. Paul, going on ſtill with the metaphor of maſter and ſervant, makes ſin and righteouſneſs here two perſons, two diſtinct maſters, and men paſſing from the dominion of the one into the dominion of the other.

19 [b] 'Ανθρώπινον λέγω, "I ſpeak after the manner of men." He had ſome reaſon to make ſome little kind of apology, for a figure of ſpeech, which he dwells upon, quite down to the end of this chapter.

[c] "Members," ſee ch. vii. 5. Note.

[d] "To iniquity unto iniquity," ſee Note, ch. i. 17.

23 [e] "The wages of ſin," does not ſignify here the wages, that are paid for ſinning, but the wages, that ſin pays. This is evident, not only by the oppoſition that is put, here in this verſe, between "the wages of ſin, and the gift of God," viz. That ſin rewards men with death, for their obedience; but that which God gives to thoſe, who, believing in Jeſus Chriſt, labour ſincerely after righteouſneſs, is life eternal. But it farther appears, by the whole tenor of St Paul's diſcourſe, wherein he ſpeaks of ſin, as a perſon and a maſter, who hath ſervants, and is ſerved and obeyed, and ſo the wages of ſin, being the wages of a perſon here, muſt be what it pays.

[f] "The gift of God." Sin pays death to thoſe, who are its obedient vaſſals: But God rewards the obedience of thoſe, to whom he is lord and maſter, by the gift of eternal life. Their utmoſt endeavours and higheſt performances can never entitle them to it of right; and ſo it is to them not wages, but a free gift. See ch. iv. 4.

SECT.

SECT. VI. N. 4.

CHAP. VII. 1—25.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul, in the foregoing chapter, addreſſing himſelf to the convert Gentiles, ſhews them, that, not being under the law, they were obliged only to keep themſelves free from a vaſſalage of ſin, by a ſincere endeavour after righteouſneſs, foraſmuch as God gave eternal life to all thoſe who, being under grace, i. e. being converted to Chriſtianity, did ſo.

In this chapter, addreſſing himſelf to thoſe of his own nation in the Roman church, he tells them, that, the death of Chriſt having put an end to the obligation of the law, they were at their liberty to quit the obſervances of the law, and were guilty of no diſloyalty, in putting themſelves under the Goſpel. And here St. Paul ſhews the deficiency of the law, which rendered it neceſſary to be laid aſide, by the coming and reception of the Goſpel. Not that it allowed any ſin, but, on the contrary, forbad even concupiſcence, which was not known to be ſin, without the law. Nor was it the law, that brought death upon thoſe who were under it, but ſin, that herein it might ſhew the extreme malignant influence it had, upon our weak fleſhly natures, in that it could prevail on us to tranſgreſs the law (which we could not but acknowledge to be holy, juſt and good) though death was the declared penalty of every tranſgreſſion: but herein lay the deficiency of the law, as ſpiritual and oppoſite to ſin as it was, that it could not maſter and root it out, but ſin remained and dwelt in men, as before, and by the ſtrength of their carnal appetites, which were not ſubdued by the law, carried them to tranſgreſſions, that they approved not. Nor did it avail them to diſapprove, or ſtruggle, ſince, though the bent of their minds were the other way, yet their endeavours after obedience delivered them not from that death, which their bodies, or carnal appetites, running them into tranſgreſſions, brought upon them. That deliverance was to be had from grace, by which thoſe, who putting themſelves from under the law into the Goſpel-ſtate, were accepted, if with the bent of their minds they ſincerely endeavoured to ſerve and obey the law of God, though ſometimes, through the frailty of their fleſh, they fell into ſin.

This is a farther demonſtration to the converted Gentiles of Rome, that they are under no obligation of ſubmitting themſelves to the law, in order to be the people of God, or partake of the advantages of the Goſpel, ſince it was neceſſary, even to the Jews themſelves, to quit the terms of the law, that they might be delivered from death, by the Goſpel. And thus we ſee how ſteddily and ſkilfully he purſues his deſign, and with what evidence and ſtrength he fortifies the Gentile converts, againſt all attempts of the Jews, who went about to bring them under the obſervances of the law of Moſes.

PARAPHRASE.

1. I Have let thoſe of you, who were formerly Gentiles, ſee, that they are not under the law, but under grace[a]: I now apply myſelf to you, my brethren, of my own nation[b], who know the law. You cannot be ignorant that the authority of the law reaches,

TEXT.

KNow ye not, brethren, (for I ſpeak to them that know the law) how that the law hath dominion over a man, as long as he liveth? 1

NOTES.

1 [a] See ch. vi. 14.

[b] That his diſcourſe, here, is addreſſed to thoſe converts of this church, who were of the Jewiſh nation, is ſo evident, from the whole tenor of this chapter, that there needs no more, but to read it with a little attention, to be convinced of it, eſpecially ver. 1, 4, 6.

TEXT.

2 For the woman, which hath an huſband, is bound by the law to her huſband, ſo long as he liveth: but, if the huſband be dead, ſhe is looſed from the law of her huſband.

3 So then, if while her huſband liveth, ſhe be married to another man, ſhe ſhall be called an adultereſs: but, if her huſband be dead, ſhe is free from that law; ſo that ſhe is no adultereſs, though ſhe be married to another man.

4 Wherefore, my brethren, ye alſo are become dead to the law, by the body of Chriſt; that ye ſhould be married to

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reaches, or concerns a man[a], ſo long as he liveth, and no longer. 2. For[b] a woman who hath an huſband, is bounded by the law[c], to her living huſband; but if her huſband dieth, ſhe is looſed from the law, which made her her huſband's, becauſe the authority of the law, whereby he had a right to her, ceaſed in reſpect of him, as ſoon as he died. 3. Wherefore ſhe ſhall be called an adultereſs, if while her huſband liveth, ſhe become another man's. But if her huſband dies, the right he had to her by the law ceaſing, ſhe is freed from the law, ſo that ſhe is not an adultereſs, though ſhe become another man's. 4. So that even ye, my brethren[d], by the body of Chriſt[e], are become dead[f] to the law, whereby the dominion of the law over you has ceaſed, that you ſhould ſubject yourſelves to

N O T E S.

[a] Κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, "hath dominion over a man." So we render it rightly: but I imagine we underſtand it in too narrow a ſenſe, taking it to mean only that dominion, or force, which the law has to compel, or reſtrain us in things, which we have otherwiſe no mind to; whereas it ſeems to me to be uſed in the conjugation Hiphil, and to comprehend, here, that right and privilege alſo of doing, or enjoying, which a man has, by virtue and authority of the law, which all ceaſes, as ſoon as he is dead. To this large ſenſe of theſe words St. Paul's expreſſions, in the two next verſes, ſeem ſuited; and ſo underſtood, have a clear and eaſy meaning, as may be ſeen in the paraphraſe.

2 [b] "For." That which follows in the 2d verſe, is no proof of what is ſaid in the 1ſt verſe, either as a reaſon, or an inſtance of it, unleſs κυριεύει be taken in the ſenſe I propoſe, and then the whole diſcourſe is eaſy and uniform.

[c] Ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός, "From the law of her huſband." This expreſſion confirms the ſenſe above-mentioned. For it can in no ſenſe be termed, "the law of her huſband," but as it is the law, whereby he has the right to his wife. But this law, as far as it is her huſband's law, as far as he has any concern in it, or privilege by it, dies with him, and ſo ſhe is looſed from it.

4 [d] Καὶ ὑμεῖς, "Ye alſo," καὶ "alſo," is not added here by chance, and without any meaning, but ſhews plainly that the Apoſtle had in his mind ſome perſon, or perſons, before-mentioned, who were free from the law, and that muſt be either the woman, mentioned in the two foregoing verſes, as free from the law of her huſband, becauſe he was dead; or elſe the Gentile converts mentioned, chap. vi. 14. as free from the law, becauſe they were never under it. If we think καὶ refers to the woman, then St. Paul's ſenſe is this, "Ye alſo are free from the law, as "well as ſuch a woman, and may without any imputation ſubject yourſelves to the Goſpel." If we take καὶ to refer to the Gentile converts, then his ſenſe is this: "even ye alſo, my brethren, are "free from the law, as well as the Gentile converts, and as much at liberty to ſubject yourſelves "to the Goſpel, as they." I confeſs myſelf moſt inclined to this latter, both becauſe St. Paul's main drift is to ſhew, that both Jews and Gentiles are wholly free from the law: and becauſe ἐθανατώθητε τῷ νόμῳ, "ye have been made dead to the law," the phraſe here uſed to expreſs that freedom, ſeems to refer rather to the 1ſt verſe, where he ſays, "the law hath dominion over a "man, as long as he liveth," implying, and no longer, rather than to the two intervening verſes, where he ſays, "not the death of the woman, but the death of the huſband ſets the woman "free," of which more by and by.

[e] "By the body of Chriſt, in which you as his members died with him;" ſee Col. ii. 20. and ſo, by a like figure, believers are ſaid to be circumciſed with him, Col. ii. 11.

[f] "Are become dead to the law." There is a great deal of needleſs pains taken by ſome, to reconcile this ſaying of St. Paul, to the two immediately preceding verſes, which they ſuppoſe do require he ſhould have ſaid here, what he does, ver. 6. viz. that the law was dead, that ſo the perſons, here ſpoken of, might rightly anſwer to the wife, who there repreſents them. But he, that will take this paſſage together, will find that the firſt part of this 4th verſe refers to ver. 1. and the latter part of it to ver. 2, and 3. and conſequently that St. Paul had ſpoken improperly, if he had ſaid, what they would make him ſay here. To clear this, let us look into St. Paul's reaſoning, which plainly ſtands thus: "the dominion of the law over a man ceaſes, when he is dead, ver. 1. "you are become dead to the law, by the body of Chriſt, ver. 4. and ſo the dominion of the law "over you is ceaſed, then you are free to put yourſelves under the dominion of another, which can "bring on you no charge of diſloyalty to him, who had before the dominion over you, any more "than a woman can be charged with adultery, when, the dominion of her former huſband being "ceaſed by his death, ſhe marrieth herſelf to another man." For the uſe of what he ſays, ver. 2, and 3. is to ſatisfy the Jews, that the dominion of the law over them being ceaſed, by their death to the law, in Chriſt, they were no more guilty of diſloyalty, by putting themſelves wholly under the law of Chriſt, in the Goſpel, than a woman was guilty of adultery, when, the dominion of her huſband ceaſing, ſhe gave herſelf up wholly to another man in marriage.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

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Chap. VII. to the dominion of Chriſt, in the Goſpel, which you may do with as much freedom from blame, or the imputation of diſloyalty [a], as a woman whoſe huſband is dead, may, without the imputation of adultery, marry another man. And this making your ſelves another's, even Chriſt's, who is riſen from the dead, is, that we [b] ſhould bring forth fruit unto God [c].

5. For when we were after ſo fleſhly [d] a manner, under the law, as not to comprehend the ſpiritual meaning of it, that directed us to Chriſt, the ſpiritual end of the law, our ſinful luſt [e], that remained in us under the law [f], or in the ſtate under the law, wrought in our members, i. e. ſet our members and faculties [g] on work,

TEXT.

another, even to him, who is raiſed from the dead, that we ſhould bring forth fruit unto God.

5 For when we were in the fleſh, the motions of ſins, which were by the law, did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death.

NOTES.

[a] "Diſloyalty." One thing that made the Jews ſo tenacious of the law, was, that they looked upon it as a revolt from God, and a diſloyalty to him, their King, if they retained not the law that he had given them. So that even thoſe of them, who embraced the Goſpel, thought it neceſſary to obſerve thoſe parts of the law, which were not continued, and as it were re-enacted by Chriſt, in the Goſpel. Their miſtake herein is what St. Paul, by the inſtance of a woman marrying a ſecond huſband, the former being dead, endeavours to convince them of.

[b] "We." It may be worth our taking notice of, that St. Paul, having all along from the beginning of the chapter, and even in this very ſentence, ſaid "ye," here, with neglect of grammar, on a ſudden changes it into "we," and ſays, "that we ſhould, &c." I ſuppoſe to preſs the argument the ſtronger, by ſhewing himſelf to be in the ſame circumſtances and concern with them, he being a Jew, as well as thoſe he ſpoke to.

[c] "Fruit unto God." In theſe words St. Paul viſibly refers to chap. vi. 10. where he ſaith, that "Chriſt, in that he liveth, he liveth unto God," and therefore he mentions here, his being raiſed from the dead, as a reaſon, for their bringing forth fruit unto God, i. e. living to the ſervice of God, obeying his will, to the utmoſt of their power, which is the ſame that he ſays, ch. viii. 11.

5 [d] "When we were in the fleſh." The underſtanding and obſervance of the law, in a bare, literal ſenſe, without looking any farther, for a more ſpiritual intention in it, St. Paul calls, "being in the fleſh." That the law had, beſides a literal and carnal ſenſe, a ſpiritual and evangelical meaning, ſee 2 Cor. iii. 6, and 17, compared. Read alſo ver. 14, 15, 16. where the Jews in the fleſh are deſcribed; and what he ſays of the ritual part of the law, ſee Heb. ix. 9, 10. which whilſt they lived in the obſervance of, they were in the fleſh. That part of the Moſaical law was wholly about fleſhly things, Col. ii. 14—23. was ſealed in the fleſh, and propoſed no other, but temporal, fleſhly rewards.

[e] Παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, literally "paſſions of ſin," in the ſcripture Greek (wherein the genitive caſe of the ſubſtantive is often put for the adjective) "ſinful paſſions, or luſts."

[f] Τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου, "which were by the law," is a very true literal tranſlation of the words, but leads the reader quite away from the Apoſtle's ſenſe, and is fain to be ſupported (by interpreters, that ſo underſtand it) by ſaying, that the law excited men to ſin, by forbidding it. A ſtrange imputation on the law of God, ſuch as, if it be true, muſt make the Jews more defiled with the pollutions, ſet down in St. Paul's black liſt, ch. i. than the heathens themſelves. But, herein they will not find St. Paul of their mind, who, beſides the viſible diſtinction wherewith he ſpeaks of the Gentiles all through his epiſtles, in this reſpect doth, here, ver. 7. declare quite the contrary; ſee alſo 1 Pet. iv. 3, 4. If St. Paul's uſe of the prepoſition, διὰ, a little backwards in this very epiſtle, were remembered, this and a like paſſage or two more, in this chapter, would not have ſo harſh and hard a ſenſe put on them as they have. Τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας, our tranſlation renders, ch. iv. 11. "that believe, though they be not circumciſed," where they make δι' ἀκροβυστίας, to ſignify, "during the ſtate, or during their being under circumciſion." If they had given the ſame ſenſe to διά νόμου here, which plainly ſignifies their being in a contrary ſtate, i. e. under the law, and rendered it, "ſinful affections," which they had, though they were under the law, the Apoſtle's ſenſe here would have been eaſy, clear, and conformable to the deſign he was upon. This uſe of the word διὰ, I think we may find in other epiſtles of St. Paul, τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, 2 Cor. v. 10. may poſſibly, with better ſenſe, be underſtood of things done during the body, or during the bodily ſtate, than by the body; and ſo 1 Tim. ii. 15. διὰ τεκνογονίας; "during the ſtate of child-bearing." Nor is this barely an helleniſtical uſe of διὰ, for the Greeks themſelves ſay δι' ἡμέρας, "during the day;" and διὰ νυκτὸς, "during the night." And ſo I think διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, Eph. iii. 6. ſhould be underſtood to ſignify, "in the time of the Goſpel, or under the Goſpel diſpenſation."

[g] "Members," here, doth not ſignify barely the fleſhly parts of the body, in a reſtrained ſenſe, but the animal faculties and powers, all in us that is imployed as an inſtrument in the works of the fleſh, which are reckoned up, Gal. v. 19—21. ſome of which do not require the members of our body, taken in a ſtrict ſenſe for the outward groſs parts, but only the faculties of our minds, for their performance.

TEXT.

6 But now, we are delivered from the law, that being dead, wherein we were held; that we ſhould ſerve in newneſs of ſpirit, and not in the oldneſs of the letter.

7 What ſhall we ſay then? is the law ſin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known ſin, but by the law: for I had not known luſt, except the law had ſaid, thou ſhalt not covet.

8 But ſin, taking occaſion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiſcence. For without the law ſin was dead.

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work, in doing that, whoſe end was death[a]. But
now the law, under which we were heretofore held 6.
in ſubjection, being dead, we are ſet free from the
dominion of the law, that we ſhould perform our
obedience, as under the new[b] and ſpiritual covenant
of the Goſpel, wherein there is a remiſſion of frailties,
and not as ſtill under the old rigour of the letter of
the law, which condemns every one, who does not
perform exact obedience to every tittle[c]. What ſhall 7.
we then think, that the law becauſe it is ſet aſide,
was unrighteous, or gave any allowance, or contributed any thing to ſin[d]? By no means; for the law,
on the contrary, tied men ſtricter up from ſin, forbidding concupiſcence, which they did not know to
be ſin, but by the law. For I[e] had not known concupiſcence to be ſin, unleſs the law had ſaid, thou
ſhalt not covet. Nevertheleſs ſin, taking opportunity[f], during the law[g], or whilſt I was under 8.
the commandment, wrought in me all manner of
concupiſcence: For without the law ſin is dead[h],
not

NOTES.

[a] Καρποφορῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ, "Bringing forth fruit unto death," here, is oppoſed to bringing forth fruit unto God," in the end of the foregoing verſe. Death here being conſidered as a maſter, whom men ſerve by ſin, as God in the other place is conſidered as a maſter, who gives life to them, who ſerve him, in performing obedience to his law.

6 [b] "In newneſs of ſpirit," i. e. ſpirit of the law, as appears by the antitheſis, oldneſs of the letter, i. e. letter of the law. He ſpeaks in the former part of the verſe of the law, as being dead, here he ſpeaks of its being revived again, with a new ſpirit. Chriſt, by his death, aboliſhed the Moſaical law, but revived as much of it again, as was ſerviceable, to the uſe of his ſpiritual kingdom, under the Goſpel, but left all the ceremonial and purely typical part dead, Col. ii. 14—18. the Jews were held, before Chriſt, in an obedience to the whole letter of the law, without minding the ſpiritual meaning, which pointed at Chriſt. This the Apoſtle calls here ſerving in the oldneſs of the letter, and this he tells them, they ſhould now leave, as being freed from it, by the death of Chriſt, who was the end of the law for the attaining of righteouſneſs, chap. x. 4. i. e. in the ſpiritual ſenſe of it, which 2 Cor. iii. 6. he calls ſpirit, which ſpirit, ver. 17. he explains to be Chriſt. That chapter and this verſe here give light to one another. Serving in the ſpirit, then, is obeying the law, as far as it is revived, and as it is explained by our Saviour, in the Goſpel, for the attaining of evangelical righteouſneſs.

[c] That this ſenſe alſo is comprehended, in not ſerving in "the oldneſs of the letter," is plain from what St. Paul ſays, 2 Cor. iii. 6. "The letter killeth, but the ſpirit giveth life." From this killing letter of the law, whereby it pronounced death, for every the leaſt tranſgreſſion, they were alſo delivered, and therefore St. Paul tells them here, chap. viii. 15. that they "have not received the ſpirit of bondage again to fear," i. e. to live in perpetual bondage and dread under the inflexible rigour of the law, under which it was impoſſible for them to expect aught but death.

7 [d] "Sin." That ſin here comprehends both theſe meanings expreſſed in the paraphraſe, appears from this verſe, where the ſtrictneſs of the law againſt ſin is aſſerted, in its prohibiting of deſires, and from ver. 12. where its rectitude is aſſerted.

[e] "I." The ſkill St. Paul uſes, in dexterouſly avoiding, as much as poſſible, the giving offence to the Jews, is very viſible in the word I, in this place. In the beginning of this chapter, where he mentions their knowledge in the law, he ſays "ye." In the 4th verſe he joins himſelf with them and ſays "we." But here, and ſo to the end of this chapter, where he repreſents the power of ſin, and the inability of the law to ſubdue it wholly, he leaves them out, and ſpeaks altogether in the firſt perſon, though it be plain, he means all thoſe, who were under the law.

8 [f] St. Paul here, and all along this chapter, ſpeaks of ſin as a perſon, endeavouring to compaſs his death, and the ſenſe of this verſe amounts to no more but this, that, in matter of fact, that concupiſcence, which the law declared to be ſin, remained and exerted itſelf in him, notwithſtanding the law. For if ſin, from St. Paul's proſopopœia, or making it a perſon, ſhall be taken to be a real agent, the carrying this figure too far will give a very odd ſenſe to St. Paul's words, and contrary to his meaning, make ſin to be the cauſe of itſelf, and of concupiſcence, from which it has its riſe.

[g] See note [a] ver. 5.

[h] "Dead." It is to be remembered not only that St. Paul, all along this chapter, makes ſin a perſon, but ſpeaks of that perſon and himſelf, as two incompatible enemies, the being and ſafety of the one conſiſting in the death, or inability of the other to hurt. Without carrying this in mind, it will be very hard to underſtand this chapter. For inſtance, in this place St. Paul has

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not able to hurt me; and There was a time once[a],
9. when I being without the law, was in a ſtate of life;
but the commandment coming, ſin got life and
ſtrength again, and I found myſelf a dead man;
10. And that very law, which was given me for the at-
taining of life[b], was found to produce death[c] to me.
11. For my mortal enemy, ſin, taking the opportunity
of my being under[d] the law, ſlew me by the law,
which it inveigled[e] me to diſobey, i. e. the frailty
and vicious inclinations of nature remaining in me
under the law, as they were before, able ſtill to
bring me into tranſgreſſions, each whereof was mor-
tal, ſin had, by my being under the law, a ſure op-
portunity of bringing death upon me. So that[f] the
law

TEXT.

For I was alive without the law, once: but when the commandment came ſin revived, and I died. 9

And the commandment which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death. 10

For ſin, taking occaſion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it ſlew me. 11

NOTES.

has declared, ver. 7. that the law was not aboliſhed, becauſe it at all favoured, or promoted ſin, for it lays reſtraints upon our very deſires, which men, without the law, did not take notice to be ſinful; nevertheleſs ſin, perſiſting in its deſign to deſtroy me, took the opportunity of my being under the law, to ſtir up concupiſcence in me; for without the law, which annexes death to tranſgreſſion, ſin is as good as dead, is not able to have its will on me, and bring death upon me. Conformable hereunto St. Paul ſays, 1 Cor. xv. 56. "the ſtrength of ſin is the law,". i. e. it is the law, that gives ſin the ſtrength and power to kill men. Laying aſide the figure, which gives a lively repreſentation of the hard ſtate of a well-minded Jew, under the law, the plain meaning of St. Paul here is this; "Tho' the law lays a ſtricter reſtraint upon ſin, than men have "without it, yet it betters not my condition thereby, becauſe it enables me not wholly to extir- "pate ſin, and ſubdue concupiſcence, though it hath made every tranſgreſſion a mortal crime. "So that being no more totally ſecured from offending, under the law, than I was before, I am, "under law, expoſed to certain death." This deplorable ſtate could not be more feelingly expreſſed than it is here, by making ſin (which ſtill remained in man, under the law) a perſon who implacably aiming at his ruin, cunningly took the opportunity of exciting concupiſcence, in thoſe, to whom the law had made it mortal.

9 [a] Ποτὲ, "once." St. Paul declares there was a time once, when he was in a ſtate of life. When this was, he himſelf tells us, viz. when he was without the law, which could only be, before the law was given. For he ſpeaks here, in the perſon of one of the children of Iſrael, who never ceaſed to be under the law, ſince it was given. This ποτὲ therefore, muſt deſign the time between the covenant made with Abraham, and the law. By that covenant, Abraham was made bleſſed, i. e. delivered from death. That this is ſo, ſee Gal. iii. 9, &c. And, under him, the Iſraelites claimed the bleſſing, as his poſterity, comprehended in that covenant, and as many of them, as were of the faith of their father, faithful Abraham, were bleſſed with him. But, when the law came, and they put themſelves wholly into the covenant of works, wherein each tranſgreſſion of the law became mortal, then ſin recovered life again, and a power to kill; and an Iſraelite, now under the law, found himſelf in a ſtate of death, a dead man. Thus we ſee it correſponds with the deſign of the Apoſtle's diſcourſe here. In the ſix firſt verſes of this chapter, he ſhews the Jews that they were at liberty from the law, and might put themſelves ſolely under the terms of the Goſpel. In the following part of this chapter, he ſhews them, that it is neceſſary for them ſo to do; ſince the law was not able to deliver them from the power, ſin had to deſtroy them, but ſubjected them to it. This part of the chapter ſhewing at large what he ſays, chap. viii. 3. and ſo may be looked on, as an explication and proof of it.

10 [b] That the commandments of the law were given to the Iſraelites, that they might have life by them; ſee Lev. xviii. 5. Matt. xix. 17.

[c] The law, which was juſt, and ſuch as it ought to be, in having the penalty of death annexed to every tranſgreſſion of it, Gal. iii. 10. came to produce death, by not being able ſo to remove the frailty of human nature, and ſubdue carnal appetites, as to keep men entirely free from all treſpaſſes againſt it, the leaſt whereof, by the law, brought death. See chap. viii. 3. Gal. iii. 21.

11 [d] The ſenſe wherein I underſtand διὰ τȣ̃ νόμȣ, "by the law," ver. 5. is very much confirmed by διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς, in this and ver. 8. by which interpretation the whole diſcourſe is made plain, eaſy, and conſonant to the Apoſtle's purpoſe.

[e] "Inveigled." St. Paul ſeems here to allude to what Eve ſaid in a like caſe, Gen. iii. 13. and uſes the word "deceived," in the ſame ſenſe ſhe did, i. e. drew me in.

12 [f] Ὥστε, "ſo that," Ver. 7. he laid down this poſition, that the law was not ſin; ver. 8, 9, 10, 11. he proves it, by ſhewing, that the law was very ſtrict in forbidding of ſin, ſo far as to reach the very mind and the internal acts of concupiſcence, and that it was ſin, that remaining under the law (which annexed death to every tranſgreſſion) brought death on the Iſraelites, he here infers, that the law was not ſinful, but righteous, juſt, and good, juſt ſuch as by the eternal rule of right, it ought to be.

TEXT.

12 Wherefore the law is holy; and the commandment holy, and juſt, and good.

13 Was then that, which is good, made death unto me? God forbid! but ſin, that it might appear ſin, working death in me, by that which is good; that ſin, by the commandment, might become exceeding ſinful.

14 For we know that the law is ſpiritual: but I am carnal, ſold under ſin.

15 For that which I do, I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I.

16 If then I do that which I would not, I conſent unto the law, that it is good.

17 Now then, it is no more I that do it, but ſin that dwelleth in me.

18 For I know that in me (that is, in my fleſh) dwelleth

PARAPHRASE.

law is holy, juſt and good, ſuch as the eternal, immutable 12.
rule of right and good required it to be.
Was then the law, that in itſelf was good, made 13.
death to me? No[a], by no means: but it was ſin,
that by the law was made death unto me, to the end
that the power[b] of ſin might appear, by its being
able to bring death upon me, by that very law, that
was intended for my good, that ſo, by the commandment,
the power[c] of ſin and corruption in me
might be ſhewn to be exceeding great; For we know 14.
that the law is ſpiritual, requiring actions quite oppoſite[d]
to our carnal affections. But I am ſo carnal,
as to be enſlaved to them, and forced againſt my
will to do the drudgery of ſin, as if I were a ſlave,
that had been ſold into the hands of that my domineering
enemy. For what I do, is not of my own 15.
contrivance[e]; for that which I have a mind to, I
do not; and what I have an averſion to, that I do.
If then, my tranſgreſſing the law be what I, in my 16.
mind, am againſt, it is plain the conſent of my mind
goes with the law, that it is good. If ſo, then it is 17.
not I, a willing agent of my own free purpoſe, that
do what is contrary to the law, but as a poor ſlave
in captivity, not able to follow my own underſtanding
and choice, forced by the prevalency of my own
ſinful affections, and ſin that remains ſtill in me,
notwithſtanding the law. For I know, by woful 18.
experience, that in me, viz. in my fleſh[f], that part,
which

NOTES.

13 [a] "No." In the five foregoing verſes the Apoſtle had proved, that the law was no ſin. In this, and the ten following verſes, he proves the law not to be made death; but that it was given to ſhew the power of ſin, which remained in thoſe, under the law, ſo ſtrong, notwithſtanding the law, that it could prevail on them to tranſgreſs the law, notwithſtanding all its prohibition, with the penalty of death annexed to every tranſgreſſion. Of what uſe, this ſhewing the power of ſin, by the law, was, we may ſee, Gal. iii. 24.

[b] That ἁμαρτία καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἁμαρτωλὸ, "ſin exceeding ſinful," is put here to ſignify, the great power of ſin, or luſt, is evident from the following diſcourſe, which wholly tends to ſhew, that let a man under the law be right in his mind and purpoſe; yet the law in his members, i. e. his carnal appetites, would carry him to the committing of ſin, though his judgment and endeavours were averſe to it. He that remembers that ſin, in this chapter, is all along repreſented as a perſon, whoſe very nature it was to ſeek and endeavour his ruin, will not find it hard to underſtand, that the Apoſtle here, by "ſin exceedingly ſinful," means ſin ſtrenuouſly exerting its ſinful, i. e. deſtructive nature, with mighty force.

[c] Ἵνα γινηται, "that ſin might become," i. e. might appear to be. It is of appearance he ſpeaks in the former part of this verſe, and ſo it muſt be underſtood, here, to conform the ſenſe of the words, not only to what immediately precedes in this verſe, but to the Apoſtle's deſign in this chapter, where he takes pains to prove, that the law was not intended any way to promote ſin, and to underſtand, by theſe words, that it was, is an interpretation that neither holy ſcripture nor good ſenſe will allow: though the ſacred ſcripture ſhould not, as it does, give many inſtances of putting "being," for "appearing." Vid. ch. iii. 19.

14 [d] Πνευματικὸς, "ſpiritual." is uſed here to ſignify the oppoſition of the law to our carnal appetites. The antitheſis in the following words makes it clear.

15 [e] Ὀυ γινώσκω. "I do not know," i. e. it is not from my own underſtanding, or forecaſt of mind; the following words, which are a reaſon brought to prove this ſaying, give it this ſenſe. But if ὀυ γινωσκω be interpreted, "I do not approve," what in the next words is brought for a reaſon, will be but a tautology.

18 [f] St. Paul conſiders himſelf, and in himſelf other men, as conſiſting of two parts, which he calls fleſh and mind, ſee ver. 25. meaning, by the one, the judgment and purpoſe of his mind, guided by the law, or right reaſon; by the other, his natural inclination, puſhing him to the ſatisfaction of his irregular, ſinful deſires. Theſe he alſo calls, the one the law of his members, and the other the law of his mind, ver. 23. and Gal. v. 16, 17. a place parallel to the ten laſt verſes of this chapter, he calls the one fleſh, and the other ſpirit. Theſe two are the ſubject of his

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. VII. which is the ſeat of carnal appetites, there inhabits
no good. For, in the judgment and purpoſe of my
mind, I am readily carried into a conformity and
obedience to the law: but, the ſtrength of my carnal
affections, not being abated by the law, I am not
able to execute what I judge to be right, and intend
19. to perform. For the good, that is my purpoſe and
aim, that I do not: but the evil, that is contrary to
my intention, that in my practice takes place, i. e. I
purpoſe and aim at univerſal obedience, but cannot
20. in fact attain it. Now if I do that, which is againſt
the full bent and intention of me [a] myſelf, it is, as I
ſaid before, not I, my true ſelf, who do it, but the
true author of it is my old enemy, ſin, which ſtill
remains and dwells in me, and I would fain get rid
21. of. I find it, therefore, as by a law ſettled in me,
that when my intentions aim at good, evil is ready
22. at hand, to make my actions wrong and faulty. For
that which my inward man is delighted with, that,
which with ſatisfaction my mind would make its rule,
23. is the law of God. But I ſee in my members [b] another
principle of action, equivalent to a law [c], directly
waging war againſt that law, which my mind
would follow, leading me captive into an unwilling
ſubjection to the conſtant inclination and impulſe of
my carnal appetite, which, as ſteadily as if it were a
24. law, carries me to ſin. O miſerable man that I am,
who ſhall deliver me [d] from this body of death? The
grace

TEXT.

no good thing: for to will is preſent with me, but how to perform that which is good, I find not.

For the good, that I would, I do not: but the evil, which I would not, that I do. 19

Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I, that do it; but ſin, that dwelleth in me. 20

I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is preſent with me. 21

For I delight in the law of God, after the inward man. 22

But I ſee another law, in my members, warring againſt the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of ſin, which is in my members. 23

O wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death! 24

NOTES.

diſcourſe, in all this part of the chapter, explaining particularly how, by the power and prevalency of the fleſhly inclinations, not abated by the law, it comes to paſs, which he ſays, chap. viii. 2, 3. that the law being weak, by reaſon of the fleſh, could not ſet a man free from the power and dominion of ſin and death.

20 [a] 'Ου θέλω ἐγὼ, "I would not." I, in the Greek, is very emphatical, as is obvious, and denotes the man, in that part which is chiefly to be counted himſelf, and therefore with the like emphaſis, ver. 25. is called αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, "I my own ſelf."

23 [b] St. Paul, here and in the former chapter, uſes the word members, for the lower faculties and affections of the animal man, which are as it were the inſtruments of actions.

[c] He having, in the foregoing verſe, ſpoken of the law of God, as a principle of action, but yet ſuch, as had not a power to rule and influence the whole man, ſo as to keep him quite clear from ſin, he here ſpeaks of natural inclination, as of a law alſo, a law in the members, and a law of ſin in the members, to ſhew that it is a principle of operation in men, even under the law, as ſteady and conſtant in its direction and impulſe to ſin, as the law is to obedience, and failed not, through the frailty of the fleſh, often to prevail.

24 [d] What is it, that St. Paul ſo pathetically deſires to be delivered from? The ſtate, he had been deſcribing, was that of human weakneſs, wherein, notwithſtanding the law, even thoſe, who were under it, and ſincerely endeavoured to obey it, were frequently carried, by their carnal appetites, into the breach of it. The ſtate of frailty, he knew men, in this world, could not be delivered from. And therefore, if we mind him, it is not that, but the conſequence of it, death, or ſo much of it as brings death, that he inquires after a deliverer from. "Who ſhall deliver me," ſays he, "from this body?" He does not ſay of frailty, but of death: what ſhall hinder that my carnal appetites, that ſo often make me fall into ſin, ſhall not bring death upon me, which is awarded me by the law? And to this he anſwers, "the grace of God, through our Lord "Jeſus Chriſt." It is the favour of God alone, through Jeſus Chriſt, that delivers frail man from death. Thoſe under grace obtain life, upon ſincere intentions and endeavours after obedience, and thoſe endeavours a man may attain to, in this ſtate of frailty. But good intention and ſincere endeavours are of no behoof againſt death, to thoſe under the law, which requires complete and punctual obedience, but gives no ability to attain it. And ſo it is grace alone, thro' Jeſus Chriſt, that, accepting of what a frail man can do, delivers from the body of death. And thereupon, he concludes with joy, "ſo then I, being now a Chriſtian, not any longer under the law, but under grace, this is the ſtate I am in, whereby I ſhall be delivered from death; I, with my whole "bent and intention, devote myſelf to the law of God, in ſincere endeavours after obedience, "though my carnal appetites are enſlaved to, and have their natural propenſity towards ſin."

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.
Chap. VII.

25 I thank God, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. So then, with the mind, I myſelf ſerve the law of God; but with the fleſh, the law of ſin.

grace of God[a], through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. To comfort myſelf, therefore, as that ſtate requires, for my deliverance from death, I myſelf[b], with full purpoſe and ſincere endeavours of mind, give up myſelf to obey the law of God; though my carnal inclinations are enſlaved, and have a conſtant tendency to ſin. This is all I[c] can do, and this is all, I being under grace, that is required, of me, and through Chriſt will be accepted. 25.

NOTES.

25 [a] Our tranſlators read εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ, "I thank God:" the author of the vulgate, χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ, "the grace or favour of God," which is the reading of the Clermont, and other Greek manuſcripts. Nor can it be doubted, which of theſe two readings ſhould be followed, by one who conſiders, not only that the Apoſtle makes it his buſineſs to ſhew, that the Jews ſtood in need of grace, for ſalvation, as much as the Gentiles: but alſo, that the grace of God is a direct and appoſite anſwer to, "who ſhall deliver me?" which, if we read it, I thank God, has no anſwer at all; an omiſſion, the like whereof, I do not remember any where in St. Paul's way of writing. This I am ſure, it renders the paſſage obſcure and imperfect in itſelf. But much more diſturbs the ſenſe, if we obſerve the illative, therefore, which begins the next verſe, and introduces a concluſion eaſy and natural, if the queſtion, "who ſhall deliver me?" has for anſwer, "the grace "of God." Otherwiſe it will be hard to find premiſes, from whence it can be drawn. For thus ſtands the argument plain and eaſy. The law cannot deliver from the body of death, i. e. from thoſe carnal appetites, which produce ſin, and ſo bring death: but the grace of God, through Jeſus Chriſt, which pardons lapſes, where there is ſincere endeavour after righteouſneſs, delivers us from this body, that it doth not deſtroy us. From whence naturally reſults this concluſion, "there is, therefore now, no condemnation, &c." But what it is grounded on, in the other reading, I confeſs I do not ſee.

[b] Ἀυτὸς ἐγὼ, "I my ſelf," i. e. I the man, wlth all my full reſolution of mind. Ἀυτὸς and ἐγὼ, might have both of them been ſpared, if nothing more had been meant here, than the nominative caſe to δουλεύω. See note, ver. 20.

[c] Δουλεύω, "I ſerve," or I make myſelf a vaſſal, i. e. I intend and devote my whole obedience. The terms of life, to thoſe under grace, St. Paul tells us at large, ch. vi. are δουλωθῆναι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, and τῷ Θεῷ, to become vaſſals to righteouſneſs, and to God; conſonantly he ſays here ἀυτὸς ἐγὼ, "I myſelf," I the man, being now a Chriſtian, and ſo no longer under the law, but under grace, do what is required of me, in that ſtate; δουλευω, "I become a vaſſal to the law of God," i. e. dedicate myſelf to the ſervice of it, in ſincere endeavours of obedience; and ſo ἀυτὸς ἐγὼ, "I the man, ſhall be delivered from death;" for he that, being under grace, makes himſelf a vaſſal to God, in a ſteady purpoſe of ſincere obedience, ſhall from him receive the gift of eternal life, though his carnal appetite, which he cannot get rid of, having its bent towards ſin, makes him ſometimes tranſgreſs, which would be certain death to him, if we were ſtill under the law.

See chap. vi. 18, and 22.

And thus St. Paul having ſhewn here in this chapter, that the being under grace alone, without being under the law, is neceſſary even to the Jews, as in the foregoing chapter he had ſhewn it to be to the Gentiles, he hereby demonſtratively confirms the Gentile converts in their freedom from the law, which is the ſcope of this epiſtle thus far.

SECT. VII.

CHAP. VIII. 1—39.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul having, chap. vi. ſhewn that the Gentiles, who were not under the law, were ſaved only by grace, which required that they ſhould not indulge themſelves in ſin, but ſteadily and ſincerely endeavour after perfect obedience: having alſo, chap. vii. ſhewn, that the Jews, who were under the law, were alſo ſaved by grace only, becauſe the law could not enable them wholly to avoid ſin, which, by the law, was in every the leaſt ſlip made death; he in this chapter ſhews, that both Jews and Gentiles, who are under grace, i. e. converts to Chriſtianity, are free from condemnation, if they perform what is required of them; and thereupon he ſets forth the terms of the covenant of grace, and preſſes their obſervance, viz. not to live after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit, mortifying the deeds of the body; foraſmuch as thoſe, that do ſo, are the ſons of God. This being laid down, he makes uſe of it to arm them with patience againſt afflictions, aſſuring them, that, whilſt they remain in this ſtate, nothing can ſeparate them from the love of God, nor ſhut them out from the inheritance of eternal life with Chriſt, in glory, to which all the ſufferings of this life bear not any the leaſt proportion.

PARAPHRASE.

1. THere is, therefore [a], now [b], no condemnation [c] to, i. e. no ſentence of death ſhall paſs, upon, thoſe who are Chriſtians [d], if ſo be they obey [e] not the ſinful luſts of the fleſh, but follow, with ſincerity of heart, the dictates of the [f] ſpirit, [g] in the goſpel.

2. For the [h] grace of God, which is effectual to life, has ſet me free from that law in my members, which cannot now produce ſin in me, unto death [i].

3. For this (viz. the delivering us from ſin) being beyond the power of the law, which was too weak [k] to maſter the propenſities of the fleſh, God, ſending his

TEXT.

THere is, therefore, now no condemnation to them, which are in Chriſt Jeſus, who walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit. 1

For the law of the ſpirit of life, in Chriſt Jeſus, hath made me free from the law of ſin and death. 2

For what the law could not do, in that it was weak, through the fleſh, God, ſending- 3

NOTES.

1 [a] "Therefore." This is an inference, drawn from the laſt verſe of the foregoing chapter, where he ſaith, that it is grace that delivers from death, as we have already obſerved.

[b] "Now." Now that, under the Goſpel, the law is aboliſhed to thoſe, who entertain the Goſpel.

[c] The "condemnation," here ſpoken of, refers to the penalty of death, annexed to every tranſgreſſion, by the law, whereof he had diſcourſed in the foregoing chapter.

[d] "In Chriſt Jeſus," expreſſed chap. vi. 14. by "under grace," and Gal. iii. 27. by "having put on Chriſt;" all which expreſſions plainly ſignify, to any one that reads and conſiders the places, the profeſſing the religion, and owning a ſubjection to the law of Chriſt, contained in the Goſpel, which is, in ſhort, the profeſſion of Chriſtianity.

[e] Περιπατοῦσι, "walking," or "who walk," does not mean, that all, who are in Chriſt Jeſus, do walk, not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit; but all who, being in Chriſt Jeſus, omit not to walk ſo. This, if the tenor of St. Paul's diſcourſe, here, can ſuffer any one to doubt of, he may be ſatisfied is ſo, from ver. 13. "If we live after the fleſh." The "ye," he there ſpeaks to, are no leſs than thoſe that, chap. i. 6, 7. he calls, "the called of Jeſus Chriſt, and the beloved of God," terms equivalent to, "being in Jeſus Chriſt," ſee chap. vi. 12—14. Gal. v. 16—18. which places compared together, ſhew that, by Chriſt, we are delivered from the dominion of ſin and luſt; ſo that it ſhall not reign over us, unto death, if we will ſet ourſelves againſt it, and ſincerely endeavour to be free; a voluntary ſlave, who inthrals himſelf by a willing obedience, who can ſet free?

[f] "Fleſh and ſpirit," ſeem here plainly to refer to fleſh, wherewith he ſays he ſerves ſin; and "mind," wherewith he ſerves the law of God, in the immediately preceding words.

[g] "Walking after the ſpirit," is, ver. 13. explained by "mortifying the deeds of the body, through the ſpirit."

2 [h] That it is grace, that delivers from the law in the members, which is the law of death, is evident from chap. vii. 23—25. why it is called a law, may be found, in the antitheſis to the law of ſin and death, grace being as certain a law, to give life to Chriſtians, that live not after the fleſh, as the influence of ſinful appetites is, to bring death on thoſe, who are not under grace. In the next place, why it is called the law of the ſpirit of life, has a reaſon, in that the Goſpel, which contains this doctrine of grace, is dictated by the ſame ſpirit, that raiſed Chriſt from the dead, and that quickens us to newneſs of life, and has, for its end, the conferring of eternal life.

[i] "The law of ſin and death." Hereby is meant that, which he calls "the law in his members," chap. vii. 23. where it is called "the law of ſin;" and ver. 24. it is called "the body of death," from which grace delivers. This is certain, that no body, who conſiders what St. Paul has ſaid, ver. 7, and 13. of the foregoing chapter, can think, that he can call the law of Moſes, "the law of ſin, or the law of death." And that the law of Moſes, is not meant, is plain from his reaſoning in the very next words. For the law of Moſes could not be complained of, as being weak, for not delivering thoſe under it from itſelf; yet its weakneſs might, and is all along, chap. vii. as well as ver. 3. complained of, as not being able to deliver thoſe under it, from their carnal, ſinful appetites, and the prevalence of them.

3 [k] "Weak;" the weakneſs, and as he there alſo calls it, "the unprofitableneſs of the law," is again taken notice of, by the Apoſtle, Heb. vii. 18, 19. There were two defects in the law, whereby it became unprofitable, as the author to the Hebrews ſays, ſo as to make nothing perfect. The one was its inflexible rigour, againſt which it provided no allay, or mitigation; it left no place for atonement: the leaſt ſlip was mortal: death was the inevitable puniſhment of tranſgreſſion, by the ſentence of the law, which had no temperament: death the offender muſt ſuffer, there

TEXT.

ing his own ſon, in the likeneſs of ſinful fleſh, and for ſin condemned ſin in the fleſh:

4 That the righteouſneſs of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit.

5 For they, that are after the fleſh, do mind the things of the fleſh: but they, that are after the ſpirit, the things of the ſpirit.

PARAPHRASE.

his ſon in fleſh, that in all things except ſin, was like
unto our frail, ſinful fleſh[a], and ſending[b] him alſo
to be an offering[c] for ſin, he put to death, or extinguiſhed,
or ſuppreſſed ſin[d] in the fleſh, i. e. ſending his
ſon into the world, with the body, wherein the fleſh
could never prevail, to the producing of any one ſin;
To the end that, under this example of fleſh, wherein 4.
ſin was perfectly maſtered and excluded from any
life, the moral rectitude of the law[e] might be conformed
to[f] by us, who, abandoning the luſts of the
fleſh, follow the guidance of the ſpirit, in the law
of our minds, and make it our buſineſs to live, not
after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit. For, as for thoſe 5.
who[g] are ſtill under the direction of the fleſh, and
its ſinful appetites, who are under obedience to the
law in their members, they have the thoughts and
bent of their minds ſet upon the things of the fleſh,
to obey it in the luſts of it: But they, who are under

NOTES.

was no remedy. This St. Paul's epiſtles are full of, and how we are delivered from it, by the body of Chriſt, he ſhews Heb. x. 5—10. The other weakneſs, or defect, of the law was, that it could not enable thoſe, who were under it, to get a maſtery over the fleſh, or fleſhly propenſities, ſo as to perform the obedience required. The law exacted compleat obedience, but afforded men no help againſt their frailty, or vicious inclinations. And this reigning of ſin, in their mortal bodies, St. Paul ſhews here, how they are delivered from, by the ſpirit of Chriſt enabling them, upon their ſincere endeavours after righteouſneſs, to keep ſin under, in their mortal bodies, in conformity to Chriſt, in whoſe fleſh it was condemned, executed, and perfectly extinct, having never had there any life, or being, as we ſhall ſee, in the following note. The proviſion, that is made in the new covenant, againſt both theſe defects of the law, is in the epiſtle to the Hebrews expreſſed thus: "God will make a new covenant with the houſe of Iſrael, "wherein he will do theſe two things; he will write his law in their hearts, and he will be merciful to their iniquities." See Heb. viii. 7—12.

[a] See Heb. iv. 15.

[b] Καὶ "and" joins here, "in the likeneſs," &c. with "to be an offering," whereas, if "and," be made to copulate "ſending," and "condemned," neither grammar, nor ſenſe, would permit it. Nor can it be imagined the Apoſtle ſhould ſpeak thus: God ſending his ſon, and condemned ſin: But "God ſending his own ſon, in the likeneſs of ſinful fleſh," and ſending him to be an offering for ſin, with very good ſenſe, joins the manner and end of his ſending.

[c] Περὶ ἁμαρτίας, which in the text is tranſlated, "for ſin," ſignifies an offering for ſin, as the margin of our bibles takes notice: See 2 Cor. v. 21. Heb. x. 5—10. So that the plain ſenſe is, God ſent his ſon in the likeneſs of ſinful fleſh, and ſent him an offering for ſin.

[d] Κατέκρινε, "condemned." The Proſopopœia, whereby ſin was conſidered as a perſon, all the foregoing chapter, being continued here, the condemning of ſin, here, cannot mean, as ſome would have it, that Chriſt was condemned for ſin, or in the place of ſin, for that would be to ſave ſin, and leave that perſon alive, which Chriſt came to deſtroy. But the plain meaning is, that ſin itſelf was condemned, or put to death, in his fleſh, i. e. was ſuffered to have no life, nor being, in the fleſh of our Saviour: he was in all points tempted as we are, yet without ſin, Heb. iv. 15. By the ſpirit of God, the motions of the fleſh were ſuppreſſed in him, ſin was cruſhed in the egg, and could never faſten, in the leaſt, upon him. This farther appears to be the ſenſe, by the following words. The antitheſis between κατάκριμα, ver. 1. and κατέκρινε, here, will alſo ſhew, why that word is uſed, here, to expreſs the death, or no being, of ſin in our Saviour, 2 Cor. v. 2. 1 Pet. ii. 22. That St. Paul ſometimes uſes condemnation, for putting to death, ſee chap. v. 16, and 18.

4 [e] Τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου, "the righteouſneſs of the law." See Note, chap. ii. 26.

[f] "Fulfilled," does not here ſignify a compleat, exact obedience, but ſuch an unblameable life, by ſincere endeavours after righteouſneſs, as ſhews us to be the faithful ſubjects of Chriſt, exempt from the dominion of ſin, ſee chap. xiii. 8. Gal. vi. 2. A deſcription of ſuch, who thus fulfilled "the righteouſneſs of the law," we have Luke i. 6. As Chriſt in the fleſh was wholly exempt from all taint of ſin; ſo we, by that ſpirit which was in him, ſhall be exempt from the dominion of our carnal luſts, if we make it our choice and endeavour to live after the ſpirit, ver. 9, 10, 11. For that, which we are to perform by that ſpirit, is the mortification of the deeds of the body, ver. 13.

5 [g] Οἱ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες, "thoſe that are after the fleſh," and "thoſe that are after the ſpirit," are the ſame with, thoſe that walk after the fleſh, and after the ſpirit. A deſcription of theſe two different ſorts of Chriſtians, ſee Gal. v. 16—26.

PARAPHRASE.

der the ſpiritual law of their minds, the thoughts and
bent of their hearts is to follow the dictates of the ſpi-
6. rit, in that law. For[a], to have our minds ſet upon
the ſatisfaction of the luſts of the fleſh, in a ſlaviſh
obedience to them, does certainly produce and bring
death upon us, but our ſetting ourſelves, ſeriouſly and
ſincerely, to obey the dictates and direction of the ſpi-
rit, produces life[b] and peace, which are not to be
7. had in the contrary, carnal ſtate: Becauſe to be car-
nally minded[c] is direct enmity and oppoſition againſt
God, for ſuch a temper of mind, given up to the
luſts of the fleſh, is in no ſubjection to the law of
God, nor indeed can be[d], it having a quite contrary
8. tendency. So then[e], they that are in the fleſh, i. e.
under the fleſhly diſpenſation of the law[f], without
regarding Chriſt, the ſpirit of it, in it cannot pleaſe
9. God. But ye are not in that ſtate, of having all your
expectation from the law, and the benefits, that are
to be obtained barely by that, but are in the ſpiritual
ſtate of the law, i. e. the[g] Goſpel, which is the end
of the law, and to which the law leads you. And
ſo, having received the Goſpel, you have therewith
received the ſpirit of God: For, as many as receive
Chriſt, he gives power to become the[h] ſons of God:
and

TEXT.

For to be carnally minded, 6
is death; but to be ſpiritually
minded, is life and peace:

Becauſe the carnal mind is 7
enmity againſt God: for it is
not ſubject to the law of God,
neither indeed can be.

So then, they that are in 8
the fleſh, cannot pleaſe God.

But ye are not in the fleſh, 9
but in the ſpirit, if ſo be that
the ſpirit of God dwell in you.
Now if any man have not the
ſpirit of Chriſt, he is none of
his.

NOTES.

6 [a] "For" joins what follows here to ver. 1. as the reaſon of what is here laid down, viz. deliverance from condemnation is to ſuch Chriſtian converts only, "who walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit. For," &c.

[b] See Gal. vi. 8.

7 [c] φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς, ſhould have been tranſlated here, "to be carnally minded," as it is in the foregoing verſe, which is juſtified by φρονοῦσι τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς, "do mind the things of the fleſh," ver. 5. which ſignifies the employing the bent of their minds, or ſubjecting the mind intirely, to the fulfilling the luſts of the fleſh.

[d] Here the Apoſtle gives the reaſon, why even thoſe, that are in Chriſt Jeſus, have received the Goſpel, and are Chriſtians, (for to ſuch he is here ſpeaking) are not ſaved, unleſs they ceaſe to walk after the fleſh, becauſe that runs directly counter to the law of God, and can never be brought into conformity and ſubjection to his commands. Such a ſettled contravention to his precepts cannot be ſuffered, by the ſupreme Lord and Governor of the world, in any of his creatures, without foregoing his ſovereignty, and giving up the eternal, immutable rule of right, to the overturning the very foundations of all order and moral rectitude, in the intellectual world. This, even in the judgment of men themſelves, will be always thought a neceſſary piece of juſtice, for the keeping out of anarchy, diſorder and confuſion, that thoſe refractory ſubjects, who ſet up their own inclinations for their rule, againſt the law, which was made to reſtrain thoſe very inclinations, ſhould feel the ſeverity of the law, without which the authority of the law, and law-maker, cannot be preſerved.

8 [e] This is a concluſion drawn from what went before. The whole argumentation ſtands thus: "They that are under the dominion of their carnal luſts, cannot pleaſe God; therefore "they who are under the carnal, or literal diſpenſation of the law, cannot pleaſe God; becauſe "they have not the ſpirit of God: Now 'tis the ſpirit of God alone, that enlivens men ſo, as "to enable them to caſt off the dominion of their luſts." See Gal. iv. 3—6.

[f] Οἱ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες, "They that are in the fleſh." He that ſhall conſider, that this phraſe is applied, chap. vii. 5. to the Jews, as reſting in the bare, literal, or carnal ſenſe and obſervance of the law, will not be averſe to the underſtanding the ſame phraſe, in the ſame ſenſe, here; which I think is the only place beſides in the new teſtament, where ἐν σαρκὶ εἶναι is uſed in a moral ſenſe. This I dare ſay, it is hard to produce any one text, wherein εἶναι ἐν σαρκὶ is uſed to ſignify a man's being under the power of his luſts, which is the ſenſe wherein it is, and muſt be, taken here, if what I propoſe be rejected. Let it be alſo remembered, that St. Paul makes it the chief buſineſs of this epiſtle (and he ſeldom forgets the deſign, he is upon) to perſuade both Jew and Gentile from a ſubjection to the law, and that the argument, he is upon here, is the weakneſs and inſufficiency of the law, to deliver men from the power of ſin, and then, perhaps, it will not be judged that the interpretation, I have given of theſe words, is altogether remote from the Apoſtle's ſenſe.

9 [g] See 2 Cor. iii. 6—18. particularly ver. 6, 13, 16.

[h] See John i. 12.

TEXT.

10 And if Chriſt be in you the body is dead, becauſe of ſin, but the ſpirit is life, becauſe of righteouſneſs.

11 But if the ſpirit of him, that raiſed up Jeſus from the dead, dwell in you; he that raiſed up Chriſt from the dead, ſhall alſo quicken your mortal bodies by his ſpirit that dwelleth in you.

PARAPHRASE.

and to thoſe, that are his ſons, God gives his Spirit [a]. 10. And if Chriſt be in you, by his ſpirit, the body is dead as to all activity to ſin [b], ſin no longer reigns in it, but your ſinful, carnal luſts are mortified. But the ſpirit [c] of your mind liveth, i. e. is enlivened, in order to righteouſneſs, or living righteouſly. 11. But, if the ſpirit of God, who had power able to raiſe Jeſus Chriſt from the dead, dwell in you, as certainly it does, he, that raiſed Chriſt from the dead, is certainly able, and will, by his ſpirit that dwells in you, enliven even [d] your

NOTES.

[a] See Gal. iv. 6.

10 [b] See chap. vi. 1—14. which explains this place, particularly ver. 2, 6, 11, 12. Gal. ii. 20. Eph. iv. 22, 23. Col. ii. 11. and iii. 8—10.

[c] See Eph. iv. 23.

11 [d] To lead us into the true ſenſe of this verſe, we need only obſerve, that St. Paul, having, in the four firſt chapters of this epiſtle, ſhewn, that neither Jew nor Gentile could be juſtified by the law: and in the 5th chapter how ſin entered into the world by Adam, and reigned by death, from which it was grace and not the law that delivered men: in the 6th chapter, he ſheweth the convert Gentiles, that, though they were not under the law, but under grace; yet they could not be ſaved, unleſs they caſt off the dominion of ſin, and became the devoted ſervants of righteouſneſs, which was what their very baptiſm taught and required of them: and in chap. vii. he declares to the Jews the weakneſs of the law, which they ſo much ſtood upon; and ſhews that the law could not deliver them from the dominion of ſin; that deliverance was only by the grace of God, through Jeſus Chriſt; from whence he draws the conſequence, which begins this 8th chapter, and ſo goes on with it, here, in two branches relating to his diſcourſe in the foregoing chapter, that complete it in this. The one is to ſhew, "that the law of the ſpirit of "life," i. e. the new covenant in the Goſpel, required that thoſe, that are in Chriſt Jeſus, "ſhould "not live after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit." The other is to ſhew how, and by whom, ſince the law was weak, and could not enable thoſe, under the law, to do it, they are enabled to keep ſin from reigning in their "mortal bodies," which is the ſanctification required. And here he ſhews, that Chriſtians are delivered from the dominion of their carnal, ſinful luſts, by the ſpirit of God, that is given to them, and dwells in them, as a new, quickening principle and power, by which they are put into the ſtate of a ſpiritual life, wherein their members are made capable of being made the inſtruments of righteouſneſs, if they pleaſe, as living men, alive now to righteouſneſs, ſo to employ them. If this be not the ſenſe of this chapter to ver. 14. I deſire to know how ἄρα νῦν in the 1ſt verſe comes in, and what coherence there is in what is here ſaid? Beſides the connexion of this to the former chapter, contained in the illative, "therefore," the very antitheſis of the expreſſions, in one and the other, ſhew that St. Paul, in writing this very verſe, had an eye to the foregoing chapter. There it was "ſin that dwelleth in me," that was the active and over-ruling principle: here it is "the ſpirit of God that dwelleth in you," that is the principle of your ſpiritual life. There it was, "who ſhall deliver me from this body of death?" here it is, "God, by his ſpirit, ſhall quicken your mortal bodies," i. e. bodies which, as the ſeat and harbour of ſinful luſts, that poſſeſs it, are indiſpoſed and dead to the actions of a ſpiritual life, and have a natural tendency to death. In the ſame ſenſe, and upon the ſame account, he calls the bodies of the Gentiles, "their mortal bodies," ch. vi. 12. where his ſubject is, as here, "freedom from "the reign of ſin," upon which account they are there ſtiled, ver. 13. "alive from the dead." To make it yet clearer, that it is deliverance from the reign of ſin, in our bodies, that St. Paul ſpeaks of here, I deſire any one to read what he ſays, chap. vi. 1——14. to the Gentiles on the ſame ſubject, and compare it with the thirteen firſt verſes of this chapter; and then tell me, whether they have not a mutual correſpondence, and do not give a great light to one another? If this be too much pains, let him at leaſt read the two next verſes, and ſee how they could poſſibly be, as they are, an inference from this 11th verſe, if the "quickening of your mortal bodies," in it, mean any thing, but a "quickening to newneſs of life, or to a ſpiritual life of righteouſneſs." This being ſo, I cannot but wonder to ſee a late learned commentator and paraphraſt poſitive, that ζωοποιήσει τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, "ſhall quicken your mortal bodies," does here ſignify, "ſhall raiſe your dead bodies out "of the grave," as he contends, in his preface to his paraphraſe on the epiſtle to the Corinthians, ζωοποιεῖν, "quicken," he ſays imports the ſame with ἐγείρειν, "raiſe." His way of proving it is very remarkable, his words are "ζωοποιεῖν and ἐγείρειν, are as to this matter [viz. the reſurrection] words of "the ſame import," i. e. where in diſcourſing of the reſurrection, ζωοποιεῖν, "quicken," is uſed, it is of the ſame import with ἐγείρειν, "raiſe." But what if St. Paul, which is the queſtion, be not here ſpeaking of the reſurrection? why then, according to our author's own confeſſion, ζωοποιεῖν, "quicken," does not neceſſarily import the ſame with ἐγείρειν, "raiſe." So that this argument, to prove that St. Paul here, by the words in queſtion, means the raiſing of their dead bodies out of the grave, is but a fair begging of the queſtion, which is enough, I think, for a commentator, that hunts out of his way for controverſy. He might, therefore, have ſpared the ζωοποιεῖν, "quicken," which he produces out of St. John v. 21. as of no force to his purpoſe, till he had proved that St. Paul here in Romans viii. 11. was ſpeaking of the reſurrection of men's bodies out of the grave, which he

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. VIII. your mortal bodies [a], that ſin ſhall not have the ſole power and rule there, but your members may be made living inſtruments of righteouſneſs.
12. Therefore, brethren, we are not under any obligation to the fleſh, to obey the luſts of it.
13. For, if ye live after the fleſh, that mortal part ſhall lead you to death irrecoverable; but if by the ſpirit, whereby Chriſt totally ſuppreſſed and hindered ſin from having any life in his fleſh, you mortify the deeds of the body [b], ye ſhall have eternal life.
14. For, as many as are led by the ſpirit of God they are the ſons of God, of an immortal race, and conſequently like their Father immortal [c].
15. For ye have not received the ſpirit of bondage [d] again

TEXT.

Therefore, brethren, we are debtors, not to the fleſh to live after the fleſh. 12

For, if ye live after the fleſh, ye ſhall die: but if ye, through the ſpirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye ſhall live. 13

For, as many as are led by the ſpirit of God, they are the ſons of God. 14

For ye have not received the ſpirit of bondage again to 15

NOTES.

will never do, till he can prove that θνητὰ, "mortal," here ſignifies the ſame with νεκρὰ, "dead." And I demand of him to ſhew θνητὸν, "mortal," any where in the new teſtament, attributed to any thing void of life, θνητὸν, "mortal," always ſignifies the thing it is joined to, to be living; ſo that ζωοποιήσει ϗ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, "ſhall quicken even your mortal bodies," in that learned author's interpretation of theſe words of St. Paul, here ſignify, "God ſhall raiſe to life your "living, dead bodies," which no one can think, in the ſofteſt terms can be given to it, a very proper way of ſpeaking; though it be very good ſenſe and very emphatical to ſay, God ſhall by his ſpirit, put into even your mortal bodies, a principle of immortality, or ſpiritual life, which is the ſenſe of the Apoſtle here; ſee Gal. vi. 8. And ſo he may find ζωοποιῆσαι uſed, Gal. iii. 21. to the ſame purpoſe it is here. I next deſire to know, of this learned writer, how he will bring in the reſurrection of the dead, into this place, and to ſhew what coherence it has with St. Paul's diſcourſe here, and how he can join this verſe with the immediately preceding and following, when the words under conſideration are rendered, "ſhall raiſe your dead bodies out of their "graves, at the laſt day?" It ſeems as if he himſelf found this would make but an aukward ſenſe, ſtanding in this place, with the reſt of St. Paul's words here, and ſo never attempted it by any ſort of paraphraſe, but has barely given us the Engliſh tranſlation to help us, as it can, to ſo uncouth a meaning, as he would put upon this paſſage, which muſt make St. Paul, in the midſt of a very ſerious, ſtrong, and coherent diſcourſe, concerning "walking not after the fleſh, but after "the ſpirit," ſkip on a ſudden into the mention of "the reſurrection of the dead;" and having juſt mentioned it, ſkip back again into his former argument. But I take the liberty to aſſure him, that St. Paul has no ſuch ſtarts, from the matter he has in hand, to what gives no light or ſtrength to his preſent argument. I think there is not any where to be found a more pertinent, cloſe arguer, who has his eye always on the mark he drives at. This men would find, if they would ſtudy him, as they ought, with more regard to divine authority, than to hypotheſes of their own, or to opinions of the ſeaſon. I do not ſay that he is every way clear in his expreſſions, to us now: but I do ſay he is every way a coherent, pertinent writer; and wherever, in his commentators and interpreters, any ſenſe is given to his words, that disjoints his diſcourſe, or deviates from his argument, and looks like a wandring thought, it is eaſy to know whoſe it is, and whoſe the impertinence, his, or theirs that father it on him. One thing more the text ſuggeſts, concerning this matter; and that is, if by "quickning your mortal bodies, &c." be meant, here, the raiſing them into life after death, how can this be mentioned as a peculiar favour to thoſe, who have the ſpirit of God? for God will alſo raiſe the bodies of the wicked, and as certainly as thoſe of believers. But that, which is promiſed here, is promiſed to thoſe only who have the ſpirit of God: and, therefore, it muſt be ſomething peculiar to them, viz. that "God ſhall ſo enliven their mortal bodies, by his ſpirit, which is the principle and pledge of immortal life, that they may be able to yield up themſelves to God, as thoſe that are alive from the dead, and their members ſervants to righteouſneſs unto holineſs," as he expreſſes himſelf chap. vi. 13, and 19. If any one can yet doubt, whether this be the meaning of St. Paul here, I refer him for farther ſatisfaction to St. Paul himſelf, in Eph. ii. 4—6. where he will find the ſame notion of St. Paul, expreſſed in the ſame terms, but ſo that it is impoſſible to underſtand by ζωοποιεῖν, or ἐγείρειν (which are both uſed there, as well as here) "the reſurrection of the dead, out of their "graves." The full explication of this verſe may be ſeen Eph. i. 19. and ii. 10. See alſo Col. ii. 12, 13. to the ſame purpoſe; and Rom. vii. 4.

[a] Ζωοποιήσει ϗ, "ſhall quicken even your mortal bodies," ſeems more agreeable to the original, than "ſhall alſo quicken your mortal bodies;" for the ϗ doth not copulate ζωοποιήσει with ὁ ἐγείρας, for then it muſt have been ϗ ζωοποιήσει; for the place of the copulative is between the two words that it joins, and ſo muſt neceſſarily go before the latter of them.

13 [b] "Deeds of the body:" what they are may be ſeen, Gal. v. 19, &c. as we have already remarked.

14 [c] In that lyes the force of his proof, that they ſhall live. The ſons of mortal men are mortal, the ſons of God are like their Father, partakers of the divine nature, and are immortal. See 2 Pet. i. 4. Heb. ii. 13—15.

15 [d] What "the ſpirit of bondage" is, the Apoſtle hath plainly declared, Heb. ii. 15. See note, ver. 21.

TEXT.

fear; but ye have received the ſpirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.

16 The ſpirit it ſelf beareth witneſs with our ſpirit, that we are the children of God.

17 And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Chriſt: if ſo be that we ſuffer with him, that we may be alſo glorified together.

18 For I reckon, that the ſufferings of this preſent time, are not worthy to be compared with the glory, which ſhall be revealed in us.

19 For the earneſt expectation of the creature, waiteth for the manifeſtation of the ſons of God.

20 For the creature was made ſubject to vanity, not willingly, but by reaſon of him who hath ſubjected the ſame, in hope:

21 Becauſe the creature it ſelf alſo ſhall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

22 For we know that the whole

PARAPHRASE.

again[a], to fear; but ye have received the [b] ſpirit of
God, (which is given to thoſe who, having received
adoption, are ſons) whereby we are all enabled to
call God our Father[c]. The ſpirit of God himſelf 16.
beareth witneſs[d] with our ſpirits, that we are the
children of God. And if children, then heirs of 17.
God, joint-heirs with Chriſt, if ſo be we ſuffer[e] with
him, that we may alſo be glorified with him. For 18.
I count that the ſufferings of this tranſitory life, bear
no proportion to that glorious ſtate, that ſhall be
hereafter[f] revealed, and ſet before the eyes of the
whole world, at our admittance into it. For the 19.
whole race of[g] mankind, in an earneſt expectation
of this inconceivable, glorious[h] immortality that ſhall
be beſtowed on the[i] ſons of God (For mankind, crea- 20.
ted in a better ſtate, was made ſubject to the[k] vanity
of this calamitous fleeting life, not of its own
choice, but by the guile of the devil[l], who brought
mankind into this mortal ſtate) waiteth in hope[m],
That even they alſo ſhall be delivered from this ſub- 21.
jection to corruption[n], and ſhall be brought into
that glorious freedom from death, which is the pro-
per inheritance of the children of God. For we 22.
know

NOTES.

[a] "Again," i. e. now again under Chriſt, as the Jews did from Moſes, under the law.

[b] See Gal. iv. 5, 6.

[c] "Abba, Father." The Apoſtle here expreſſes this filial aſſurance, in the ſame words, that our Saviour applies himſelf to God, Mark xiv. 36.

16 [d] See the ſame thing taught, 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. and v. 5. Eph. i. 11—14. and Gal. iv. 6.

17 [e] The full ſenſe of this you may take, in St. Paul's own words, 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12.

18 [f] "Revealed." St. Paul ſpeaks of this glory here, as what needs to be revealed, to give us a right conception of it. It is impoſſible to have a clear and full comprehenſion of it, till we taſte it. See how he labours for words to expreſs it, 2 Cor. iv. 17, &c. a place to the ſame purpoſe with this here.

19 [g] Κτίσις, "creature," in the language of St. Paul and of the new teſtament, ſignifies "mankind;" eſpecially the Gentile world, as the far greater part of the creation. See Col. i. 23. Mark xvi. 15. compared with Matt. xxviii. 19.

[h] "Immortality." That the thing here expected was immortal life, is plain from the context, and from that parallel place, 2 Cor. iv. 17. and v. 1. the glory whereof was ſo great, that it could not be comprehended, till it was by an actual exhibiting of it revealed. When this revelation is to be, St. Peter tells us, 1 Pet. i. 4—7.

[i] Ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν, "Revelation of the ſons," i. e. revelation to the ſons. The genitive caſe often, in the new teſtament, denotes the object. So Rom. i. 5. ὑπακοὴ πίςεως, ſignifies obedience to faith; chap. iii. 22. δικαιοσύνη Θεῦ δια πίςεως Χριςῦ, "the righteouſneſs that God accepts, "by faith in Chriſt:" chap. iv. 11. δικαιοσύνη πίςεως, "righteouſneſs by faith." If ἀποκάλυψις, here be rendered "revelation," as ἀποκαλυφθῆναι in the foregoing verſe is rendered "revealed," (and 'twill be hard to find a reaſon why it ſhould not) the ſenſe in the paraphraſe will be very natural and eaſy. For the revelation in the foregoing verſe is not "of," but "to" the ſons of God. The words are ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.

20 [k] The ſtate of man, in this frail, ſhort life, ſubject to inconveniencies, ſufferings, and death, may very well be called "vanity," compared to the impaſſible eſtate of eternal life, the inheritance of the ſons of God.

[l] "Devil." That by, he that ſubjected it, is meant the Devil, is probable from the hiſtory, Gen. iii. and from Heb. ii. 14, 15. Col. ii. 15.

19, 21 [m] Ἀπεκδέχεται ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, ὅτι, "Waiteth in hope," that the not joining, "in hope," to "waiteth," by placing it in the beginning of the 21ſt verſe, as it ſtands in the Greek, but joining it to "ſubjected the ſame," by placing it at the end of the 20th verſe, has mightily obſcured the meaning of this paſſage, which, taking all the words between, "of God and in hope," for a parentheſis, is as eaſy and clear as any thing can be, and then the next word ὅτι will have its proper ſignification "that," and not "becauſe."

[n] Δυλεία τῆς φθορᾶς, "Bondage of corruption," i. e. the fear of death, ſee ver. 15. and Heb. ii. 15. Corruption ſignifies "death," or "deſtruction," in oppoſition to "life everlaſting." See Gal. vi. 8.

PARAPHRASE.

know that mankind, all [a] of them, groan together,
and unto this day are in pain as a woman in labour,
to be delivered out of the uneaſineſs of this mortal
23. ſtate. And not only they, but even thoſe, who have
the firſt fruits of the ſpirit, and therein the earneſt [b]
of eternal life, we ourſelves groan [c] within ourſelves,
waiting for the fruit of our adoption, which is, that,
as we are by adoption made ſons and co-heirs with
Jeſus Chriſt, ſo we may have bodies like unto his
24. moſt glorious body, ſpiritual and immortal. But we
muſt wait with patience, for we have hitherto been
ſaved but in hope and expectation: but hope is of
things not in preſent poſſeſſion, or enjoyment. For
what a man hath, and ſeeth in his own hands, he
25. no longer hopes for. But if we hope for what is
out of ſight, and yet to come, then do we with patience
26. wait for it [d]. Such, therefore, are our groans,
which the ſpirit, in aid to our infirmity, makes uſe
of. For we know not what prayers to make as we
ought, but the ſpirit itſelf layeth for us our requeſts
before God, in groans that cannot be expreſſed in
27. words. And God, the ſearcher of hearts, who underſtandeth
this language of the ſpirit, knoweth what
the ſpirit would have, becauſe the ſpirit is wont to
make interceſſion for the ſaints, [e] acceptably to God.
28. Bear, therefore, your ſufferings with patience and
conſtancy, for we certainly know that all things
work together for good, to thoſe that love God, who
are the called, according to his purpoſe of calling the
29. Gentiles [f]. In which purpoſe the Gentiles, whom
he fore-knew, as he did the Jews [g], with an intention
of kindneſs, and of making them his people,
he pre-ordained to be conformable to the image of
his ſon, that he might be the firſt-born, the chief
30. amongſt many brethren [h]. Moreover, whom he did
thus pre-ordain to be his people, them he alſo called,
by ſending preachers of the Goſpel to them: and
whom he called, if they obey the truth [i], thoſe he
alſo

TEXT.

creation groaneth and travelleth in pain together, until now:

23 And not only they, but our ſelves alſo, which have the firſt fruits of the ſpirit, even we our ſelves groan within our ſelves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.

24 For we are ſaved by hope: but hope that is ſeen, is not hope: for what a man ſeeth, why doth he yet hope for?

25 But if we hope for that we ſee not, then do we with patience wait for it.

26 Likewiſe the ſpirit alſo helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we ſhould pray for, as we ought: but the ſpirit itſelf maketh interceſſion for us, with groanings, which cannot be uttered.

27 And he that ſearcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the ſpirit; becauſe he maketh interceſſion for the ſaints, according to the will of God.

28 And we know that all things work together for good, to them that love God, to them, who are the called according to his purpoſe.

29 For whom he did foreknow, he alſo did predeſtinate to be conformed to the image of his ſon, that he might be the firſt-born among many brethren.

30 Moreover whom he did predeſtinate, them he alſo called: and whom he called, them he alſo juſtified; and whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified.

NOTES.

22 [a] How David “groaned” under the vanity and ſhortneſs of this life, may be ſeen Pſal. lxxxix. 47, 48. which complaint may be met with, in every man's mouth; ſo that even thoſe, who have not the firſt fruits of the ſpirit, whereby they are aſſured of a future, happy life, in glory, do alſo deſire to be freed from a ſubjection to corruption, and have uneaſy longings after immortality.

23 [b] See 2 Cor. v. 2, 5. Eph. i. 13, 14.

[c] Read the parallel place, 2 Cor. iv. 17. and v. 5.

25 [d] What he ſays here of hope, is to ſhew them, that the groaning, in the children of God, before ſpoken of, was not the groaning of impatience, but ſuch, wherewith the Spirit of God makes interceſſion for us, better than if we expreſſed our ſelves in words, ver. 19—23.

27 [e] “The ſpirit,” promiſed in the time of the Goſpel, is called the “ſpirit of ſupplications,” Zach. xii. 10.

28 [f] Which “purpoſe” was declared to Abraham, Gen. xviii. 18. and is largely inſiſted on by St. Paul, Eph. iii. 1—11. This and the remainder of this chapter, ſeems ſaid to confirm the Gentile converts, in the aſſurance of the favour and love of God to them, through Chriſt, tho' they were not under the law.

29 [g] See chap. xi. 2. Amos iii. 2.

[h] See Eph. i. 3—7.

30 [i] “Many are called, and few are choſen,” ſays our Saviour, Matt. xx. 16. Many, both Jews and Gentiles, were called, that did not obey the call. And therefore, ver. 32. it is thoſe, who are choſen who (he ſaith) are “juſtified,” i. e. ſuch as were called, and obeyed, and conſequently were choſen.

TEXT.

31 What ſhall we then ſay, to theſe things? if God be for us, who can be againſt us?

32 He that ſpared not his own ſon, but delivered him up for us all, how ſhall he not with him alſo freely give us all things?

33 Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that juſtifieth:

34 Who is he that condemneth? It is Chriſt that died, yea rather that is riſen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who alſo maketh interceſſion for us.

35 Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? ſhall tribulation, or diſtreſs, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſs, or peril, or ſword?

36 (As it is written, for thy ſake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as ſheep for the ſlaughter)

37 Nay in all theſe things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us.

38 For I am perſuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come,

39 Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God, which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.

PARAPHRASE.

alſo juſtified, by counting their faith for righteouſneſs:
and whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified,
viz. in his purpoſe. What ſhall we ſay, then, 31.
to theſe things? If God be for us, as, by what he
has already done for us, it appears he is, who can
be againſt us? He that ſpared not his own ſon, but 32.
delivered him up to death for us all, Gentiles as well
as Jews, how ſhall he not with him alſo give us all
things? Who ſhall be the proſecutor of thoſe, whom 33.
God hath choſen? Shall God, who juſtifieth them [a]?
Who, as judge, ſhall condemn them? Chriſt, that 34.
died for us, yea rather that is riſen again for our juſtification,
and is at the right hand of God, making
interceſſion for us? Who ſhall ſeparate us from the 35.
love of Chriſt? Shall tribulation, or diſtreſs, or perſecution,
or famine, or nakedneſs, or peril, or ſword?
For this is our lot, as it is written, for thy ſake we 36.
are killed all the day long, we are accounted as ſheep
for the ſlaughter. Nay, in all theſe things, we are 37.
already more than conquerors, by the grace and aſſiſtance
of him that loved us. For I am ſtedfaſtly 38.
perſuaded, that neither the terrors of death, nor the
allurements of life, nor angels, nor the princes and
powers of this world; nor things preſent, nor any
thing future; Nor the height of proſperity; nor the 39.
depth of miſery; nor any thing elſe whatſoever, ſhall
be able to ſeparate us from the love of God, which
is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.

NOTE.

33 [a] Reading this with an interrogation, makes it needleſs to add any words to the text, to make out the ſenſe, and is more conformable to the ſcheme of his argumentation here, as appears by ver. 35. where the interrogation cannot be avoided; and is, as it were, an appeal to them, themſelves to be judges, whether any of thoſe things he mentions to them (reckoning up thoſe, which had moſt power to hurt them) could give them juſt cauſe of apprehenſion, "Who ſhall "accuſe you? Shall God who juſtifies you? Who ſhall condemn you? Chriſt that died for "you?" What can be more abſurd, than ſuch an imagination?

SECT. VIII.

CHAP. IX. 1——X. 21.

CONTENTS.

THERE was nothing more grating and offenſive to the Jews, than the thoughts of having the Gentiles joined with them, and partake equally in the privileges and advantages of the kingdom of the Meſſiah: and, which was yet worſe, to be told that thoſe aliens ſhould be admitted, and they, who preſumed themſelves children of that kingdom, to be ſhut out. St. Paul, who had inſiſted much on this doctrine, in all the foregoing chapters of this epiſtle, to ſhew that he had not done it out of any averſion, or unkindneſs, to his nation and brethren, the Jews, does here expreſs his great affection to them, and declares an extreme concern for their ſalvation. But withal he ſhews, that whatever privileges they had received from God, above other nations, whatever expectation the promiſes, made to their foreſathers, might raiſe in them, they had yet no juſt reaſon of complaining of God's dealing with them, now under the Goſpel, ſince it was according to his promiſe to Abraham, and his frequent declarations in ſacred ſcripture. Nor was it any injuſtice to the Jewiſh nation, if God, now acted by the ſame ſovereign power, wherewith he preferred Jacob (the younger brother, without any merit of his) and his poſterity, to be his people, before Eſau and his poſterity, whom he rejected. The earth is all his; nor have the nations, that poſſeſs it, any title of their own, but what he gives them, to the countries they inhabit, nor to the good things they enjoy, and he may diſpoſſeſs, or exterminate them, when he pleaſeth. And as he deſtroyed the Egyptians, for the glory of his name, in the deliverance of the Iſraelites; ſo he may, according to his good pleaſure, raiſe or depreſs, take into favour, or reject, the ſeveral nations of this world. And particularly, as to the nation of the Jews, all, but a ſmall remnant, were rejected, and the Gentiles taken in, in their room, to be the people and church of God; becauſe they were a gainſaying and diſobedient people, that would not receive the Meſſiah, whom he had promiſed, and, in the appointed time, ſent to them. He, that will, with moderate attention and indifferency of mind, read this ninth chapter, will ſee that what is ſaid, of God's exerciſing of an abſolute power, according to the good pleaſure of his will, relates only to nations, or bodies politick, of men, incorporated in civil ſocieties, which feel the effects of it only in the proſperity, or calamity, they meet with, in this world, but extends not to their eternal ſtate, in another world, conſidered as particular perſons, wherein they ſtand each man by himſelf, upon his own bottom, and ſhall ſo anſwer ſeparately, at the day of judgment. They may be puniſhed here, with their fellow-citizens, as part of a ſinful nation, and that be but temporal chaſtiſement for their good, and yet be advanced to eternal life and bliſs, in the world to come.

PARAPHRASE.

1. I As a Chriſtian, ſpeak truth, and my conſcience, guided and enlightened by the Holy Ghoſt, bears
2. me witneſs, that I lie not, in my profeſſion of great
3. heavineſs and continual ſorrow of heart; I could even wiſh that [a] the deſtruction and extermination, to which my brethren the Jews are devoted by Chriſt, might, if it could ſave them from ruin, be executed on me, in the ſtead of thoſe my kinſmen after the
4. fleſh; Who are Iſraelites, a nation dignified with theſe privileges, which were peculiar to them; adoption, whereby they were in a particular manner the ſons of God [b]; the glory [c] of the divine preſence amongſt them; covenants [d], made between them and the great God of heaven and earth; the moral law [e], a conſtitution of civil government, and a form of divine

TEXT.

I Say the truth in Chriſt, I lie not, my conſcience alſo bearing me witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt. 1

That I have great heavineſs and continual ſorrow in my heart. 2

For I could wiſh, that myſelf were accurſed from Chriſt, for my brethren, my kinſmen according to the fleſh: 3

Who are Iſraelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the ſervice of God, and the promiſes; 4

NOTES.

3 [a] 'Ανάθεμα, "accurſed," חרם, which the ſeptuagint render Anathema, ſignifies perſons, or things, devoted to deſtruction and extermination. The Jewiſh nation were an Anathema, deſtined to deſtruction. St. Paul, to expreſs his affection to them, ſays, he could wiſh, to ſave them from it, to become an Anathema, and be deſtroyed himſelf.

4 [b] "Adoption," Exod. iv. 22. Jer. xxxi. 9.

[c] "Glory," which was preſent with the Iſraelites, and appeared to them, in a great, ſhining brightneſs, out of a cloud. Some of the places, which mention it, are theſe following, Exod. xiii. 21. Lev. ix. 6. and 23, 24. Numb. xvi. 42. 2 Chron. vii. 1—3. Ezek. x. 4. and xliii. 2, 3. compared with chap. i. 4, 28.

[d] "Covenants." See Gen. xvii. 4. Exod. xxxiv. 27.

[e] Νομοθεσία, "the giving of the law," whether it ſignifies the extraordinary giving of the law, by God himſelf, or the exact conſtitution of their government, in the moral and judicial part of it (for the next word λατρεία, "ſervice of God," ſeems to comprehend the religious worſhip) this is certain that, in either of theſe ſenſes, it was the peculiar privilege of the Jews, and what no other nation could pretend to.

TEXT.

5 Whoſe are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the fleſh, Chriſt came, who is over all, God bleſſed for ever. Amen.

6 Not as though the word of God hath taken none effect. For they are not all Iſrael, which are of Iſrael:

7 Neither, becauſe they are the ſeed of Abraham, are they all children: but in Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be called.

8 That is, they which are the children of the fleſh, theſe are not the children of God: but the children of the promiſe are counted for the ſeed.

9 For this is the word of promiſe, at this time will I come, and Sara ſhall have a ſon.

10 And not only this, but when Rebecca alſo had conceived by one, even by our father Iſaac.

11 (For the children being not yet born, neither having done any good, or evil, that the purpoſe of God, according to election, might ſtand, not of works, but of him that calleth)

PARAPHRASE.

divine worſhip preſcribed by God himſelf; and all
the promiſes of the old teſtament; Had the Patriarchs,
to whom the promiſes were made, for their fore-fa- 5.
thers[b]; and of them, as to his fleſhly extraction, Chriſt
is come, he who is over all, God be bleſſed for ever,
Amen. I commiſerate my nation for not receiving 6.
the promiſed Meſſiah, now he is come, and I ſpeak
of the great prerogatives, they had from God, above
other nations; but I ſay not this, as if it were poſſible,
that the promiſe of God ſhould fail of performance,
and not have its effect[b]. But it is to be obſerved,
for a right underſtanding of the promiſe, that
the ſole deſcendants of Jacob, or Iſrael, do not make
up the whole nation of Iſrael[c], or the people of
God, comprehended in the promiſe; Nor are they, 7.
who are the race of Abraham, all children, but only
his poſterity by Iſaac, as it is ſaid, "In Iſaac ſhall
"thy ſeed be called." That is, the children of the 8.
fleſh, deſcended out of Abraham's loins, are not
thereby the children of God[d], and to be eſteemed his
people; but the children of the promiſe, as Iſaac
was, are alone to be accounted his ſeed. For thus
runs the word of promiſe, "at this time I will come, 9.
"and Sara ſhall have a ſon." Nor was this the only 10.
limitation of the ſeed of Abraham, to whom the
promiſe belonged; But alſo, when Rebecca had conceived
by that one of Abraham's Iſſue, to whom the
promiſe was made, viz. our father Iſaac, and there
were twins in her womb, of that one father, Before 11.
the children were born, or had done any good, or
evil[e], to ſhew that his making any ſtock, or race, of
men his peculiar people, depended ſolely on his own
purpoſe and good pleaſure, in chooſing and calling
them, and not on any works, or deſerts of theirs, he,
acting here in the caſe of Jacob and Eſau, according
to

NOTES.

5 [a] "Fathers," who they were, ſee Exod. iii. 6, 16. Acts vii. 32.

6 [b] See chap. iii. 3. "Word of God," i. e. promiſe, ſee ver. 9.

[c] See chap. iv. 16. St. Paul uſes this as a reaſon, to prove that the promiſe of God failed not to have its effect, though the body of the Jewiſh nation rejected Jeſus Chriſt, and were, therefore, nationally rejected by God, from being any longer his people. The reaſon, he gives for it, is this, that the poſterity of Jacob, or Iſrael, were not thoſe alone, who were to make that Iſrael, or that choſen people of God, which were intended, in the promiſe made to Abraham; others, beſides the deſcendants of Jacob, were to be taken into this Iſrael, to conſtitute the people of God, under the Goſpel: And, therefore, the calling, and coming in, of the Gentiles was a fulfilling of that promiſe. And then, he adds, in the next verſe, that neither were all the poſterity of Abraham comprehended in that promiſe, ſo that thoſe, who were taken in, in the time of the Meſſiah, to make the Iſrael of God, were not taken in, becauſe they were the natural deſcendants from Abraham, nor did the Jews claim it for all his race. And this he proves, by the limitation of the promiſe to Abraham's ſeed, by Iſaac only. All this he does, to ſhew the right of the Gentiles to that promiſe, if they believed: ſince that promiſe concerned not only the natural deſcendants, either of Abraham, or Jacob, but alſo thoſe, who were of the faith of their father Abraham, of whomſoever deſcended, ſee chap. iv. 11—17.

8 [d] "Children of God," i. e. people of God, ſee ver. 26.

11 [e] "Neither having done good, nor evil." Theſe words may, poſſibly, have been added, by St. Paul, to the foregoing (which may, perhaps, ſeem full enough of themſelves) the more expreſsly to obviate an objection of the Jews, who might be ready to ſay, "that Eſau was rejected "becauſe he was wicked;" as they did of Iſhmael, that he was rejected becauſe he was the ſon of a bond-woman.

PARAPHRASE.

12. to the predetermination of his own choice, It was de-
clared unto her, that there were two nations [a] in her
womb, and that the deſcendants of the elder brother
13. ſhould ſerve thoſe of the younger, As it is written,
" Jacob have I loved [b], ſo as to make his poſterity
" my choſen people, and Eſau I put ſo much behind
" him [c], as to lay his mountains and his heritage
14. " waſte [d]." What ſhall we ſay then, is there any
injuſtice with God, in chooſing one people to himſelf
before another, according to his good pleaſure? By
15. no means. My brethren, the Jews themſelves, can-
not charge any ſuch thing on what I ſay; ſince they
have it from Moſes himſelf [e], that God declared to
him, that he would be gracious, to whom he would
be gracious; and ſhew mercy, on whom he would
16. ſhew mercy. So then, neither the purpoſe of Iſaac,
who deſigned it for Eſau, and willed [f] him to pre-
pare himſelf for it; nor the endeavours of Eſau, who
ran a hunting for veniſon to come and receive it,
could place on him the bleſſing; but the favour, of
being made, in his poſterity, a great and proſperous
nation, the peculiar people of God, preferred to that
which ſhould deſcend from his brother, was be-
ſtowed on Jacob, by the mere bounty and good
17. pleaſure of God himſelf. The like hath Moſes left us
upon record, of God's dealing with Pharaoh and his
ſubjects, the people of Egypt, to whom God ſaith [g],
" even for this ſame purpoſe have I raiſed thee up,
" that I might ſhew my power in thee, and that my
" name might be renowned through all the earth."
18. [h] Therefore, that his name and power may be made
known, and taken notice of, in the world, he is kind
and

TEXT.

It was ſaid unto her, The elder ſhall ſerve the younger. 12

As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Eſau have I hated. 13

What ſhall we ſay then? Is there unrighteouſneſs with God? God forbid. 14

For he ſaith to Moſes, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compaſſion on whom I will have compaſſion. 15

So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercy. 16

For the ſcripture ſaith unto Pharaoh, even for this ſame purpoſe have I raiſed thee up, that I might ſhew my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth. 17

Therefore, hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, 18

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12 [a] See Gen. xxv. 23. And it was only, in a national ſenſe, that it is there ſaid, " the elder " ſhall ſerve the younger;" and not perſonally, for in that ſenſe it is not true, which makes it plain that theſe words of verſe

13 [b] " Jacob have I loved, and Eſau have I hated," are to be taken in a national ſenſe, for the preference God gave to the poſterity of one of them to be his people, and poſſeſs the promiſed land, before the other. What this love of God was, ſee Deut. vii. 6—8.

[c] " Hated." When it is uſed in ſacred ſcripture, as it is often comparatively, it ſignifies only to poſt-pone in our eſteem or kindneſs; for this I need only give that one example, Luke xiv. 26. See Mal. i. 2, 3.

[d] From the 7th to this 13th verſe proves to the Jews, that, though the promiſe was made to Abraham and his ſeed, yet it was not to all Abraham's poſterity, but God firſt choſe Iſaac and his iſſue: and then again, of Iſaac (who was but one of the ſons of Abraham) when Rebecca had conceived twins by him, God, of his ſole good pleaſure, choſe Jacob the younger, and his poſterity, to be his peculiar people, and to enjoy the land of promiſe.

15 [e] See Exod. xxxiii. 19. It is obſervable that the Apoſtle, arguing here with the Jews, to vindicate the juſtice of God, in caſting them off from being his people, uſes three ſorts of arguments, the firſt is the teſtimony of Moſes, of God's aſſerting this to himſelf, by the right of his ſovereignty; and this was enough to ſtop the mouths of the Jews. The ſecond, from reaſon, ver. 19—24. and the third, from his predictions of it to the Jews, and the warning he gave them of it beforehand, ver. 25—29. which we ſhall conſider in their places.

16 [f] " Willeth and runneth," conſidered with the context, plainly directs us to the ſtory, Gen. xxvii. where ver. 3—5. we read Iſaac's purpoſe, and Eſau's going a hunting, and ver. 28, 29. we find what the bleſſing was.

17 [g] Exod. ix. 16.

18 [h] " Therefore." That his name and power may be made known, and taken notice of, in all the earth, he is kind and bountiful to one nation, and lets another go on, in their oppoſition and obſtinacy againſt him, till their taking off, by ſome ſignal calamity and ruin brought on them, may

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and whom he will, he hardeneth.

19 Thou wilt ſay then unto me, why doth he yet find fault? For who hath reſiſted his will?

20 Nay but, O man, who art thou that replieſt againſt God? ſhall the thing, formed, ſay to him that formed it, why haſt thou made me thus?

21 Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the ſame lump to make one veſſel unto honour, and another unto diſhonour?

22 What, if God, willing to ſhew his wrath, and to make

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and bountiful [a] to one nation, and lets another go on
obſtinately, in their oppoſition to him, that his
takeing them off, by ſome ſignal calamity and ruin,
brought on them by the viſible hand of his
providence, may be ſeen and acknowledged to be an effect
of their ſtanding-out againſt him, as in the caſe of
Pharaoh: For this end, he is bountiful, to whom he
will be bountiful; and whom he will, he permits to
make ſuch an uſe of his forbearance towards them,
as to perſiſt obdurate in their provocation of him,
and draw on themſelves exemplary deſtruction [b]. To 19.
this, ſome may be ready to ſay, why then does he
find fault? For who, at any time, hath been able to
reſiſt his will? Say you ſo, indeed? But who art thou, 20.
O man, that replyeſt thus to God? ſhall the nations [c],
that are made great or little, ſhall kingdoms, that
are raiſed or depreſſed, ſay to him, in whoſe hands
they are, to diſpoſe of them as he pleaſes, "why
"haſt thou made us thus?" Hath not the potter 21.
power over the clay, of the ſame lump, to make this
a veſſel of honour, and that of diſhonour [d]; but
what haſt thou to ſay, O man of Judea, if God, 22.
willing to ſhew his wrath, and have his power taken
notice

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may be ſeen and acknowledged to be the effect of their ſtanding out againſt God, as in the caſe of Pharaoh.

[a] Ἐλεεῖ, "hath mercy." That, by this word is meant being bountiful, in his outward diſpenſations of power, greatneſs, and protection, to one people above another, is plain from the three preceding verſes.

[b] "Hardeneth." That God's hardening, ſpoke of here, is what we have explained it, in the paraphraſe, is plain, in the inſtance of Pharaoh, given ver. 17. as may be ſeen in that ſtory: Exod. vii—xiv. which is worth the reading, for the underſtanding of this place: See alſo ver. 22.

23 [c] Here St. Paul ſhews, that the nations of the world, who are, by a better right, in the hands and diſpoſal of God, than the clay in the power of the potter, may, without any queſtion of his juſtice, be made great and glorious, or be pulled down, and brought into contempt, as he pleaſes. That he here ſpeaks of men, nationally, and not perſonally, in reference to their eternal ſtate, is evident not only from the beginning of this chapter, where he ſhews his concern for the nation of the Jews, being caſt off from being God's people, and the inſtances he brings of Iſaac, of Jacob and Eſau, and of Pharaoh; but it appears alſo, very clearly, in the verſes immediately following, where, by "the veſſels of wrath fitted for deſtruction," he manifeſtly means, the nation of the Jews, who were now grown ripe, and fit for the deſtruction, he was bringing upon them. And, by "veſſels of mercy," the Chriſtian church, gathered out of a ſmall collection of convert-Jews, and the reſt made up of the Gentiles, who, together, were from thenceforwards to be the people of God, in the room of the Jewiſh nation, now caſt off, as appears by ver. 24. The ſenſe of which verſes is this; "How dareſt thou, O man, to call God "to account, and queſtion his juſtice, in caſting off his ancient people, the Jews? What, if "God willing to puniſh that ſinful people, and to do it ſo, as to have his power known, and "taken notice of, in the doing of it: (for why might he not raiſe them, to that purpoſe, as "well as he did Pharaoh and his Egyptians?) What, I ſay, if God bore with them, a long time, "even after they had deſerved his wrath, as he did with Pharaoh, that his hand might be the "more eminently viſible in their deſtruction; and that alſo, at the ſame time, he might, with "the more glory, make known his goodneſs and mercy, to the Gentiles, whom, according to "his purpoſe, he was in a readineſs to receive, into the glorious ſtate of being his people, under "the Goſpel?"

21 [d] "Veſſel unto honour, and veſſel unto diſhonour," ſignifies a thing deſigned, by the maker, to an honourable, or diſhonourable uſe: now, why it may not deſign nations, as well as perſons, and honour and proſperity, in this world, as well as eternal happineſs and glory, or miſery and puniſhment, in the world to come, I do not ſee. In common reaſon, this figurative expreſſion ought to follow the ſenſe of the context: and I ſee no peculiar privilege it hath, to wreſt and turn the viſible meaning of the place, to ſomething remote from the ſubject in hand. I am ſure, no ſuch authority it has from ſuch an appropriated ſenſe, ſettled in ſacred ſcripture. This were enough to clear the Apoſtle's ſenſe in theſe words, were there nothing elſe; but Jer. xviii. 6, 7. from whence this inſtance of a potter is taken, ſhews them to have a temporal ſenſe, and to relate to the nation of the Jews.

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notice of, in his execution of it, did, with much
long-ſuffering [a], bear with the ſinful nation of the
Jews, even when they were proper objects of that
wrath, fit to have it poured out upon them, in
23. their deſtruction; That [b] he might make known
the riches of his glory [c], on thoſe whom, being
objects of his mercy, he had before prepared to
24. glory? even us Chriſtians, whom he hath alſo called,
not

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his power known, endured with much long-ſuffering the veſſels of wrath, fitted to deſtruction.

23 And that he might make known the riches of his glory, on the veſſels of mercy, which he had afore prepared unto glory?

24 Even us, whom he hath

NOTES.

22 [a] "Endured with much long-ſuffering." Immediately after the inſtance of Pharaoh, whom God ſaid, "he raiſed up to ſhew his power in him," ver. 17. 'tis ſubjoined, ver. 18. "and whom "he will he hardeneth," plainly with reference to the ſtory of Pharaoh, who is ſaid to harden himſelf, and whom God is ſaid to harden, as may be ſeen Exod. vii. 3, 22, 23. and viii. 15, 32. and ix. 7, 12, 34, and x. 1, 20, 27. and xi. 9, 10. and xiv. 5. What God's part in hardening is, is contained in theſe words, "endured with much long-ſuffering." God ſends Moſes to Pharaoh with ſigns, Pharaoh's magicians do the like, and ſo he is not prevailed with. God ſends plagues, whilſt the plague is upon him, he is mollified, and promiſes to let the people go: But as ſoon as God takes off the plague, he returns to his obſtinacy, and refuſes, and thus over and over again; God's being intreated by him, to withdraw the ſeverity of his hand, his gracious compliance with Pharaoh's deſire to have the puniſhment removed, was what God did in the caſe, and this was all goodneſs and bounty: but Pharaoh and his people made that ill uſe of his forbearance and long-ſuffering, as ſtill to harden themſelves the more, for God's mercy and gentleneſs to them, till they bring on themſelves exemplary deſtruction, from the viſible power and hand of God, imployed in it. This carriage of their's God foreſaw, and ſo made uſe of their obſtinate, perverſe temper, for his own glory, as he himſelf declares, Exod. vii. 3——5. and viii. 1——8. and ix. 14, 16. The apoſtle, by the inſtance of a potter's power over his clay, having demonſtrated, that God, by his dominion and ſovereignty, had a right to ſet up, or pull down, what nation he pleaſed; and might, without any injuſtice, take one race into his particular favour, to be his peculiar people, or reject them, as he thought fit, does, in this verſe, apply it to the ſubject in hand, viz. the caſting off the Jewiſh nation, whereof he ſpeaks here, in terms that plainly make a parallel between this and his dealing with the Egyptians, mentioned ver. 17. and, therefore, that ſtory will beſt explain this verſe, that thence will receive its full light. For it ſeems a ſomewhat ſtrange ſort of reaſoning, to ſay, God, to ſhew his wrath, endured with much long-ſuffering thoſe, who deſerved his wrath, and were fit for deſtruction. But he that will read in Exodus, God's dealing with Pharaoh and the Egyptians, and how God paſſed over provocation upon provocation, and patiently endured thoſe who, by their firſt refuſal, nay by their former cruelty and oppreſſion of the Iſraelites, deſerved his wrath, and were fitted for deſtruction, that, in a more ſignal vengeance on the Egyptians, and glorious deliverance of the Iſraelites, he might ſhew his power, and make himſelf be taken notice of, will eaſily ſee the ſtrong and eaſy ſenſe of this and the following verſe.

23 [b] Καὶ ἵνα, "And that" the vulgate has not, and, there are Greek MSS. that juſtify that omiſſion, as well as the ſenſe of the place, which is diſturbed by the conjunction, "and." For with that reading it runs thus; "and God, that he might make known the riches of his glory, "&c." A learned paraphraſt, both againſt the grammar and ſenſe of the place, by his own authority adds, "ſhewed mercy," where the ſacred ſcripture is ſilent, and ſays no ſuch thing, by which we may make it ſay any thing. If a verb were to be inſerted here, 'tis evident, it muſt, ſome way or other, anſwer to, "endured," in the foregoing verſe; but ſuch an one will not be eaſy to be found, that will ſuit here. And, indeed, there is no need of it, for, "and," being left out, the ſenſe, ſuitable to St. Paul's argument here, runs plainly and ſmoothly thus; "What "have you, Jews, to complain of, for God's rejecting you, from being any longer his people? "and giving you up, to be over-run and ſubjected by the Gentiles? and his taking them in, to "be his people, in your room? he has as much power over the nations of the earth, to make "ſome of them mighty and flouriſhing, and others mean and weak, as a potter has over his clay, "to make what ſort of veſſels he pleaſes, of any part of it. This you cannot deny. God might, "from the beginning, have made you a ſmall, neglected people: but he did not. He made you, "the poſterity of Jacob, a greater and mightier people, than the poſterity of his elder brother "Eſau, and made you alſo his own people, plentifully provided for, in the land of promiſe. Nay, "when your frequent revolts and repeated provocations had made you fit for deſtruction, he "with long-ſuffering forbore you, that now, under the Goſpel, executing his wrath on you, he "might manifeſt his glory, on us, whom he hath called to be his people, conſiſting of a ſmall "remnant of Jews, and of converts out of the Gentiles, whom he had prepared for this glory, "as he had foretold by the prophets Hoſea and Iſaiah." This is plainly St. Paul's meaning, that God dealt, as is deſcribed, ver. 22. with the Jews, that he might manifeſt his glory on the Gentiles; for ſo he declares over and over again, chap. xi. ver. 11, 12, 15, 19, 20, 28, 30.

[c] "Make known the riches of his glory, on the veſſels of mercy." St. Paul in a parallel place, Col. i. has ſo fully explained theſe words, that he that will read ver. 27. of that chapter, with the context there, can be in no manner of doubt what St. Paul means here.

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called, not of the Jews only, but alſo of the Gentiles.

25 As he ſaith alſo in Oſee, I will call them my people, which were not my people; and her beloved, which was not beloved.

26 And it ſhall come to paſs, that, in the place, where it was ſaid unto them, ye are not my people; there ſhall they be called, the children of the living God.

27 Eſaias alſo crieth concerning Iſrael, though the number of the children of Iſrael be as the ſand of the ſea, a remnant ſhall be ſaved.

28 For he will finiſh the work, and cut it ſhort in righteouſneſs: becauſe a ſhort work will the Lord make upon the earth.

29 And as Eſaias ſaid before, except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a ſeed, we had been as Sodoma, and been made like unto Gomorrha.

30 What ſhall we ſay then? that the Gentiles, which followed not after righteouſneſs, have attained to righteouſneſs, even the righteouſneſs, which is of faith:

31 But Iſrael, which followed after the law of righteouſneſs, hath not attained to the law of righteouſneſs.

32 Wherefore? becauſe they ſought it, not by faith, but (as it were) by the works of the law: for they ſtumbled at that ſtumbling ſtone;

33 As it is written, behold, I lay in Sion a ſtumbling ſtone, and rock of offence: and whoſoever believeth on him, ſhall not be aſhamed.

1 Brethren, my heart's deſire and prayer to God for Iſrael is, that they might be ſaved.

2 For I bear them record, that

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not only of the Jews, but alſo of the Gentiles; As he 25.
hath declared in Oſee: "I will call them my people,
"who were not my people, and her beloved, who was
"not beloved. And it ſhall come to paſs, that in the 26.
"place, where it was ſaid unto them, ye are not my
"people; there ſhall they be called, the children of the
"living God. Iſaiah crieth alſo, concerning Iſrael; 27.
"though the number of the children of Iſrael be as the
"ſand of the ſea, yet it is but [a] a remnant that ſhall be
"ſaved. For the Lord finiſhing and contracting the 28.
"account in righteouſneſs, ſhall make a ſhort, or
"ſmall remainder [b] in the earth. And, as Iſaiah ſaid 29.
"before, unleſs the Lord of hoſts had left us a ſeed
"[c], we had been as Sodom, and been made like un-
"to Gomorrah;" we had utterly been extirpated.
What then remains to be ſaid, but this? that the 30.
Gentiles who ſought not after righteouſneſs, have obtained the righteouſneſs, which is by faith, and thereby are become the people of God; But the children 31.
of Iſrael, who followed the law, which contained the
rule of righteouſneſs, have not attained to that law,
whereby righteouſneſs is to be attained, i. e. have not
received the Goſpel[d], and ſo are not the people of God.
How came they to miſs it? becauſe they ſought not 32.
to attain it by faith; but, as if it were to be obtained
by the works of the law. A crucified Meſſiah was a
ſtumbling-block to them [e]; and at that they ſtumbled, As it is written, "behold I lay in Sion a ſtumbling- 33.
"block, and a rock of offence, and whoſoever believeth CHAP. X.
"in him, ſhall not be aſhamed." Brethren, my hearty 1.
deſire and prayer to God for Iſrael is, that they may
be ſaved. For I bear them witneſs that they are 2.
zealous[f], and as they think for God and his law; but
their

NOTES.

27 [a] "But a remnant." There needs no more but to read the text, to ſee this to be the meaning.

28 [b] Λόγον συντετμημένον ποιήσει; "Shall make a contracted, or little account, or overplus," a metaphor, taken from an account, wherein the matter is ſo ordered, that the overplus, or remainder, ſtanding ſtill upon the account, is very little.

29 [c] "A ſeed," Iſaiah i. 9. The words are, "a very ſmall remnant."

31 [d] See chap. x. 3. and xi. 6, 7. The Apoſtle's deſign, in this and the following chapter, is to ſhew the reaſon, why the Jews were caſt off from being the people of God, and the Gentiles admitted. From whence it follows, that by "attaining to righteouſneſs, and to the law of righ-"teouſneſs," here, is meant not attaining to the righteouſneſs, which puts particular perſons into the ſtate of juſtification and ſalvation; but the acceptance of that law, the profeſſion of that religion, wherein that righteouſneſs is exhibited; which profeſſion of that, which is now the only true religion, and owning ourſelves under that law, which is now ſolely the law of God, puts any collective body of men, into the ſtate of being the people of God. For every one of the Jews and Gentiles, that "attained to the law of righteouſneſs, or to righteouſneſs," in the ſenſe St. Paul ſpeaks here, i. e. became a profeſſor of the Chriſtian religion, did not attain to eternal ſalvation. In the ſame ſenſe muſt chap. x. 3. and xi. 7, 8. be underſtood.

32 [e] See 1 Cor. i. 23.

2 [f] This their zeal for God, ſee deſcribed, Acts xxi. 27—31. and xxii. 3.

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their zeal is not guided by true knowledge: For they,
3. being ignorant of the righteouſneſs that is of God, viz.
That righteouſneſs, which he graciouſly beſtows and
accepts of; and going about to eſtabliſh a righteouſneſs
of their own, which they ſeek for, in their own
performances, have not brought themſelves to ſubmit
to the law of the Goſpel, wherein the righteouſneſs
4. of God, i. e. righteouſneſs by faith, is offered. For
the end of the law [a] was to bring men to Chriſt,
that, by believing in him, every one, that did ſo, might
5. be juſtified by faith; For Moſes deſcribeth the righteouſneſs,
that was to be had by the law, thus: "that
"the man, which doth the things required in the law,
6. "ſhall have life thereby." But the righteouſneſs,
which is of faith, ſpeaketh after this manner: "ſay
"not in thine heart, who ſhall aſcend into heaven,"
that is to bring down the Meſſiah from thence, whom
7. we expect perſonally here on earth to deliver us? "Or
"who ſhall deſcend into the deep," i. e. to bring
up Chriſt again from the dead, to be our Saviour?
you miſtake the deliverance, you expect by the Meſſiah,
there needs not the fetching him from the other
8. world, to be preſent with you: The deliverance, by
him, is a deliverance from ſin, that you may be made
righteous, by faith in him, and that ſpeaks thus;
"the word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in
"thy heart;" that is, the word of faith, or the doc-
9. trine of the Goſpel, which we preach [b], viz. If thou
ſhalt confeſs with "thy mouth [c]," i. e. openly own
Jeſus the Lord, i. e. Jeſus to be the Meſſiah, thy
Lord, and ſhalt believe in thy heart, that God hath
raiſed

TEXT.

they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.

For they, being ignorant of God's righteouſneſs, and going about to eſtabliſh their own righteouſneſs, have not ſubmitted themſelves unto the righteouſneſs of God. 3

For Chriſt is the end of the law, for righteouſneſs, to every one that believeth. 4

For Moſes deſcribeth the righteouſneſs, which is of the law, that the man, which doth theſe things, ſhall live by them. 5

But the righteouſneſs, which is of faith, ſpeaketh on this wiſe, ſay not in thine heart, who ſhall aſcend into heaven? (that is to bring Chriſt down from above) 6

Or, who ſhall deſcend into the deep? (that is to bring up Chriſt again, from the dead) 7

But what ſaith it? the word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is the word of faith which we preach, 8

That, if thou ſhalt confeſs, with thy mouth, the Lord Jeſus, and ſhalt believe in thine heart, that God hath 9

NOTES.

4 [a] See Gal. iii. 24.

8 [b] St. Paul had told them, ver. 4. that the end of the law was to bring them to life, by faith in Chriſt, that they might be juſtified, and ſo be ſaved. To convince them of this, he brings three verſes, out of the book of the law itſelf, declaring that the way to life was by hearkening to that word, which was ready in their mouth and in their heart, and that, therefore, they had no reaſon to reject Jeſus the Chriſt, becauſe he died and was now removed into heaven, and was remote from them; their very law propoſed life to them, by ſomething nigh them, that might lead them to their deliverer: by words and doctrines, that might be always at hand, in their mouths and in their hearts, and ſo lead them to Chriſt, i. e. to that faith in him, which the Apoſtle preached to them: I ſubmit to the attentive reader, whether this be not the meaning of this place.

9 [c] The expectation of the Jews was, that the Meſſiah, who was promiſed them, was to be their deliverer, and ſo far they were in the right. But that, which they expected to be delivered from, at his appearing, was the power and dominion of ſtrangers. When our Saviour came, their reckoning was up; and the miracles, which Jeſus did, concurred to perſuade them, that it was he: but his obſcure birth, and mean appearance, ſuited not with that power and ſplendour, they had fancied to themſelves, he ſhould come in. This, with his denouncing to them the ruin of their temple and ſtate at hand, ſet the rulers againſt him, and held the body of the Jews in ſuſpenſe, till his crucifixion, and that gave a full turn of their minds from him. They had figured him a mighty prince, at the head of their nation, ſetting them free from all foreign power, and themſelves at eaſe, and happy under his glorious reign. But when at the paſſover, the whole people were witneſſes of his death, they gave up all thought of deliverance by him. He was gone, they ſaw him no more, and 'twas paſt doubt, a dead man could not be the Meſſiah, or deliverer, even of thoſe who believed him. 'Tis againſt theſe prejudices, that what St. Paul ſays, in this and the three preceding verſes, ſeems directed, wherein he teaches them, that there was no need to fetch the Meſſiah out of heaven, or out of the grave, and bring him perſonally among them. For the deliverance, he was to work for them, the ſalvation by him was ſalvation from ſin, and condemnation for that: and that was to be had, by barely believing and owning him to be the Meſſiah, their King, and that he was raiſed from the dead; by this they would be ſaved, without his perſonal preſence amongſt them.

raiſed him from the dead, thou ſhalt be ſaved.

10 For with the heart man believeth unto righteouſneſs, and with the mouth confeſſion is made unto ſalvation.

11 For the ſcripture ſaith, whoſoever believeth on him ſhall not be aſhamed.

12 For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek: for the ſame Lord over all, is rich unto all that call upon him.

13 For whoſoever ſhall call upon the name of the Lord, ſhall be ſaved.

14 How then ſhall they call on him, in whom they have not believed? and how ſhall they believe in him, of whom they have not heard? and how ſhall they hear without a preacher?

15 And how ſhall they preach, except they be ſent? as it is written, how beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Goſpel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things?

16 But they have not all obeyed the Goſpel. For Eſaias ſaith, Lord, who hath believed our report?

17 So then, faith cometh by

raiſed him from the dead [a], otherwiſe he cannot be
believed to be the Meſſiah, thou ſhalt be ſaved.
'Twas not for nothing that Moſes, in the place above- 10.
cited, mentioned both heart and mouth; there is
uſe of both in the caſe. For with the heart man
believeth unto righteouſneſs, and with the mouth
confeſſion [b] is made unto ſalvation. For the ſcripture 11.
ſaith, "whoſoever believeth on him, ſhall not be
"aſhamed:" ſhall not repent his having believed,
and owning it. The ſcripture ſaith, whoſoever, for 12.
in this caſe there is no diſtinction of Jew and Gentile.
For it is he, the ſame who is Lord of them all, and
is abundantly bountiful to all that call upon him.
For whoſoever ſhall call [c] upon his name, ſhall be 13.
ſaved. But, how ſhall they call upon him, on whom 14.
they have not believed? And how ſhall they believe in
him, of whom they have not heard? And how
ſhall they hear, without a preacher? And how ſhall 15.
they preach, except they be ſent [d]? As it is written,
"how beautiful are the feet of them that preach the
"Goſpel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good
"things?" But, though there be meſſengers, ſent from 16.
God, to preach the Goſpel; yet it is not to be expected,
that all ſhould receive and obey it [e]. For
Iſaiah hath foretold that they ſhould not, ſaying,
"Lord, who hath believed our report?" That which 17.
we may learn from thence is, that faith cometh by
hearing,

NOTES.

[a] "Raiſed him from the dead." The doctrine, of the Lord Jeſus being raiſed from the dead, is certainly one of the moſt fundamental articles of the Chriſtian religion; but yet, there ſeems another reaſon, why St. Paul here annexes ſalvation to the belief of it, which may be found ver. 7. where he teaches, that it was not neceſſary for their ſalvation, that they ſhould have Chriſt out of his grave, perſonally preſent amongſt them; and here he gives them the reaſon, becauſe, if they did but own him for their Lord, and believe that he was raiſed, that ſufficed, they ſhould be ſaved.

10 [b] Believing, and an open avowed profeſſion of the Goſpel, are required by our Saviour, Mark xvi. 16.

13 [c] Whoever hath, with care, looked into St. Paul's writings, muſt own him to be a cloſe reaſoner, that argues to the point; and, therefore, if, in the three preceding verſes, he requires an open profeſſion of the Goſpel, I cannot but think that "all that call upon him," ver. 12. ſignifies all, that are open, profeſſed Chriſtians; and if this be the meaning of calling upon him, ver. 12. it is plain it muſt be the meaning "of calling upon his name," ver. 13. a phraſe not very remote from "naming his name," which is uſed by St. Paul for profeſſing Chriſtianity, 2 Tim. ii. 19. If the meaning of the prophet Joel, from whom theſe words are taken, be urged, I ſhall only ſay, that it will be an ill rule for interpreting St. Paul, to tie up his uſe of any text, he brings out of the old teſtament, to that, which is taken to be the meaning of it there. We need go no farther for an example than the 6, 7, and 8th verſes of this chapter, which I deſire any one to read as they ſtand, Deut. xxx. 11—14. and ſee whether St. Paul uſes them here, in the ſame ſenſe.

15 [d] St. Paul is careful, every where, to keep himſelf, as well as poſſibly he can, in the minds and fair eſteem of his brethren, the Jews; may not therefore this, with the two foregoing verſes, be underſtood as an apology to them, for profeſſing himſelf an Apoſtle of the Gentiles, as he does, by the tenor of this epiſtle, and in the next chapter, in words at length, ver. 13? In this chapter, ver. 12. he had ſhewed that both Jews and Greeks, or Gentiles, were to be ſaved, only by receiving the Goſpel of Chriſt: and if ſo, it was neceſſary that ſomebody ſhould be ſent to teach it them, and therefore the Jews had no reaſon to be angry with any, that was ſent on that employment.

16 [e] "But they have not all obeyed." This ſeems an objection of the Jews, to what St. Paul had ſaid, which he anſwers, in this and the following verſe. The objection and anſwer ſeem to ſtand thus: You tell us, that you are ſent from God to preach the Goſpel; if it be ſo, how comes it that all that have heard, have not received and obeyed; and ſince, according to what you would inſinuate, the meſſengers of good tidings (which is the import of Evangel, in Greek, and Goſpel, in Engliſh) were ſo welcome to them? To this he anſwers out of Iſaiah, that the

PARAPHRASE.

hearing, and hearing from the word of God, i. e. the revelation of the Goſpel, in the writings of the ſacred ſcriptures, communicated by thoſe, whom God ſends as preachers thereof, to thoſe who are ignorant of it; and there is no need, that Chriſt ſhould be brought down from heaven, to be perſonally with you, to be
18. your Saviour. It is enough that both Jews and Gentiles have heard of him, by meſſengers, whoſe voice is gone out into the whole earth, and words unto the ends of the world, far beyond the bounds of Judea.
19. But I aſk, did not Iſrael know[a] this, that the Gentiles were to be taken in, and made the people of God? Firſt Moſes tells it them, from God, who ſays, "I will "provoke you to jealouſy, by them who are no peo-
20. "ple; and by a fooliſh nation, I will anger you." But Iſaiah declares it yet much plainer, in theſe words; "I was found of them that ſought me not; I was "made manifeſt to them, that aſked not after me."
21. And to Iſrael, to ſhew their refuſal, he ſaith; "all "day long have I ſtretched forth mine hands, unto "a diſobedient and gainſaying people."

TEXT.

hearing, and hearing by the word of God.

But I ſay, have they not 18 heard? yes, verily, their ſound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.

But I ſay, did not Iſrael 19 know? Firſt Moſes ſaith, I will provoke you to jealouſy by them that are no people, and by a fooliſh nation I will anger you.

But Eſaias is very bold, and 20 ſaith, I was found of them that ſought me not; I was made manifeſt unto them that aſked not after me.

But to Iſrael he ſaith, All 21 day long I have ſtretched forth my hands unto a diſobedient and gainſaying people.

NOTES.

meſſengers, ſent from God, were not believed by all. But from thoſe words of Iſaiah, he draws, an inference, to confirm the argument he was upon, viz. that ſalvation cometh by hearing and believing the word of God. He had laid it down, ver. 8. that it was by their having ῥῆμα πίστεως "the word of faith," nigh them, or preſent with them, and not by the bodily preſence of their deliverer amongſt them, that they were to be ſaved. This ῥῆμα "word," he tells them, ver. 17. is, by preaching, brought to be actually preſent with them and the Gentiles; ſo that it was their own fault, if they believed it not to ſalvation.

19 [a] "Did not Iſrael know?" In this, and the next verſes, St. Paul ſeems to ſuppoſe a reaſoning of the Jews, to this purpoſe, viz. that they did not deſerve to be caſt off, becauſe they did not know, that the Gentiles were to be admitted, and ſo might be excuſed, if they did not embrace a religion, wherein they were to mix with the Gentiles; and to this he anſwers, in the following verſes.

SECT. IX.

CHAP. XI. 1—36.

CONTENTS.

THE Apoſtle, in this chapter, goes on to ſhew the future ſtate of the Jews and Gentiles, in reſpect of Chriſtianity, viz. that, though the nation of the Jews were, for their unbelief, rejected, and the Gentiles taken, in their room, to be the people of God; yet there was a few of the Jews, that believed in Chriſt, and ſo a ſmall remnant of them continued to be God's people, being incorporated, with the converted Gentiles, into the Chriſtian church. But they ſhall, the whole nation of them, when the fulneſs of the Gentiles is come in, be converted to the Goſpel, and again be reſtored to be the people of God.

The Apoſtle takes occaſion alſo, from God's having rejected the Jews, to warn the Gentile converts, that they take heed: ſince, if God caſt off his ancient people, the Jews, for their unbelief, the Gentiles could not expect to be preſerved, if they apoſtatized from the faith, and kept not firm in their obedience to the Goſpel.

TEXT.

1 I Say then, hath God caſt away his people? God forbid! For I alſo am an Iſraelite, of the ſeed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin.

2 God hath not caſt away his people, which he foreknew. Wot ye not what the ſcripture ſaith, of Elias? how he maketh interceſſion to God againſt Iſrael, ſaying,

3 Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars; and I am left alone, and they ſeek my life.

4 But what ſaith the anſwer of God unto him? I have reſerved to myſelf ſeven thouſand men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal.

5 Even ſo, then, at this preſent time alſo, there is a remnant, according to the election of grace.

6 And if by grace, then is it no more of works: otherwiſe grace is no more grace. But, if it be of works, then is it no more grace: otherwiſe work is no more work.

7 What then? Iſrael hath not obtained that, which he ſeeketh for; but the election hath obtained it, and the reſt were blinded:

PARAPHRASE.

I Say then, has [a] God wholly caſt away his people, 1.
"the Jews, from being his people?" By no means.
For I myſelf am an Iſraelite, of the ſeed of Abraham,
of the tribe of Benjamin. God hath not utterly caſt 2.
off his people, whom he formerly owned [b], with ſo
peculiar a reſpect. Know ye not what the ſcripture
ſaith, concerning Elijah? How he complained to the
God of Iſrael, in theſe words: "Lord, they have 3.
"killed thy prophets, and have digged down thine
"altars, and of all that worſhipped thee, I alone am
"left, and they ſeek my life alſo." But what ſaith 4.
the anſwer of God to him? "I have reſerved to my-
"ſelf ſeven thouſand men, who have not bowed the
"knee to Baal [c]," i. e. have not been guilty of ido-
latry. Even ſo at this time alſo, there is a remnant 5.
reſerved and ſegregated, by the favour and free choice
of God. Which reſervation of a remnant, if it be by 6.
grace and favour, it is not of works [d], for then grace
would not be grace. But if it were of works, then
is it not grace. For then work would not be work,
i. e. work gives a right, grace beſtows the favour,
where there is no right to it; ſo that what is confer-
red by the one, cannot be aſcribed to the other.
How is it then? Even thus; Iſrael, or the nation of 7.
the Jews, obtained not what it ſeeks [e], but the elec-
tion [f], or that part, which was to remain God's elect,
choſen people, obtained it, but the reſt of them were
blinded,

NOTES.

1 [a] This is a queſtion in the perſon of a Jew, who made the objections in the foregoing chapter, and continues to object here.

2 [b] See chap. viii. 29.

4 [c] "Baal," and Baalim, was the name, whereby the falſe gods and idols, which the heathens worſhipped, were ſignified in ſacred ſcripture; ſee Judges ii. 11—13. Hoſ. xi. 2.

6 [d] "It is not of works." This excluſion of works, ſeems to be miſtaken by thoſe, who extend it to all manner of difference in the perſon choſen, from thoſe that were rejected; for ſuch a choice as that, excludes not grace in the chooſer, but merit in the choſen. For it is plain, that by works here, St. Paul means merit, as is evident alſo from chap. iv. 2—4. The law required compleat, perfect obedience: he, that performed that, had a right to the reward; but he, that failed and came ſhort of that, had by the law no right to any thing, but death. And ſo the Jews, being all ſinners, God might, without injuſtice, have caſt them all off; none of them could plead a right to his favour. If, therefore, he choſe out and reſerved any, it was of mere grace, tho' in his choice he preferred thoſe, who were the beſt diſpoſed and moſt inclined to his ſervice. A whole province revolts from their Prince, and takes arms againſt him; he reſolves to pardon ſome of them. This is a purpoſe of grace. He reduces them under his power, and then chooſes out of them, as veſſels of mercy, thoſe that he finds leaſt infected with malice, obſtinacy and rebellion. This choice neither voids, nor abates his purpoſe of grace; that ſtands firm; but only executes it ſo, as may beſt comport with his wiſdom and goodneſs. And, indeed, without ſome regard to a difference, in the things taken, from thoſe that are left, I do not ſee how it can be called choice. An handful of pebbles, for example, may be taken out of a heap; they are taken and ſeparated, indeed, from the reſt, but if it be without any regard to any difference in them, from others rejected, I doubt whether any body can call them choſen.

7 [e] "What it ſeeks," i. e. That righteouſneſs, whereby it was to continue the people of God; ſee chap. ix. 31. It may be obſerved, that St. Paul's diſcourſe being of the national privilege, of continuing the people of God, he ſpeaks here, and all along of the Jews, in the collective term Iſrael. And ſo likewiſe, the remnant, which were to remain his people, and incorporate with the convert Gentiles, into one body of Chriſtians, owning the dominion of the one true God, in the kingdom, he had ſet up under his ſon, and owned by God for his people, he calls the election.

[f] "Election," a collective appellation of the part elected, which in other places he calls remnant. This remnant, or election, call it by which name you pleaſe, were thoſe who ſought righteouſneſs by faith in Chriſt, and not by the deeds of the law, and ſo became the people of God, that people which he had choſen to be his.

PARAPHRASE.

8. blinded[a]: According as it is written[b], "God hath
"given them the ſpirit of ſlumber; eyes that they
"ſhould not ſee, and ears that they ſhould not hear,
9. "unto this day." And David ſaith[c], "let their table
"be made a ſnare and a trap, and a ſtumbling-block,
10. "and a recompence unto them: Let their eyes be
"darkened, that they may not ſee, and bow down
11. "their back alway." What then do I ſay, that they
have ſo ſtumbled, as to be fallen paſt recovery? By
no means: but this I ſay, that by their fall, by their
rejection for refuſing[d] the Goſpel, the privilege of
becoming the people of God, by receiving the doctrine
of ſalvation, is come to the Gentiles, to provoke
12. the Jews to jealouſy. Now, if the fall of the
Jews hath been to the enriching of the reſt of the
world, and their damage an advantage to the Gentiles,
by letting them into the church, how much
more ſhall their completion be ſo, when their whole
13. nation ſhall be reſtored? This I ſay to you Gentiles,
foraſmuch, as being Apoſtle of the Gentiles, I magnify[e]
14. mine office: If, by any means, I may provoke
to emulation the Jews, who are my own fleſh and
blood, and bring ſome of them into the way of ſalvation.
15. For, if the caſting them off be a means of
reconciling the world, what ſhall their reſtoration be,
when they are taken again into favour, but as it were
life from the dead, which is to all mankind of all
16. nations? For if the firſt-fruits[f] be holy[g] and accepted,
the whole product of the year is holy, and will
be accepted. And if Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob,
from whom the Jewiſh nation had their original,
were holy, the branches alſo, that ſprang from this
17. root, are holy. If then ſome of the natural branches
were broken off: if ſome of the natural Jews, of
the ſtock of Iſrael, were broken off and rejected, and
thou a heathen, of the wild Gentile-race, were taken
in, and ingrafted into the church of God, in
their room: and there partakeſt of the bleſſings, promiſed
18. to Abraham and his ſeed, Be not ſo conceited
of thyſelf, as to ſhew any diſreſpect[h] to the Jews.
If any ſuch vanity poſſeſſes thee, remember that the
privilege thou haſt, in being a Chriſtian, is derived
to

TEXT.

According as it is written, 8
God hath given them the ſpirit of ſlumber, eyes that they
ſhould not ſee, and ears that
they ſhould not hear, unto
this day.

And David ſaith, let their 9
table be made a ſnare, and a
trap, and a ſtumbling-block,
and a recompence unto them.

Let their eyes be darkned 10
that they may not ſee, and
bow down their back alway.

I ſay then, have they 11
ſtumbled that they ſhould
fall? God forbid: but rather
through their fall ſalvation is
come unto the Gentiles, for
to provoke them to jealouſy.

Now if the fall of them be 12
the riches of the world, and
the diminiſhing of them the
riches of the Gentiles: how
much more their fulneſs?

For I ſpeak to you Gentiles, 13
in as much as I am the
Apoſtle of the Gentiles, I
magnify mine office:

If, by any means, I may 14
provoke to emulation them,
which are my fleſh, and might
ſave ſome of them.

For, if the caſting away of 15
them be the reconciling of
the world; what ſhall the receiving
of them be, but life
from the dead?

For if the firſt-fruit be holy, 16
the lump is alſo holy: and
if the root be holy, ſo are the
branches.

And, if ſome of the branches 17
be broken off, and thou,
being a wild olive-tree, wert
graffed in amongſt them, and
with them partakeſt of the root
and fatneſs of the olive-tree;

Boaſt not againſt the branches: 18
but if thou boaſt, thou
beareſt not the root, but the
root thee.

NOTES.

[a] "Blinded," ſee 2 Cor. iii. 13—16.

8 [b] "Written," Iſa. xxix. 10. and vi. 9, 10.

9 [c] "Saith," Pſal. lxix. 22, 23.

11 [d] That this is the meaning of "fall" here, ſee Acts xiii. 46.

13 [e] St. Paul magnified his office, of Apoſtle of the Gentiles, not only by preaching the Goſpel to the Gentiles; but in aſſuring them farther, as he does, ver. 12. that, when the nation of the Jews ſhall be reſtored, the fulneſs of the Gentiles ſhall alſo come in.

16 [f] Theſe alluſions, the Apoſtle makes uſe of here, to ſhew that the patriarchs, the root of the Jewiſh nation, being accepted by God; and the few Jewiſh converts, which at firſt entered into the Chriſtian church, being alſo accepted by God, are, as it were, firſt-fruits, or pledges, that God will, in due time, admit the whole nation of the Jews into his viſible church, to be his peculiar people again.

[g] "Holy:" by holy is here meant that relative holineſs, whereby any thing hath an appropriation to God.

18 [h] "Boaſt not againſt the branches." Tho' the great fault, that moſt diſordered the church, and principally exerciſed the Apoſtle's care, in this epiſtle, was from the Jews preſſing the neceſſity

TEXT.

19 Thou wilt ſay then, the branches were broken off, that I might be graffed in.

20 Well; becauſe of unbelief they were broken off, and thou ſtandeſt by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear.

21 For, if God ſpared not the natural branches, take heed leſt he alſo ſpare not thee.

22 Behold, therefore, the goodneſs and ſeverity of God: on them which fell, ſeverity; but towards thee, goodneſs, if thou continue in his goodneſs: otherwiſe thou alſo ſhalt be cut off.

23 And they alſo, if they abide not ſtill in unbelief, ſhall be graffed in: for God is able to graff them in again.

24 For, if thou wert cut out of the olive-tree, which is wild by nature, and wert graffed, contrary to nature, into a good olive-tree; how much more ſhall theſe, which be the natural branches, be graffed into their own olive-tree?

25 For I would not, brethren, that ye ſhould be ignorant of this myſtery, (leſt ye ſhould be wiſe in your own conceits) that blindneſs in part is happened to Iſrael, until the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in.

26 And ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved: as it is written, there ſhall come out of Sion the de-

PARAPHRASE.

to thee from the promiſe, made to Abraham, and
his ſeed, but nothing accrues to Abraham, or his
race, by any thing derived from thee. Thou wilt 19.
perhaps ſay, "the Jews were rejected to make way
"for me." Well, let it be ſo: but remember that 20.
it was becauſe of unbelief, that they were broken off,
and that it is by faith alone, that thou haſt obtained,
and muſt keep thy preſent ſtation. This ought to be
a warning to thee, not to have any haughty conceit
of thyſelf, but with modeſty to fear. For if God 21.
ſpared not the ſeed of Abraham, but caſt off even
the children of Iſrael, for their unbelief, he will certainly
not ſpare thee, if thou art guilty of the like
miſcarriage. Mind, therefore, the benignity and rigour 22.
of God, rigour to them that ſtumbled at the
Goſpel and fell, but benignity to thee, if thou continue
within the ſphere of his benignity, i. e. in the
faith, by which thou partakeſt of the privilege of
being one of his people: otherwiſe even thou alſo
ſhalt be cut off. And the Jews alſo, if they continue 23.
not in unbelief, ſhall be again grafted into the
ſtock of Abraham, and be re-eſtabliſhed the people
of God. For, however they are now ſcattered, and
under ſubjection to ſtrangers, God is able to collect
them again into one body, make them his people, and
ſet them in a flouriſhing condition, in their own land[a].
For if you, who are heathens by birth, and not of the 24.
promiſed ſeed, were, when you had neither claim,
nor inclination to it, brought into the Church, and
made the people of God; how much more ſhall
thoſe, who are the poſterity and deſcendents of him
to whom the promiſe was made, be reſtored to the
ſtate, which the promiſe veſted in that family? For, 25.
to prevent your being conceited of yourſelves, my
brethren, let me make known to you, which has yet
been undiſcovered to the world, viz. That the blindneſs,
which has fallen upon part of Iſrael, ſhall remain
upon them, but till the time be come, wherein
the whole[b] Gentile world ſhall enter into the church,
and make profeſſion of Chriſtianity. And ſo all Iſ- 26.
rael ſhall be converted[c] to the Chriſtian faith, and
the whole nation become the people of God: as it
is

NOTES.

ty of legal obſervances, and not brooking that the Gentiles, though converts to Chriſtianity, ſhould be admitted into their communion, without being circumciſed; yet it is plain from this verſe, as alſo chap. xiv. 3, 10. that the convert Gentiles were not wholly without fault, on their ſide, in treating the Jews with diſ-eſteem and contempt. To this alſo, as it comes in his way, he applies fit remedies, particularly in this chapter, and chap. xiv.

23 [a] This grafting in again, ſeems to import, that the Jews ſhall be a flouriſhing nation again, profeſſing Chriſtianity, in the land of promiſe, for that is to be re inſtated, again, in the promiſe made to Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob. This St. Paul might, for good reaſons, be withheld from ſpeaking out here: but, in the prophets, there are very plain intimations of it.

25 [b] Πλήρωμα, "the fulneſs of the Jews," ver. 12. is the whole body of the Jewiſh nation profeſſing Chriſtianity: and therefore here πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν, "the fulneſs of the Gentiles," muſt be the whole body of the Gentiles profeſſing Chriſtianity. And this ver. 15. ſeems to teach. For the reſurrection is of all.

26 [c] Σωθήσεται, "ſhall be ſaved." It is plain that the ſalvation, that St. Paul, in this diſcourſe concerning the nation of the Jews, and the Gentile world, in groſs, ſpeaks of, is not eternal happineſs in heaven, but he means by it the profeſſion of the true religion, here on earth. Whether

PARAPHRASE.

is written, "there ſhall come out of Sion the delive-
"rer, and ſhall turn away ungodlineſs from Jacob.
27. "For this is my covenant to them, when I ſhall
28. "take away[a] their ſins." They are, indeed, at pre-
ſent, ſtrangers to the Goſpel, and ſo are in the ſtate of
enemies[b]; but this is for your ſakes: their fall and
loſs is your enriching, you having obtained admit-
tance, through their being caſt out: but yet they,
being within the election, that God made, of Abra-
ham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and their poſterity, to be his
people, are ſtill his beloved people, for Abraham,
Iſaac and Jacob's ſake, from whom they are deſcend-
29. ed. For the favours, that God ſhewed thoſe their
fathers, in calling them and their poſterity to be his
people, he doth not repent of; but his promiſe, that
30. they ſhall be his people, ſhall ſtand good[c]. For as
you, the Gentiles, formerly ſtood out, and were not
the people of God, but yet have now obtained mercy,
ſo as to be taken in, through the ſtanding out of the
31. Jews, who ſubmit not to the Goſpel[d]: Even ſo they,
now, have ſtood out, by reaſon of your being in
mercy admitted, that they alſo, through the mercy
you have received, may again hereafter be admitted.
32. For God hath put up together, in a ſtate of revolt
from their allegiance[e] to him, as it were in one fold,
all men, both Jews and Gentiles, that, through his
mercy, they might all, both Jews and Gentiles, come
to be his people, i. e. he hath ſuffered both Jews
and Gentiles, in their turns, not to be his people,
that he might bring the whole body, both of Jews
and

TEXT.

liverer, and ſhall turn away ungodlineſs from Jacob.

For this is my covenant unto them, when I ſhall take away their ſins. 27

As concerning the Goſpel, they are enemies for your ſake: but as touching the election, they are beloved for the fathers ſakes. 28

For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance. 29

For as ye, in times paſt, have not believed God, yet have now obtained mercy, through their unbelief: 30

Even ſo, have theſe, alſo now not believed, that, through your mercy, they alſo may obtain mercy. 31

For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all. 32

NOTES.

it be, that that is as far as corporations, or bodies politic can go, towards the attainment of eternal ſalvation, I will not inquire. But this is evident, that being ſaved, is uſed by the Apoſtle here, in this ſenſe. That all the Jewiſh nation may become the people of God again, by taking up the Chriſtian profeſſion, may be eaſily conceived. But that every perſon of ſuch a Chriſtian nation, ſhall attain eternal ſalvation in heaven, I think no body can imagine, to be here intended.

27 [a] "Take away," i. e. Forgive their ſins, and take away the puniſhment, they lie under for them.

28 [b] Ἐχθροί, "enemies," ſignifies ſtrangers, or aliens, i. e. ſuch as are no longer the people of God. For they are called "enemies," in oppoſition to "beloved," in this very verſe. And the reaſon given, why they are enemies, makes it plain, that this is the ſenſe, viz. For the Gentiles ſake, i. e. They are rejected from being the people of God, that you Gentiles may be taken in, to be the people of God, in their room, ver. 30. The ſame ſignification has ἐχθροί, "enemies," chap. v. 10. κατ' εὐαγγέλιον ἐχθροί, as concerning the Goſpel, "enemies," i. e. all thoſe, who not embracing the Goſpel, not receiving Chriſt for their king and lord, are aliens from the kingdom of God, and all ſuch aliens are called ἐχθροί, "enemies." And ſo, indeed, were the Jews now: but yet they were κατ' ἐκλογὴν ἀγαπητοί, "as touching the election, beloved," i. e. were not actually within the kingdom of God his people, but were within the election, which God had made of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and their poſterity to be his people, and ſo God had ſtill intentions of kindneſs to them, for their father's ſake, to make them again his people.

29 [c] So God's not repenting is explained, Numb. xxiii. 19—24.

30 [d] See Acts xiii. 46.

32 [e] Εἰς ἀπείθειαν, "in unbelief." The unbelief here charged nationally, on Jews and Gentiles, in their turns, in this and the two preceding verſes, whereby they ceaſed to be the people of God, was evidently the diſowning of his dominion, whereby they put themſelves out of the kingdom, which he had, and ought to have, in the world, and ſo were no longer in the ſtate of ſubjects, but aliens and rebels. A general view of mankind will lead us into an eaſier conception of St. Paul's doctrine, who, all through this epiſtle, conſiders the Gentiles, Jews, and Chriſtians, as three diſtinct bodies of men.

God by creation, had no doubt an unqueſtionable ſovereignty over mankind, and this was at firſt acknowledged, in their ſacrifices and worſhip of him. Afterwards they withdrew themſelves from their ſubmiſſion to him, and found out other Gods, whom they worſhipped and ſerved.

TEXT.

33 O the depth of the riches both of the wiſdom and knowledge of God! how unſearchable are his judgments, and his ways paſt finding out!

34 For, who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counſellor?

35 Or who hath firſt given to him, and it ſhall be recompenſed unto him again?

36 For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

PARAPHRASE.

and Gentiles, to be his people. O the depth of the
riches of the wiſdom and knowledge of God [a]! How 33.
unſearchable are his judgments, and his ways not to
be traced! For who hath known the mind of the 34.
Lord? or who hath ſat in counſel with him? Or 35.
who hath been before-hand with him, in beſtowing
any thing upon him, that God may repay it to him
again [b]? The thought of any ſuch thing is abſurd.
For from him all things have their being and origi- 36.
nal; by him they are all ordered and diſpoſed of,
and, for him and his glory, they are all made and
regulated, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

NOTES.

This revolt from God, and the conſequence of it, God's abandoning them, St. Paul deſcribes, chap. i. 18——32.

In this ſtate of revolt from God were the nations of the earth, in the times of Abraham; and then Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and their poſterity, the Iſraelites, upon God's gracious call, returned to their allegiance to their ancient and rightful King and Sovereign, to own the one inviſible God, Creator of heaven and earth, for their God, and ſo become his people again, to whom he, as to his peculiar people, gave a law. And thus remained the diſtinction between Jews and Gentiles, i. e. the nations, as the word ſignifies, till the time of the Meſſiah, and then the Jews ceaſed to be the people of God, not by a direct renouncing the God of Iſrael, and taking to themſelves other falſe Gods, whom they worſhipped: but by oppoſing and rejecting the kingdom of God, which he purpoſed at that time to ſet up, with new laws and inſtitutions, and to a more glorious and ſpiritual purpoſe, under his ſon Jeſus Chriſt: him God ſent to them, and him the nation of the Jews refuſed to receive as their lord and ruler, though he was their promiſed king and deliverer, anſwering all the prophecies and types of him, and evidencing his miſſion by his miracles. By this rebellion againſt him, into whoſe hand God had committed the rule of his kingdom, and appointed lord over all things, the Jews turned themſelves out of the kingdom of God, and ceaſed to be his people, who had now no other people but thoſe, who received and obeyed his ſon, as their lord and ruler. This was the ἀπείθεια, "unbelief," here ſpoken of. And I would be glad to know any other ſenſe of believing, or unbelief, wherein it can be nationally attributed to a people (as viſibly here it is) whereby they ſhall ceaſe, or come to be the people of God, or viſible ſubjects of his kingdom, here on earth. Indeed to enjoy life and eſtate in this, as well as other kingdoms, not only the owning of the Prince, and the authority of his laws, but alſo obedience to them is required. For a Jew might own the authority of God, and his law given by Moſes, and ſo be a true ſubject, and as much a member of the commonwealth of Iſrael, as any one in it, and yet forfeit his life, by diſobedience to the law. And a Chriſtian may own the authority of Jeſus Chriſt, and of the Goſpel, and yet forfeit eternal life, by his diſobedience to the precepts of it, as may be ſeen, chap. vii, viii, and ix.

33 [a] This emphatical concluſion ſeems, in a ſpecial manner, to regard the Jews, whom the Apoſtle would hereby teach modeſty and ſubmiſſion to the over-ruling hand of the all-wiſe God, who they are very unfit to call to account, for his dealing ſo favourably with the Gentiles. His wiſdom and ways are infinitely above their comprehenſion, and will they take upon them to adviſe him what to do? Or is God in their debt? Let them ſay for what, and he ſhall repay it to them. This is a very ſtrong rebuke to the Jews, but delivered, as we ſee, in a way very gentle and inoffenſive. A method, which the Apoſtle endeavours every where to obſerve, towards his nation.

35 [b] This has a manifeſt reſpect to the Jews, who claimed a right to be the people of God ſo far, that St. Paul, ch. ix. 14. finds it neceſſary to vindicate the juſtice of God in the caſe, and does here, in this queſtion, expoſe, and ſilence the folly of any ſuch pretence.

SECT. X.

CHAP. XII. 1——21.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul, in the end of the foregoing chapter, with a very ſolemn epiphonema, cloſes that admirable, evangelical diſcourſe, to the church of Rome, which had taken up the eleven foregoing chapters. It was addreſſed to the two ſorts of converts, viz. Gentiles and Jews, into which, as into two diſtinct bodies, he all along, through this epiſtle, divides all mankind, and conſiders them, as ſo divided, into two ſeparate corporations.

1. As to the Gentiles, he endeavours to ſatisfy them, that though they, for their apoſtacy from God to idolatry, and the worſhip of falſe Gods, had been abandoned by God, and lived in ſin and blindneſs, without God in the world, ſtrangers from the knowledge and acknowledgement of him; yet that the mercy of God, through Jeſus Chriſt, was extended to them, whereby there was a way now open to them, to become the people of God. For ſince no man could be ſaved, by his own righteouſneſs, no not the Jews themſelves, by the deeds of the law; the only way to ſalvation, both for Jews and Gentiles, was by faith in Jeſus Chriſt. Nor had the Jews any other way, now, to continue themſelves the people of God, than by receiving the Goſpel, which way was opened alſo to the Gentiles, and they as freely admitted into the kingdom of God, now erected under Jeſus Chriſt, as the Jews, and upon the ſole terms of believing. So that there was no need at all for the Gentiles to be circumciſed, to become Jews, that they might be partakers of the benefits of the Goſpel.

2. As to the Jews, the Apoſtle's other great aim, in the foregoing diſcourſe, is to remove the offence, the Jews took at the Goſpel, becauſe the Gentiles were received into the church, as the people of God, and were allowed to be ſubjects of the kingdom of the Meſſiah. To bring them to a better temper, he ſhews them, from the ſacred ſcripture, that they could not be ſaved by the deeds of the law, and therefore the doctrine of righteouſneſs, by faith, ought not to be ſo ſtrange a thing to them. And, as to their being, for their unbelief, rejected from being the people of God, and the Gentiles taken-in in their room, he ſhews plainly, that this was foretold them in the old teſtament; and that herein God did them no injuſtice. He was ſovereign over all mankind, and might chooſe whom he would, to be his people, with the ſame freedom that he choſe the poſterity of Abraham, among all the nations of the earth, and of that race choſe the deſcendants of Jacob, before thoſe of his elder brother Eſau, and that, before they had a being, or were capable of doing good or evil. In all which diſcourſe of his 'tis plain, the election ſpoken of, has for its object only nations, or collective bodies politic, in this world, and not particular perſons, in reference to their eternal ſtate in the world to come.

Having thus finiſhed the principal deſign of his writing, he here, in this, as is uſual with him in all his epiſtles, concludes with practical and moral exhortations, whereof there are ſeveral in this chapter, which we ſhall take in their order.

PARAPHRASE.

1. IT being ſo then, that you are become the people of God, in the room of the Jews, do not ye fail to offer him that ſacrifice, that it is reaſonable for you to do, I mean your bodies [a], not to be ſlain, but the luſts thereof being mortified, and the body cleanſed from the ſpots and blemiſhes of ſin, will be an acceptable offering to him, and ſuch a way of worſhip, as becomes a rational creature, which therefore I beſeech you, by the mercies of God to you, who has made you his people, to preſent to him.
2. And be not conformed to the faſhion of this world [b]: but be ye transformed,

TEXT.

1 I Beſeech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye preſent your bodies a living ſacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reaſonable ſervice.

2 And be not conformed to this world; but be ye tranſ-

NOTES.

1 [a] "Your bodies." There ſeem to be two reaſons, why St. Paul's firſt exhortation to them is, to preſent their bodies undefiled to God: 1. Becauſe he had before, eſpecially chap vii. ſo much inſiſted on this, that the body was the great ſource from whence ſin aroſe. 2. Becauſe the heathen world, and particularly the Romans, were guilty of thoſe vile affections, which he mentions, chap. i. 24—27.

2 [b] "To the faſhion of this world;" or, as St. Peter expreſſes it, "not faſhioning yourſelves "according to your former luſts in the time of ignorance." Pet. i. 14.

TEXT.

formed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.

3 For I ſay, though the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himſelf more highly than he ought to think; but to think ſoberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the meaſure of faith.

4 For, as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the ſame office;

5 So we, being many, are one body in Chriſt, and every one members one of another.

6 Having then gifts, differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether propheſy, let us propheſy according to the proportion of faith:

PARAPHRASE.

transformed, in the renewing of your minds [a]; that
you may, upon examination, find out what is the
good, the acceptable and perfect will of God, which
now, under the Goſpel, has ſhewn itſelf to be in
purity and holineſs of life: the ritual obſervances,
which he once inſtituted, not being that, his good,
acceptable, and perfect will, which he always intended;
they were made only the types and preparatory
way to this more perfect ſtate under the Goſpel [b]. For 3.
by virtue of that commiſſion, to be the Apoſtle of the
Gentiles, which, by the favour of God, is beſtowed
on me, I bid every one of you, not to think of himſelf
more highly than he ought to think, but to have
ſober and modeſt thoughts of himſelf, according to
that meaſure of ſpiritual gifts [c], which God has beſtowed
upon him. For, as there are many mem- 4.
bers in one and the ſame body, but all the members
are not appointed to the ſame work; ſo we, who are 5.
many, make all but one body in Chriſt, and are all
fellow members one of another [d]. But having, ac- 6.
cording to the reſpective favour that is beſtowed upon
us, every one of us different gifts; whether it be
propheſy [e], let us propheſy, according to the proportion
of faith [f], or gift of interpretation, which is
given us, i. e. as far forth as we are enabled by revelation
and an extraordinary illumination, to underſtand

NOTES.

[a] "Transformed in the renewing of your minds." The ſtate of the Gentiles is thus deſcribed, Eph. iv. 17—19. "As walking in the vanity of their minds, having the underſtanding darkened, "being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, becauſe of the "blindneſs of their hearts, who, being paſt feeling, have given themſelves over unto laſciviouſ-"neſs, to work all uncleanneſs with greedineſs, fulfilling the luſts of the fleſh and of the mind." And Col. i. 21. "Alienated and enemies in their minds by wicked works." "The renewing," therefore, "of their minds," or, as he ſpeaks, Eph. iv. "in the ſpirit of their minds," was the getting into an eſtate, contrary to what they were in before, viz. to take it in the Apoſtle's own words; "that the eyes of their underſtandings might be enlightened;" and that they "might "put on the new man, that is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him, "that ye walk as children of the light, proving what is acceptable to the Lord, having no "fellowſhip with the works of darkneſs: that they be not unwiſe, but underſtanding what is "the will of the Lord: for this is the will of God, even your ſanctification. That you ſhould "abſtain from fornication. That every one of you ſhould know how to poſſeſs his veſſel in "ſanctification and honour, not in the luſts of concupiſcence, even as the Gentiles that know "not God."

[b] In theſe two firſt verſes, of this chapter, is ſhewn the preference of the Goſpel to the Gentile ſtate and the Jewiſh inſtitution.

3 [c] Μετρον πιστεως, "Meaſure of faith," ſome copies read χάριτος, "of favour," either of them expreſs the ſame thing, i. e. gifts of the ſpirit.

5 [d] The ſame ſimile to the ſame purpoſe; ſee 1 Cor. xii.

6 [e] "Propheſy," is enumerated, in the new teſtament, among the gifts of the ſpirit, and means, either the interpretation of ſacred ſcripture, and explaining of propheſies already delivered, or foretelling things to come.

[f] "According to the proportion of faith." The context, in this and the three preceding verſes, leads us, without any difficulty, into the meaning of the Apoſtle, in this expreſſion: 1 Cor. xii. and xiv. ſhew us, how apt the new converts were to be puft up with the ſeveral gifts, that were beſtowed on them; and every one, as in like caſes is uſual, forward to magnify his own, and to carry it farther, than in reality it extended. That it is St. Paul's deſign, here, to prevent, or regulate ſuch diſorder, and to keep every one, in the exerciſing of his particular gift, within its due bounds, is evident, in that exhorting them, ver. 3. to a ſober uſe of their gifts (for 'tis in reference to their ſpiritual gifts, he ſpeaks in that verſe) he makes the meaſure of that ſobriety, to be that meaſure of faith, or ſpiritual gift, which every one in particular enjoyed by the favour of God, i. e. That no one ſhould go beyond that which was given him, and he really had. But beſides this, which is very obvious, there is another paſſage in that verſe, which, rightly conſidered, ſtrongly inclines this way. "I ſay through the grace that is given unto me," ſays St. Paul. He was going to reſtrain them,

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

Chap. XII.

PARAPHRASE.

7. ſtand and expound it, and no farther: or, if it be
miniſtry, let us wait on our miniſtring: he that is a
8. teacher, let him take care to teach. He, whoſe gift
is exhortation, let him be diligent in exhorting: he
that giveth, let him do it liberally, and without the
mixture of any ſelf-intereſt: he that preſideth [a], let
him do it with diligence: he that ſheweth mercy,
9. let him do it with chearfulneſs. Let love be with-
out diſſimulation. Abhor that which is evil, ſtick
10. to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one
towards another, with brotherly love: in honour pre-
11. ferring one another. Not ſlothful in buſineſs; but
active and vigorous in mind, directing all to the
12. ſervice of Chriſt and the Goſpel. Rejoicing in the
hope you have, of heaven and happineſs; patient in
13. tribulation; frequent and inſtant in prayer: For-
ward to help Chriſtians in want, according to their
14. neceſſities; given to hoſpitality. Bleſs them who
15. perſecute you: bleſs and curſe not. Rejoice with
them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep.
16. Be of the ſame mind one towards another. Do not
mind only high things; but ſuit yourſelves to the
mean condition and low concerns of perſons beneath
17. you. Be not wiſe in your own conceits. Render to
no man evil for evil: but take care that your carri-
18. age be ſuch as may be approved by all men. If it
be poſſible, as much as lyeth in you, live peaceably
19. with all men. Dearly beloved, do not avenge your
ſelves, but rather leave that to God. For it is writ-
ten, " vengeance is mine, and I will repay it, ſaith
the

TEXT.

Or miniſtry, let us wait on our miniſtring; or he that teacheth, on teaching; 7

Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with ſimplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that ſheweth mercy, with chearfulneſs. 8

Let love be without diſſimulation. Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good. 9

Be kindly affectioned one to another; with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another. 10

Not ſlothful in buſineſs: fervent in ſpirit; ſerving the Lord: 11

Rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing inſtant in prayer: 12

Diſtributing to the neceſſity of ſaints; given to hoſpitality. 13

Bleſs them which perſecute you: bleſs and curſe not. 14

Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep. 15

Be of the ſame mind one towards another. Mind not high things, but condeſcend to men of low eſtate. Be not wiſe in your own conceits. 16

Recompenſe to no man evil for evil. Provide things honeſt in the ſight of all men. 17

If it be poſſible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. 18

Dearly beloved, avenge not yourſelves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is 19

NOTES.

them, in the exerciſe of their diſtinct ſpiritual gifts, and he could not introduce what he was going to ſay in the caſe with a more perſuaſive argument than his own example; " I exhort," ſays he, " that every one of you, in the exerciſe and uſe of his ſpiritual gift, keep within the bounds and " meaſure of that gift which is given him. I myſelf, in giving you this exhortation, do it by " the grace given unto me, I do it by the commiſſion and power given me by God, and beyond " that I do not go." In one, that had before declared himſelf an Apoſtle, ſuch an expreſſion as this here (if there were not ſome particular reaſon for it) might ſeem ſuperfluous, and to ſome idle, but, in this view, it has a great grace and energy in it. There wants nothing but the ſtudy of St. Paul's writings to give us a juſt admiration of his great addreſs, and the ſkill wherewith all that he ſays is adapted to the argument he has in hand: " I," ſays he, " according to the grace " given me, direct you every one, in the uſe of your gifts, which, according to the grace given " you, are different, whether it be the gift of propheſy, to propheſy according to the proportion, " or meaſure of that gift, or revelation, that he hath. And let him not think that, becauſe " ſome things are, therefore every thing is revealed to him." The ſame rule, concerning the ſame matter, St. Paul gives, Eph. iv. 16. that every member ſhould act according to the meaſure of its own ſtrength, power, and energy; 1 Cor. xiv. 29—32. may alſo give light to this place. This, therefore, is far from ſignifying that a man, in interpreting of ſacred ſcripture, ſhould explain the ſenſe, according to the ſyſtem of his particular ſect, which each party is pleaſed to call the analogy of faith. For this would be to make the Apoſtle to ſet that, for a rule of interpretation, which had not its being till long after, and is the product of fallible men.

The " meaſure of faith," ver. 3. and " proportion of faith," in this verſe, ſignifies the ſame thing, viz. ſo much of that particular gift, which God was pleaſed to beſtow on any one.

8 [a] Ὁ προϊστάμενος, " He that ruleth," ſays our tranſlation; the context inclines to the ſenſe I have taken it in; ſee Vitringa de Synagog. l. 2. c. 3.

	TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.	
	written, vengeance is mine; I will repay, ſaith the Lord.	“the Lord.”	
20	Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirſt, give him drink: for, in ſo doing, thou ſhalt heap coals of fire on his head.	Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirſt, give him drink; if this prevail on him, thou ſubdueſt an enemy, and gaineſt a friend; if he perſiſts ſtill in his enmity, in ſo doing thou heapeſt coals of fire on his head, i. e. expoſeſt him to the wrath of God, who will be thy avenger.	20.
21	Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.	Be not overcome and prevailed on, by the evil thou receiveſt, to retaliate; but endeavour to maſter the malice of an enemy in injuring thee, by a return of kindneſs and good offices to him.	21.

SECT. XI.

CHAP. XIII. 1——7.

CONTENTS.

THIS ſection contains the duty of Chriſtians to the civil magiſtrate: for the underſtanding this right, we muſt conſider theſe two things:

1. That theſe rules are given to Chriſtians, that were members of a heathen commonwealth, to ſhew them that, by being made Chriſtians and ſubjects of Chriſt's kingdom, they were not, by the freedom of the Goſpel, exempt from any ties of duty, or ſubjection, which, by the laws of their country, they were in, and ought to obſerve, to the government and magiſtrates of it, though Heathens, any more than any of their heathen ſubjects. But on the other ſide, theſe rules did not tie them up, any more than any of their fellow-citizens, who were not Chriſtians, from any of thoſe due rights, which, by the law of nature, or the conſtitutions of their country, belonged to them. Whatſoever any other of their fellow-ſubjects, being in a like ſtation with them, might do, without ſinning, that they were not abridged of, but might do ſtill, being Chriſtians. The rule here, being the ſame with that given by St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 17. “As God has called every one, ſo let him walk.” The rules of civil right and wrong, that he is to walk by, are to him the ſame they were before.

2. That St. Paul, in this direction to the Romans, does not ſo much deſcribe the magiſtrates, that then were in Rome, as tells whence they, and all magiſtrates, every where, have their authority; and for what end they have it, and ſhould uſe it. And this he does, as becomes his prudence, to avoid bringing any imputation on Chriſtians, from heathen magiſtrates, eſpecially thoſe inſolent and vicious ones of Rome, who could not brook any thing to be told them, as their duty, and ſo might be apt to interpret ſuch plain truths, laid down in a dogmatical way, into ſaucineſs, ſedition, or treaſon, a ſcandal cautiouſly to be kept off from the Chriſtian doctrine! nor does he, in what he ſays, in the leaſt flatter the Roman emperor, let it be either Claudius, as ſome think, or Nero, as others, who then was in poſſeſſion of that empire. For he ſpeaks here of the higher powers, i. e. the ſupreme, civil power, which is in every commonwealth, derived from God, and is of the ſame extent every where, i. e. is abſolute and unlimited by any thing, but the end for which God gave it, viz. the good of the people, ſincerely purſued, according to the beſt of the ſkill of thoſe, who ſhare that power, and ſo not to be reſiſted. But, how men come by a rightful title to this power; or who has that title, he is wholly ſilent, and ſays nothing of it. To have meddled with that, would have been to decide of civil rights, contrary to the deſign and buſineſs of the Goſpel, and the example of our Saviour, who refuſed meddling in ſuch caſes with this deciſive queſtion; “who made me a judge, or divider, over you?” Luke xii. 14.

PARAPHRASE.

CHAP XIII.

1. LET every one of you, none excepted [a], be subject
unto the over-ruling powers [b] of the government,
he lives in. There is no power, but what
is from God: the powers, that are in being, are ordained
2. by God: ſo that he, who reſiſteth the power,
reſiſteth the ordinance of God; and they, that reſiſt,
will be puniſhed, by thoſe powers that they reſiſt.
3. What ſhould you be afraid of? Rulers are no terror
to thoſe that do well, but to thoſe that do ill. Wilt
thou then not live in dread of the civil power? Do
that which is good and right, and then praiſe only is
4. thy due, from the magiſtrate. For he is the officer
and miniſter of God, appointed only for thy good.
But, if thou doeſt amiſs, then thou haſt reaſon to be
afraid. For he bears not the ſword in vain. For he
is the miniſter of God, and executioner of wrath and
5. puniſhment upon him that doth ill. This being the
end of government, and the buſineſs of the magiſtrate,
to cheriſh the good, and puniſh ill men, it is
neceſſary for you to ſubmit to government, not only
in apprehenſion of the puniſhment, which diſobedience
will draw on you, but out of conſcience, as a
6. duty required of you by God. This is the reaſon
why alſo you pay tribute, which is due to the magiſtrates,
becauſe they employ their care, time and
pains, for the public weal, in puniſhing and reſtraining
the wicked and vicious; and in countenancing
and ſupporting the virtuous and good. Render, therefore,
7. to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is
due, cuſtom to whom cuſtom, fear to whom fear,
and honour to whom honour.

TEXT.

1 LET every ſoul be ſubject unto the higher powers. For there is no power, but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God.

2 Whoſoever, therefore, reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God: and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.

3 For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame:

4 For he is the miniſter of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid: for he beareth not the ſword in vain: for he is the miniſter of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.

5 Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake.

6 For, for this cauſe pay you tribute alſo; for they are God's miniſters, attending continually upon this very thing.

7 Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due, cuſtom to whom cuſtom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour.

NOTES.

1 [a] "Every one," however endowed with miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, or advanced to any dignity in the church of Chriſt. For that theſe things were apt to make men overvalue themſelves, is obvious, from what St. Paul ſays to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xii. and here to the Romans, chap. xii. 3—5. But above all others, the Jews were apt to have an inward reluctancy and indignation, againſt the power of any heathen over them, taking it to be an unjuſt and tyrannical uſurpation upon them, who were the people of God, and their betters. Theſe the Apoſtle thought it neceſſary to reſtrain, and, therefore, ſays, in the language of the Jews, "every ſoul," i. e. every perſon among you, whether Jew or Gentile, muſt live in ſubjection to the civil magiſtrate. We ſee, by what St. Peter ſays on the like occaſion, that there was great need that Chriſtians ſhould have this duty inculcated to them, "leſt any among them ſhould uſe their liberty, for a cloak of maliciouſneſs, or miſbehaviour," 1 Pet. ii. 13—16. The doctrine of Chriſtianity was a doctrine of liberty. And St. Paul, in this epiſtle, had taught them, that all Chriſtians were free from the Moſaical law. Hence corrupt and miſtaken men, eſpecially Jewiſh converts, impatient, as we have obſerved, of any heathen dominion, might be ready to infer, that Chriſtians were exempt from ſubjection to the laws of heathen governments. This he obviates, by telling them, that all other governments derived the power, they had, from God, as well as that of the Jews, though they had not the whole frame of their government, immediately, from him, as the Jews had.

[b] Whether we take "powers," here, in the abſtract, for political authority, or in the concrete, for the perſons de facto, exerciſing political power and juriſdiction, the ſenſe will be the ſame, viz. That Chriſtians, by virtue of being Chriſtians, are not any way exempt from obedience to the civil magiſtrates, nor ought, by any means, to reſiſt them, tho' by what is ſaid, ver. 3. it ſeems that St. Paul meant here magiſtrates having, and exerciſing, a lawful power. But, whether the magiſtrates in being were, or were not, ſuch, and conſequently were, or were not, to be obeyed, that Chriſtianity gave them no peculiar power to examine. They had the common right of others, their fellow-citizens, but had no diſtinct privilege, as Chriſtians. And, therefore, we ſee, ver. 7. where he enjoins the paying of tribute and cuſtom, &c. it is in theſe words; "render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, honour to whom honour, &c." But who it was, to whom any of theſe, or any other dues, of right belonged, he decides not, for that he leaves them to be determined, by the laws and conſtitutions of their country.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

CHAP. XIII. 8——14.

CONTENTS.

HE exhorts them to love, which is in effect, the fulfilling of the whole law.

TEXT.

8 OWE no man any thing, but to love one another: for he, that loveth another, hath fulfilled the law.

9 For this, thou ſhalt not commit adultery, thou ſhalt not kill, thou ſhalt not ſteal, thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs, thou ſhalt not covet; and, if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this ſaying, namely, thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf.

10 Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law.

11 And that, knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of ſleep; for now is our ſalvation nearer than when we believed.

12 The night is far ſpent, the day is at hand: let us, therefore, caſt off the works of darkneſs, and let us put on the armour of light.

13 Let us walk honeſtly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenneſs, not in chambering and wantonneſs, not in ſtrife and envying.

14 But put ye on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and make not proviſion for the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof.

PARAPHRASE.

OWE nothing to any body, but affection and 8.
good will, mutually to one another; for he,
that loves others ſincerely, as he does himſelf, has
fulfilled the law. For this precept, thou ſhall not 9.
commit adultery, thou ſhalt not kill, thou ſhalt not
ſteal, thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs, thou ſhalt not
covet; and whatever other command there be, concerning
ſocial duties, it in ſhort is comprehended in
this, "thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf."
Love permits us to do no harm to our neighbour, 10.
and therefore is the fulfilling of the whole law of
the ſecond table. And all this do, conſidering that 11.
it is now high time that we rouſe ourſelves up, ſhake
off ſleep, and betake ourſelves, with vigilancy and
vigour, to the duties of a Chriſtian life. For the time
of your removal, out of this place of exerciſe and
probationerſhip, is nearer than when you firſt entered
into the profeſſion of Chriſtianity [a]. The night, the 12.
dark ſtate of this world, wherein the good and the
bad can ſcarce be diſtinguiſhed, is far ſpent. The
day, that will ſhew every one in his own dreſs and
colours, is at hand. Let us, therefore, put away the
works, that we ſhould be aſhamed of, but in the
dark; and let us put on the dreſs [b] and ornaments,
that we ſhould be willing to appear in, in the light.
Let our behaviour be decent, and our carriage ſuch, 13.
as fears not the light, nor the eyes of men, not in
diſorderly feaſtings and drunkenneſs; nor in dalliance
and wantonneſs [c]: nor in ſtrife and envy [d]. But walk 14.
in newneſs of life, in obedience to the precepts of the
Goſpel, as becomes thoſe, who are baptiſed into the
faith of Chriſt, and let not the great employment of
your thoughts and cares be wholly in making proviſion
for the body, that you may have wherewithal to
ſatisfy your carnal luſts.

NOTES.

11, 12 [a] It ſeems, by theſe two verſes, as if St. Paul looked upon Chriſt's coming as not far off, to which there are ſeveral other concurrent paſſages in his epiſtles: See 1 Cor. i. 7.

12 [b] Ὅπλα, "armour." The word in the Greek is often uſed for the apparel, clothing, and accoutrements of the body.

13 [c] Theſe he ſeems to name, with reference to the night, which he had mentioned, theſe being the diſorders, to which the night is uſually ſet apart.

[d] Theſe, probably, were ſet down, with regard to univerſal love and good-will, which he was principally here preſſing them to.

An. Ch. 57.
NERONIS 3.
CHAP. XIV.

SECT. XIII.

CHAP. XIV. 1——XV. 13.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul inſtructs, both the ſtrong and the weak, in their mutual duties one to another, in reſpect of things indifferent, teaching them, that the ſtrong ſhould not uſe their liberty, where it might offend a weak brother: Nor the weak cenſure the ſtrong, for uſing their liberty.

PARAPHRASE.

1. HIM, that is weak in the faith, i. e. not fully
perſuaded of his Chriſtian liberty, in the uſe
of ſome, indifferent thing, receive you into your
friendſhip and converſation [a], without any coldneſs,
or diſtinction, but do not engage him in diſputes and
2. controverſies about it. For ſuch variety is there in
men's perſuaſions, about their Chriſtian liberty, that
one believeth that he may, without reſtraint, eat all
things; another is ſo ſcrupulous, that he eateth no-
3. thing but herbs. Let not him, that is perſuaded of
his liberty, and eateth, deſpiſe him that, through
ſcruple, eateth not: And let not him, that is more
doubtful, and eateth not, judge, or cenſure, him that
eateth, for God hath received [b] him into his church
4. and family: and who art thou, that takeſt upon
thee to judge the domeſtic of another, whether he
be of his family, or no? It is his own maſter alone,
who is to judge, whether he be, or ſhall continue,
his domeſtic, or no: what haſt thou to do, to
meddle in the caſe? But trouble not thyſelf, he ſhall
ſtand and ſtay in the family. For God is able to
5. confirm and eſtabliſh him there [b]. One man judgeth
[c] one day to be ſet apart to God, more than another,
another man judgeth every day to be God's alike.
Let

TEXT.

HIM that is weak in the faith receive you, but not to doubtful diſputations. 1

For one believeth that he may eat all things: another, who is weak, eateth herbs. 2

Let not him, that eateth, deſpiſe him that eateth not: and let not him, which eateth not, judge him that eateth: for God hath received him. 3

Who art thou, that judgeſt another man's ſervant? to his own maſter, he ſtandeth, or falleth: yea, he ſhall be holden up: for God is able to make him ſtand. 4

One man eſteemeth one day above another: another eſteemeth every day alike. 5

NOTES.

1 [a] That the reception, here ſpoken of, is the receiving into familiar and ordinary converſation, is evident from chap. xv. 7. where he, directing them to receive one another mutually, uſes the ſame word προσλαμβάνεσθε, i. e. live together in a free and friendly manner, the weak with the ſtrong, and the ſtrong with the weak, without any regard to the differences among you, about the lawfulneſs of any indifferent things. Let thoſe, that agree, or differ, concerning the uſe of any indifferent thing, live together all alike.

3, 4 [b] "By him that eateth," ver. 3. St. Paul ſeems to mean the Gentiles, who were leſs ſcrupulous, in the uſe of indifferent things; and, by "him that eateth not," the Jews who made a great diſtinction of meats and drinks and days, and placed in them a great, and as they thought, neceſſary part of the worſhip of the true God. To the Gentiles the Apoſtle gives this caution, that they ſhould not contemn the Jews, as weak narrow-minded men, that laid ſo much ſtreſs on matters of ſo ſmall moment, and thought religion ſo much concerned in thoſe indifferent things. On the other ſide, he exhorts the Jews, not to judge that thoſe, who neglected the Jewiſh obſervances of meats and days, were ſtill heathens, or would ſoon apoſtatize to heatheniſm again: no, ſays he; God has received them, and they are of his family: and thou haſt nothing to do to judge, whether they are, or will continue, of his family, or no; that belongs only to him, the maſter of the family, to judge, whether they ſhall ſtay, or leave his family, or no. But, notwithſtanding thy cenſure, or hard thoughts, of them, they ſhall not fall off, or apoſtatize; for God is able to continue them in his family, in his church, notwithſtanding thou ſuſpecteſt, from their free uſe of things indifferent, they incline too much, or approach too near to Gentiliſm.

5 [c] The Apoſtle having, in the foregoing verſe, uſed κρίνειν ἀλλότριον ὀικέτην, for judging any one to be, or not to be, another man's ſervant, or domeſtic, he ſeems here to continue the uſe of the word κρίνειν, in the ſame ſignification, i. e. for judging a day to be more peculiarly God's. I

TEXT.

Let every man be fully perſuaded in his own mind.

6 He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks.

7 For none of us liveth to himſelf, and no man dieth to himſelf.

8 For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.

9 For to this end Chriſt both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.

10 But why doſt thou judge thy brother? or why doſt thou ſet at nought thy brother? for we ſhall all ſtand before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt.

11 For it is written, as I live, ſaith the Lord, every knee ſhall bow to me, and every tongue ſhall confeſs to God.

12 So then, every one of us ſhall give account of himſelf to God.

13 Let us not, therefore, judge one another any more: but judge this rather, that no man put a ſtumbling-block, or an

PARAPHRASE.

Let every one take care to be ſatisfied in his own
mind, touching the matter. But let him not cenſure [a] another, in what he doth. He that obſerveth 6.
a day, obſerveth it as the Lord's ſervant, in obedience to him: and he, that obſerveth it not, paſſes
by that obſervance, as the Lord's ſervant, in obedience alſo to the Lord. He that eateth, what another
out of ſcruple forbears, eateth it as the Lord's ſervant: For he giveth God thanks. And he that, out
of ſcruple, forbeareth to eat, does it alſo as the Lord's
ſervant: for he giveth God thanks, even for that
which he doth, and thinks he may not eat. For no 7.
one of us Chriſtians liveth, as if he were his own
man, perfectly at his own diſpoſal: and no one [b] of
us dies ſo. For, whether we live, our life is appropriated to the Lord: or, whether we die, to him we 8.
die, as his ſervants. For whether we live, or die,
we are his, in his family, his domeſtics [c], appropriated to him. For to this end Chriſt died, and 9.
roſe, and lived again, that he might be Lord and
proprietor of us [d], both dead and living. What haſt 10.
thou then to do, to judge thy brother, who is none
of thy ſervant, but thy equal? Or how dareſt thou
to think contemptibly of him? For we ſhall, thou,
and he, and all of us, be brought before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, and there we ſhall anſwer, every
one for himſelf, to our Lord and maſter. For it is 11.
written, "as I live, ſaith the Lord, every knee ſhall
"bow to me, and every tongue ſhall confeſs to God."
So then, every one of us ſhall give an account of 12.
himſelf to God. Let us not, therefore, take upon us 13.
to judge one another; but rather come to this judgment, or determination of mind, that no man put [e] a
ſtumbling-block, or an occaſion of falling, in his bro-
ther's

NOTES.

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[a] This may be concluded to be the Apoſtle's ſenſe, becauſe the thing, he is upon here, is to keep them from cenſuring one another, in the uſe of things indifferent; particularly the Jews, from judging the Gentiles, in their neglect of the obſervance of days, or meats. This judging, being what St. Paul principally endeavoured here to reſtrain, as being oppoſite to the liberty of the Goſpel, which favoured a neglect of theſe rituals of the law, which were now antiquated. See Gal. iv. 9—11. and v. 1, 2.

7 [b] Ὀυδεὶς ſhould, I ſuppoſe, be taken here with the ſame limitation it hath in the former part of the verſe, with the pronoun ἡμῶν; and ſo ſhould here, as there, be rendered in Engliſh, "no "one of us," and not, "no man," St. Paul ſpeaking here only of Chriſtians: this ſenſe of ὀυδεὶς the next verſe ſeems to confirm.

8 [c] Theſe words, "we are the Lord's," give an eaſy interpretation to theſe phraſes of "eating "and living, &c. to the Lord;" for they make them plainly refer, to what he had ſaid, at the latter end of ver. 3. "For God hath received him;" ſignifying, that God had received all thoſe, who profeſs the Goſpel, and had given their names up to Jeſus Chriſt, into his family, and had made them his domeſticks. And, therefore, we ſhould not judge, or cenſure, one another, for that every Chriſtian was the Lord's domeſtick, appropriated to him, as his menial ſervant: and, therefore, all that he did, in that ſtate, was to be looked on, as done to the Lord, and not to be accounted for, to any body elſe.

9 [d] Κυριεύσῃ, "might be Lord;" muſt be taken ſo, here, as to make this agree with the foregoing verſe. There it was "we," i. e. we Chriſtians, whether we live or die, are the Lord's property: for the Lord died and roſe again, that we, whether living or dying, ſhould be his.

13 [e] He had, before, reproved the weak, that cenſured the ſtrong, in the uſe of their liberty. He comes, now, to reſtrain the ſtrong, from offending their weak brethren, by a too free uſe of their liberty, in not forbearing the uſe of it, where it might give offence to the weak.

Chap. XIV.
ther's way. I know and am fully aſſured, by the
14. Lord Jeſus, that there is nothing unclean, or unlaw-
ful to be eaten, of itſelf. But to him, that accounts
15. any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean. But
if thy brother be grieved [a] with thy meat, thy car-
riage is uncharitable to him. Deſtroy not him with
16. thy meat, for whom Chriſt died. Let not then your
liberty, which is a good [b] you enjoy, under the Goſ-
17. pel, be evil ſpoken of. For the privileges and ad-
vantages of the kingdom of God, do not conſiſt in
the enjoyment of greater variety of meats and drinks,
but in uprightneſs of life, peace of all kinds, and
joy in the gifts and benefits of the Holy Ghoſt, un-
18. der the Goſpel. For he that, in theſe things, pays
his allegiance and ſervice to Jeſus Chriſt, as a dutiful
ſubject of his kingdom, is acceptable to God, and
19. approved of men. The things, therefore, that we
ſet our hearts upon, to purſue and promote, let them
be ſuch as tend to peace and good-will, and the mu-
20. tual edification of one another. Do not, for a little
meat, deſtroy a man, that is the work [c] of God, and
no ordinary piece of workmanſhip. It is true, all
ſort of wholſome food is pure, and defileth not a
man's conſcienee, but yet it is evil to him, who eat-
21. eth any thing, ſo as to offend his brother. It is bet-
ter to forbear fleſh, and wine, and any thing, rather
than in the uſe of thy liberty, in any indifferent
things, to do that, whereby thy brother ſtumbleth,
22. or is offended, or is made weak [d]. Thou art fully
perſuaded of the lawfulneſs of eating the meat,
which thou eateſt: It is well. Happy is he, that is
not ſelf-condemned, in the thing that he practiſes.
But have a care to keep this faith, or perſuaſion, to
thyſelf: let it be between God and thy own con-
ſcience: raiſe no diſpute about it; neither make oſ-
23. tentation of it [e], by thy practice, before others. But
he that is in doubt, and balanceth [f], is ſelf-condem-
ned, if he eat; becauſe he doth it, without a full
Chap. XV. perſuaſion of the lawfulneſs of it. For, whatever a
1. man doth, which he is not fully perſuaded in his
own mind to be lawful, is ſin. We, then, that are
ſtrong, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak,
and not to indulge our own appetites, or inclinations,
in

occaſion to fall in his brother's
way.
I know, and am perſuaded 14
by the Lord Jeſus, that there
is nothing unclean of itſelf:
but to him that eſteemeth any
thing to be unclean, to him it
is unclean.
But if thy brother be griev- 15
ed with thy meat, now walk-
eſt thou not charitably. De-
ſtroy not him with thy meat,
for whom Chriſt died.
Let not then your good be 16
evil ſpoken of.
For the kingdom of God is 17
not meat and drink, but righ-
teouſneſs, and peace, and joy
in the Holy Ghoſt.
For he that in theſe things 18
ſerveth Chriſt, is acceptable
to God, and approved of men.
Let us, therefore, follow 19
after the things, which make
for peace, and things, where-
with one may edify another.
For meat deſtroy not the 20
work of God. All things
indeed are pure; but it is evil
for that man, who eateth with
offence.
It is good neither to eat 21
fleſh, nor to drink wine, nor
any thing, whereby thy bro-
ther ſtumbleth, or is offended,
or is made weak.
Haſt thou faith? have it to 22
thyſelf before God. Happy is
he that condemneth not him-
ſelf, in that thing which he
alloweth.

And he that doubteth, is 23
damned if he eat, becauſe he
eateth not of faith: for what-
ſoever is not of faith, is ſin.

We then that are ſtrong, 1
ought to bear the infirmities

NOTES.

15 [a] "Grieved," does not here ſignify ſimply, made ſorrowful for what thou doeſt; but brought into trouble and diſcompoſure, or receives an hurt, or wound, as every one does, who, by another's example, does what he ſuppoſes to be unlawful. This ſenſe is confirmed in the words, "deſtroy not him with thy meat:" and alſo by what he ſays, 1 Cor. viii. 9—13. in the like caſe.

16 [b] See 1 Cor. x. 30.

20 [c] The force of this argument, ſee Matt. vi. 25. "The life is more than meat."

21 [d] "Offended and made weak;" i. e. drawn to the doing of any thing, of whoſe lawfulneſs not being fully perſuaded, it becomes a ſin to him.

22 [e] Theſe two, viz. not diſputing about it, which he forbad, v. 1. and not uſing his liberty, before any one, whom poſſibly it may offend, may be ſuppoſed to be contained in theſe words, "have it to thyſelf."

23 [f] Διακρινόμενος, tranſlated here "doubteth," is, Rom. iv. 20. tranſlated "ſtaggered;" and is there oppoſed to ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει, "ſtrong in the faith;" or to πληροφορηθεὶς, "fully perſuaded," as it follows in the next verſe.

TEXT.

of the weak, and not to pleaſe ourſelves.

2 Let every one of us pleaſe his neighbour for his good to edification.

3 For even Chriſt pleaſed not himſelf; but as it is written, the reproaches of them, that reproached thee, fell on me.

4 For, whatſoever things were written, aforetime, were written for our learning; that we, through patience and comfort of the ſcriptures, might have hope.

5 Now the God of patience and conſolation, grant you to be like minded one towards another, according to Chriſt Jeſus:

6 That ye may, with one mind and one mouth, glorify God; even the father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

7 Wherefore, receive ye one another, as Chriſt alſo received us, to the glory of God.

8 Now I ſay, that Jeſus Chriſt was a miniſter of the circumciſion for the truth of God, to confirm the promiſes made unto the fathers:

9 And that the Gentiles might glorify God, for his mercy; as it is written, for this cauſe I will confeſs to thee among the Gentiles, and ſing unto thy name.

PARAPHRASE.

in ſuch a uſe of indifferent things, as may offend the
weak. But let every one of us pleaſe his neighbour, 2.
comply with his infirmities for his good, and to edification.
For even Chriſt, our Lord, pleaſed not 3.
himſelf: but as it is written, “the reproaches of
“them, that reproached thee, are fallen upon me.”
For whatſoever was heretofore written, i. e. in the 4.
old teſtament, was written for our learning, that we
through patience, and the comfort which the ſcriptures
give us, might have hope. Now God, who is the 5.
giver of patience and conſolation, make you to be
at unity one with another, according to the will of
Chriſt Jeſus; That you may, with one mind and one 6.
mouth, glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus
Chriſt. Wherefore, admit and receive one ano- 7.
ther [a] into fellowſhip and familiarity, without ſhyneſs,
or diſtance, upon occaſion of differences about things
indifferent, even as Chriſt received us Jews to glorify
[b] God, (For [c] I muſt tell you, ye converted Ro- 8.
mans, that Chriſt was ſent to the Jews, and employed
all his miniſtry [d] on thoſe of the circumciſion)
for his truth, in making good his promiſe made to
the fathers, i. e. Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob; And 9.
received you, the Gentiles to glorify God for his
mercy to you, as it is written; “for this cauſe I will
“confeſs to thee among the Gentiles, and ſing unto
“thy

NOTES.

7 Προσλαμβάνεσθε, “receive one another,” cannot mean, receive one another into church communion: for there is no appearance, that the convert Jews and Gentiles ſeparated communion in Rome, upon account of differences about meats and drinks, and days. We ſhould have heard more of it, from St. Paul, if there had been two ſeparate congregations, i. e. two churches of Chriſtians in Rome, divided about theſe indifferent things. Beſides, directions cannot be given to private Chriſtians, to receive one another, in that ſenſe. The receiving, therefore, here, muſt be underſtood of receiving, as a man doth another, into his company, converſe, and familiarity, i. e. He would have them, Jews and Gentiles, lay by all diſtinction, coldneſs, and reſervedneſs, in their converſation one with another; and, as domeſticks of the ſame family, live friendly and familiar, notwithſtanding their different judgments, about thoſe ritual obſervances. Hence, v. 5. he exhorts them to be united in friendſhip one to another, that with one heart and one voice they might conjointly glorify God, and receive one another with the ſame good will that Chriſt has received us the Jews, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, to the glorifying of God for his truth, in fulfilling the promiſes he made to the patriarchs, and received the Gentiles, to glorify God for his mercy to them. So that we have reaſon, both Jews and Gentiles, laying aſide theſe little differences about things indifferent, to join together heartily, in glorifying God.

[b] Εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, “to the glory of God;” i. e. to glorify God, by the ſame figure of ſpeech that he uſes πίστις Ἰησοῦ, “the faith of Jeſus,” for, “believing in Jeſus,” Rom. iii. 22, and 26. The thing, that St. Paul is exhorting them to here, is, to the glorifying of God with one accord; as is evident, from the immediately preceding words, ver. 6. and that which follows, ver. 9, 10, 11. is to the ſame purpoſe: ſo that there is no room to doubt that his meaning, in theſe words, is this, viz. Chriſt received, or took us, believing Jews, to himſelf, that we might magnify the truth of God; and took the Gentiles, that believe, to himſelf, that they might magnify God's mercy. This ſtands eaſy in the conſtruction of his words, and ſenſe of his mind.

8 [c] “Now I ſay, that Jeſus Chriſt was a miniſter of the circumciſion.” Theſe words are plainly a parentheſis, and ſpoken with ſome emphaſis, to reſtrain the Gentile converts of Rome; who, as it is plain from chap. xiv. 3. were apt ἐξουθενεῖσθαι, to ſet at nought, and deſpiſe the converted Jews, for ſticking to their ritual obſervances of meats and drinks, &c.

[d] Διάκονον περιτομῆς, “a miniſter of, or to the circumciſion.” What it was, that Chriſt miniſtered to the Jews, we may ſee, by the like expreſſion of St. Paul, applied to himſelf, ver. 16. where he calls himſelf “a miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, to the Gentiles, miniſtering the Goſpel of God.”

PARAPHRASE.

"thy name." And again he ſaith, "rejoice, ye Gen-
10. "tiles, with his people." And again, "praiſe the
11. "Lord, all ye Gentiles, and laud him all ye na-
12. "tions." And again, Iſaiah ſaith, "there ſhall be a "root of Jeſſe, and, he that ſhall riſe to reign over "the Gentiles, in him ſhall the Gentiles truſt [a]."
13. Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghoſt [b].

TEXT.

And again he ſaith, rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people. 10

And again praiſe the Lord, all ye Gentiles, and laud him all ye people. 11

And again Eſaias ſaith, there ſhall be a root of Jeſſe, and he that ſhall riſe to reign over the Gentiles; in him ſhall the Gentiles truſt. 12

Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghoſt. 13

NOTES.

12 [a] Ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι, "in him ſhall the Gentiles truſt," rather hope; not that there is any material difference in the ſignification of truſt and hope, but the better to expreſs and anſwer St. Paul's way of writing, with whom it is familiar, when he hath been ſpeaking of any virtue or grace, whereof God is the author, to call God, thereupon, the God of that virtue, or favour. An eminent example whereof, we have a few verſes backwards, ver. 4. ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ϗ τῆς παρακλήσεως τῶν γραφῶν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχωμεν, "that we through patience and comfort," rather conſolation, "of the ſcriptures, might have hope;" and then ſubjoins, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς ϗ τῆς παρακλήσεως, "now the God of patience and conſolation." And ſo here ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἐλπίδος, "the Gentiles ſhall hope. Now the God of hope."

13 [b] The gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, beſtowed upon the Gentiles, were a foundation of hope to them, that they were, by believing, the children, or people of God, as well as the Jews.

SECT. XIV.

CHAP. XV. 14—33.

CONTENTS.

IN the remaining part of this chapter, St. Paul makes a very kind and ſkilful apology to them, for this epiſtle: expreſſes an earneſt deſire of coming to them: touches upon the reaſons, that hitherto had hindered him: deſires their prayers for his deliverance from the Jews, in his journey to Jeruſalem, whither he was going; and promiſes that, from thence, he will make them a viſit, in his way to Spain.

PARAPHRASE.

14. AS to my own thoughts concerning you, my brethren, I am perſuaded that you alſo, as well as others, are full of goodneſs, abounding in all knowledge, and able to inſtruct one another. Nevertheleſs,
15. brethren, I have written to you, in ſome things, pretty freely, as your remembrancer, which I have been emboldened to do, by the commiſſion, which God has been
16. graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow on me, whom he hath made to be the miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt to the Gentiles, in the Goſpel of God, in which holy miniſtration I officiate, that the Gentiles may be made an acceptable offering [a] to God, ſanctified by the pouring

TEXT.

AND I myſelf alſo am perſuaded of you, my brethren, that ye alſo are full of goodneſs, filled with all knowledge, able alſo to admoniſh one another. 14

Nevertheleſs, brethren, I have written the more boldly unto you, in ſome ſort, as putting you in mind, becauſe of the grace, that is given to me of God, 15

That I ſhould be the miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt to the Gentiles, miniſtring the Goſpel of 16

ing

NOTE.

16 [a] "Offering." See Iſa. lxvi. 20.

TEXT.

God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being ſanctified by the Holy Ghoſt.

17 I have, therefore, whereof I may glory, through Jeſus Chriſt, in thoſe things which pertain to God.

18 For I will not dare to ſpeak of any of thoſe things, which Chriſt hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed.

19 Through mighty ſigns and wonders, by the power of the ſpirit of God; ſo that from Jeruſalem and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the Goſpel of Chriſt.

20 Yea, ſo have I ſtrived to preach the Goſpel, not where Chriſt was named, leſt I ſhould build upon another man's foundation:

21 But as it is written, to whom he was not ſpoken of, they ſhall ſee: and they that have not heard, ſhall underſtand.

22 For which cauſe alſo I have been much hindered from coming to you:

23 But now, having no more place in theſe parts, and having a great deſire, theſe many years, to come unto you;

24 Whenſoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you: for I truſt to ſee you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thither-ward by you, if firſt I be ſomewhat filled with your company.

25 But now I go unto Jeruſalem, to miniſter unto the ſaints.

26 For it hath pleaſed them of Macedonia, and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the poor ſaints, which are at Jeruſalem.

27 It hath pleaſed them verily, and their debtors they are. For, if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their ſpiritual things, their duty is alſo to miniſter unto them in carnal things.

28 When, therefore, I have

PARAPHRASE.

ing out of the Holy Ghoſt upon them. I have, there- 17
fore, matter of glorying, through Jeſus Chriſt, as to
thoſe things that pertain [a] to God. For I ſhall not 18
venture to trouble you with any concerning myſelf,
but only what Chriſt hath wrought by me, for the
bringing of the Gentiles to Chriſtianity, both in profeſſion
and practice, Through mighty ſigns and won- 19
ders by the power of the Holy Ghoſt, ſo that, from
Jeruſalem and the neighbouring countries, all along,
quite to Illyricum, I have effectually preached the
Goſpel of Chriſt; But ſo as ſtudiouſly to avoid the 20
carrying of it to thoſe places, where it was already
planted, and where the people were already Chriſtians,
leſt I ſhould build upon another man's foundation.
But as it is written [c], "to whom he was not 21
"ſpoken of, they ſhall ſee: and they, that have not
"heard, ſhall underſtand." This has often hindered 22
me from coming to you: But now, having in theſe 23
parts no place, where Chriſt hath not been heard of,
to preach the Goſpel in; and having had, for theſe
many years, a deſire to come to you: I will, when I
take my journey to Spain, take you in my way: for I 24
hope, then, to ſee you, and to be brought on my way
thither-ward by you, when I have, for ſome time,
enjoyed your company, and pretty well ſatisfied my
longing, upon that account. But, at preſent, I am ſet- 25
ting out for Jeruſalem, going to miniſter to the ſaints
there. For it hath pleaſed thoſe of Macedonia and 26
Achaia, to make a contribution for the poor, among
the ſaints at Jeruſalem. It hath pleaſed them to do 27
ſo, and they are, indeed, their debtors. For, if the
Gentiles have been made partakers of their ſpiritual
things, they are bound, on their ſide, to miniſter to
them, for the ſupport of this temporal life. When, 28
therefore,

NOTES.

17 [a] Τὰ πρὸς Θεὸν, "Things that pertain to God." The ſame phraſe we have Heb. v. 1. where it ſignifies the things, that were offered to God, in the temple-miniſtration. St. Paul, by way of alluſion, ſpeaks of the Gentiles in the foregoing verſe, as an offering to be made to God, and of himſelf, as the prieſt, by whom the ſacrifice, or offering, was to be prepared and offered; and then he here tells them, that he had matter of glorying, in this offering, i. e. that he had had ſucceſs, in converting the Gentiles, and bringing them to be a living, holy, and acceptable ſacrifice to God; an account whereof he gives them, in the four following verſes.

20 [b] See 1 Cor. iii. 10. 2 Cor. x. 16.

21 [c] Iſa. lii. 15.

PARAPHRASE.

therefore, I have diſpatched this buſineſs, and put this
fruit of my labours into their hands, I will come to
29. you in my way to Spain. And I know that, when
I come unto you, I ſhall bring with me, to you
full ſatisfaction, concerning the bleſſedneſs, which
30. you receive by the Goſpel [a] of Chriſt. Now I be-
ſeech you, brethren, by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and
by the love which comes from the ſpirit of God, to
31. join with me in earneſt prayers to God for me, That
I may be delivered from the unbelievers in Judea;
and that the ſervice I am doing the ſaints there, may
32. be acceptable to them. That, if it be the will of
God, I may come to you with joy, and may be re-
33. freſhed together with you. Now the God of peace
be with you all. Amen.

TEXT.

performed this, and have ſealed to them this fruit, I will come, by you, into Spain.

29 And I am ſure that, when I come unto you, I ſhall come in the fulneſs of the bleſſing of the Goſpel of Chriſt.

30 Now I beſeech you, brethren, for the Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, and for the love of the ſpirit, that ye ſtrive, together with me, in your prayers to God for me;

31 That I may be delivered from them that do not believe, in Judea; and that my ſervice, which I have for Jeruſalem, may be accepted of the ſaints.

32 That I may come unto you with joy, by the will of God, and may with you be refreſhed.

33 Now the God of peace be with you all. Amen.

NOTE.

29 [a] He may be underſtood to mean here, that he ſhould be able to ſatisfy them, that, by the Goſpel, the forgiveneſs of ſins was to be obtained. For that he ſhews, chap. iv. 6—9. And they had as much title to it, by the Goſpel, as the Jews themſelves; which was the thing, he had been making out to them, in this epiſtle.

SECT. XV.

CHAP. XVI. 1——27.

CONTENTS.

THE foregoing epiſtle furniſhes us with reaſons to conclude, that the diviſions and offences, that were in the Roman church, were between the Jewiſh and Gentile converts, whilſt the one, over-zealous for the rituals of the law, endeavoured to impoſe circumciſion and other Moſaical rites, as neceſſary to be obſerved, by all that profeſſed Chriſtianity; and the other, without due regard to the weakneſs of the Jews, ſhewed a too open neglect of thoſe their obſervances, which were of ſo great account with them. St. Paul was ſo ſenſible, how much the churches of Chriſt ſuffered, on this occaſion, and ſo careful to prevent this, which was a diſturbance almoſt every where (as may be ſeen in the hiſtory of the Acts, and collected out of the epiſtles) that, after he had finiſhed his diſcourſe to them, (which we may obſerve ſolemnly cloſed, in the end of the foregoing chapter) he here, in the middle of his ſalutations, cannot forbear to caution them againſt the authors and fomenters of theſe diviſions, and that very pathetically, ver. 17——20. All the reſt of this chapter is ſpent, almoſt wholly, in ſalutations. Only the four laſt verſes contain a concluſion, after St. Paul's manner.

PARAPHRASE.

1. I Commend to you Phœbe, our ſiſter, who is a ſer-
2. vant of the church, which is at Kenchrea [a], That
you receive her, for Chriſt's ſake, as becomes Chri-
ſtians, and that you aſſiſt her, in whatever buſineſs ſhe
has

TEXT.

1 I Commend unto you Phœbe our ſiſter, which is a ſervant of the church which is at Cenchrea:

2 That ye receive her, in the

NOTE.

1 [a] Kenchrea was the port to Corinth.

TEXT.

Lord, as becometh ſaints, and that ye aſſiſt her, in whatſoever buſineſs ſhe hath need of you: for ſhe hath been a ſuccourer of many, and of myſelf alſo.

3 Greet Priſcilla and Aquila, my helpers in Chriſt Jeſus:

4 Who have, for my life, laid down their own necks: unto whom not only I gave thanks, but alſo all the churches of the Gentiles.)

5 Likewiſe greet the church that is in their houſe. Salute my well-beloved Epænetus, who is the firſt fruits of Achaia unto Chriſt.

6 Greet Mary, who beſtowed much labour on us.

7 Salute Andronicus and Junia my kinſmen and my fellow-priſoners, who are of note among the apoſtles, who alſo were in Chriſt before me.

8 Greet Amplias, my beloved in the Lord.

9 Salute Urbane, our helper in Chriſt, and Stachys, my beloved.

10 Salute Apelles, approved in Chriſt. Salute them, which are of Ariſtobulus houſhold.

11 Salute Herodion, my kinſman. Greet them, that be of the houſhold of Narciſſus, which are in the Lord.

12 Salute Tryphena and Tryphoſa, who labour in the Lord. Salute the beloved Perſis, which laboured much in the Lord.

13 Salute Rufus, choſen in the Lord, and his mother and mine.

14 Salute Aſyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which are with them.

15 Salute Philologus and Julia, Nereus, and his ſiſter, and Olympas, and all the ſaints, which are with them.

16 Salute one another with an holy kiſs. The churches of Chriſt ſalute you.

17 Now I beſeech you, brethren, mark them which cauſe diviſions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them.

18 For they, that are ſuch, ſerve not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own belly; and, by

PARAPHRASE.

has need of you, for ſhe has aſſiſted[a] many; and me
in particular. Salute Priſcilla and Aquila, my fellow-labourers 3.
in the Goſpel, (Who have, for my life, expoſed 4.
their own to danger, unto whom not only I gave
thanks, but alſo all the churches of the Gentiles.)
Greet alſo the church that is in their houſe. Salute 5.
my well-beloved Epænetus, who is the firſt-fruits of
Achaia unto Chriſt. Greet Mary, who took a great 6.
deal of pains for our ſakes. Salute Andronicus and 7.
Junia, my kinſfolk and fellow-priſoners, who are of
note among the Apoſtles, who alſo were Chriſtians
before me. Greet Amplias, my beloved in the Lord. 8.
Salute Urbane, our helper in Chriſt, and Stachys my 9.
beloved. Salute Apelles approved in Chriſt. Salute 10.
thoſe who are of the houſhold of Ariſtobulus. Salute 11.
Herodion, my kinſman. Salute all thoſe of the houſehold
of Narciſſus, who have embraced the Goſpel.
Salute Tryphena and Tryphoſa, who take pains in 12.
the Goſpel. Salute the beloved Perſis, who laboured
much in the Lord. Salute Rufus, choſen, or ſelected 13.
to be a diſciple of the Lord; and his mother and mine.
Salute Aſyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes, 14.
and the brethren, who are with them. Salute 15.
Philologus, and Julia, Nereus and his ſiſter, and all
the ſaints who are with them. Salute one another with 16.
an holy kiſs. The churches of Chriſt ſalute you.

Now I beſeech you, brethren, mark thoſe who cauſe 17.
diviſions and offences, contrary to the doctrine, which
you have learned, and avoid them. For they ſerve[b] 18.
not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own bellies, and
by

NOTES.

2 [a] Προστάτις, "ſuccourer," ſeems here to ſignify hoſteſs, not in a common inn, for there was no ſuch thing as our inns, in that country; but one, whoſe houſe was the place of lodging and entertainment of thoſe, who were received by the church, as their gueſts, and theſe ſhe took care of. And to that προστάτις, may be very well applied. But, whether St. Paul was induced to make uſe of it here, as ſomewhat correſponding to παραστῆτε, which he uſed in her behalf juſt before, in this verſe, I leave to thoſe, who nicely obſerve St. Paul's ſtyle.

18 [b] Such as theſe we have a deſcription of, Tit. i. 10, 11.

PARAPHRASE.

by good words and fair ſpeeches, inſinuating themſelves, deceive well-meaning, ſimple men. 19. Your converſion and ready compliance with the doctrine of the Goſpel, when it was brought to you, is known in the world[a], and generally talked of: I am glad, for your ſakes, that you ſo forwardly obeyed the Goſpel. But give me leave to adviſe you to be wiſe and cautious in preſerving yourſelves ſteady in what is wiſe and good[b]; but imploy no thought, or ſkill, how to circumvent, or injure another: be in this regard very plain and ſimple.

20. For God, who is the giver and lover of peace, will ſoon rid you of theſe miniſters of Satan[c], the diſturbers of your peace, who made diviſions amongſt you[d]. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you. Amen.

21. Timothy my work-fellow, and Lucius and Jaſon, and Soſipater, my kinſmen, ſalute you. 22. I Tertius, who wrote this epiſtle, ſalute you in the Lord. 23. Gaius mine hoſt, and of the whole church, ſaluteth you. Eraſtus, the chamberlain of the city, ſaluteth you; and Quartus, a brother. 24. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all. Amen.

25. Now, to him that is able to ſettle and eſtabliſh you in an adherence to my[e] Goſpel, and to that which I deliver, concerning Jeſus Chriſt, in my preaching, conformable to the revelation of the[f] myſtery, which lay unexplained in the[g] ſecular times; but now is made

TEXT.

good words and fair ſpeeches, deceive the hearts of the ſimple.

19 For your obedience is come abroad unto all men. I am glad, therefore, on your behalf: but yet I would have you wiſe unto that which is good; and ſimple concerning evil.

20 And the God of peace ſhall bruiſe Satan under your feet ſhortly. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you. Amen.

21 Timotheus my work-fellow, and Lucius, and Jaſon, and Soſipater, my kinſmen, ſalute you.

22 I Tertius, who wrote this epiſtle, ſalute you in the Lord.

23 Gaius mine hoſt, and of the whole church, ſaluteth you. Eraſtus the chamberlain of the city, ſaluteth you, and Quartus, a brother.

24 The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all. Amen.

25 Now to him, that is of power to ſtabliſh you, according to my goſpel, and the preaching of Jeſus Chriſt, (according to the revelation of the myſtery, which was kept ſecret, ſince the world began;

NOTES.

19 [a] See chap. i. 8.

[b] A direction much like this you have, 1 Cor. xiv. 20. and Eph. iv. 13—15.

20 [c] So thoſe who made diviſions in the church of Corinth are called, 2 Cor. xi. 14, 15.

[d] "Shall bruiſe Satan," i. e. ſhall break the force and attempts of Satan, upon your peace, by theſe his inſtruments, who would engage you in quarrels and diſcords.

25 [e] "My Goſpel." St. Paul cannot be ſuppoſed to have uſed ſuch an expreſſion as this, unleſs he knew that, what he preached, had ſomething in it, that diſtinguiſhed it from what was preached by others; which was plainly the myſtery, as he every where calls it, of God's purpoſe, of taking in the Gentiles to be his people, under the Meſſiah, and that without ſubjecting them to circumciſion, or the law of Moſes. This is that, which he calls here τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, "the "preaching of Jeſus Chriſt;" for, without this, he did not think that Chriſt was preached to the Gentiles, as he ought to be: and, therefore, in ſeveral places of his epiſtle to the Galatians, he calls it, "the truth," and, "the truth of the Goſpel;" and uſes the like expreſſions to the Epheſians and Coloſſians. This is that myſtery, which he is ſo much concerned, that the Epheſians ſhould underſtand and ſtick firm to, which was revealed to him, according to that Goſpel, whereof he was made the miniſter; as may be ſeen at large, in that epiſtle, particularly chap. iii. 6, 7. The ſame thing he declares to the Coloſſians, in his epiſtle to them, particularly chap. i. 27——29. and ii. 6—8. For that he, in a peculiar manner, preached this doctrine, ſo as none of the other apoſtles did, may be ſeen Acts xxi. 18—15. Acts xv. 6, 7. For, though the other apoſtles and elders of the church of Jeruſalem had determined, that the Gentiles ſhould only keep themſelves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from ſtrangled, and from fornication; yet it is plain enough from what they ſay, Acts xxi. 20——24. that they taught not, nay, probably did not think, what St. Paul openly declares to the Epheſians, that the law of Moſes was aboliſhed by the death of Chriſt, Eph. ii. 15. Which, if St. Peter and St. James had been as clear in, as was St. Paul, St. Peter would not have incurred his reproof, as he did by his carriage, mentioned Gal. ii. 12, &c. But in all this may be ſeen the wiſdom and goodneſs of God, to both Jews and Gentiles. See note, Eph. ii. 15.

[f] That the myſtery, he here ſpeaks of, is the calling of the Gentiles, may be ſeen in the following words; which is that which, in many of his epiſtles, he calls myſtery. See Eph. i. 9. and iii. 3——9. Col. i. 25——27.

[g] Χρόνοις αἰωνίοις, "in the ſecular times," or in the times under the law. Why the times, under the law, were called χρόνοι αἰώνιοι, we may find a reaſon in their jubilees, which were αἰῶνες, "ſæcula" or "ages," by which all the time, under the law, was meaſured: and ſo χρόνοι αἰώνιοι is uſed 2 Tim. i. 9. Tit. i. 2. And ſo αἰῶνες are put for the times of the law, or the jubilees, Luke i. 70. Acts iii. 21. 1 Cor. ii. 7. and x. 11. Eph. iii. 9. Col. i. 26. Heb. ix. 26. And ſo God is called the

TEXT.

26 But now is made manifeſt, and, by the ſcriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlaſting God, made known to all nations, for the obedience of faith.)

27 To God, only wiſe, be glory, through Jeſus Chriſt, for ever. Amen.

PARAPHRASE.

26. laid open, and, by the writings of the prophets, made known (according to the commandment of the everlaſting God) to the Gentiles of all nations, for the bringing them in, to the obedience of the law of faith.

27. To the only wiſe God be glory, through Jeſus Chriſt, for ever. Amen.

NOTE.

rock עולמים αἰώνων, of ages, Iſa. xxvi. 4. in the ſame ſenſe that he is called the rock of Iſrael, Iſa. xxx. 29. i. e. the ſtrength and ſupport of the Jewiſh ſtate: for 'tis of the Jews, the prophet here ſpeaks. So Exod xxi. 6. לעולם, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ſignifies not, as we tranſlate it, "for ever," but "to the jubilee;" which will appear, if we compare Lev. xxv. 39—41. and Exod. xxi. 2. ſee "Burthogg's Chriſtianity, a revealed myſtery," p. 17, 18. Now, that the times of the law, were the times ſpoken of here, by St. Paul, ſeems plain, from that which he declares to have continued a myſtery, during all thoſe times; to wit, God's purpoſe of taking in the Gentiles, to be his people, under the Meſſiah: for this could not be ſaid to be a myſtery, at any other time, but during the time, that the Jews were the peculiar people of God, ſeparated to him, from among the nations of the earth. Before that time, there was no ſuch name, or notion of diſtinction, as Gentiles. Before the days of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, the calling of the Iſraelites to be God's peculiar people, was as much a myſtery, as the calling of others, out of other nations, was a myſtery afterwards. All, that St. Paul inſiſts on here, and in all the places, where he mentions this myſtery, is to ſhew, that though God has declared this his purpoſe to the Jews, by the predictions of his prophets, amongſt them; yet it lay concealed from their knowledge, it was a myſtery to them; they underſtood no ſuch thing; there was not any where the leaſt ſuſpicion, or thought of it, till the Meſſiah being come, it was openly declared, by St. Paul, to the Jews and Gentiles, and made out by the writings of the prophets, which were now underſtood.

A
PARAPHRASE
AND
NOTES
ON THE
EPISTLE of St. *PAUL*
TO THE
EPHESIANS.

SYNOPSIS.

OUR Saviour had, ſo openly and expreſly, declared, to his diſciples, the deſtruction of the temple, that they could, by no means, doubt of it; nor of this conſequence of it, viz. that the ἔθη, cuſtoms or rites of the moſaical law, as they are called, Acts vi. 14. and xxi. 21. were to ceaſe with it. And this St. Stephen, by what is laid to his charge, Acts vi. 13, 14. ſeems to have taught. And upon this ground, it might very well be, that the Apoſtles and church of Jeruſalem required no more of the convert Gentiles, than the obſervance of ſuch things, as were ſufficient to ſatisfy the Jews, that they were not ſtill heathens and idolaters. But, as for the reſt of the Moſaical rites, they required not the convert Gentiles (to whom the Moſaical law was not given) to obſerve them. This, being a very natural and obvious conſequence, which they could not but ſee, that if, by the deſtruction of the temple and worſhip of the Jews, thoſe rites were ſpeedily to be taken away, they were not obſervances, neceſſary to the people of God, and of perpetual obligation. Thus far, it is plain, the other Apoſtles were inſtructed, and ſatisfied of the freedom of the Gentile-converts from complying with the ritual law. But, whether it was revealed to them, with the ſame clearneſs as it was to St. Paul, that the Jews too, as well as the Gentiles, who were converted to the Chriſtian faith, were diſcharged from their former obligation to the ritual law of Moſes, and freed from thoſe obſervances, may be doubted: becauſe, as we ſee, they had not at all inſtructed their converts of the circumciſion, of their being ſet at liberty from that yoke; which, it is very likely, they would not have forborn to have done, if they had been convinced of it themſelves. For, in all that diſcourſe concerning this queſtion, Acts xv. 1—21. there is not one ſyllable ſaid, of the Jews being diſcharged, by faith in the Meſſiah, from the obſervance of any of the Moſaical rites. Nor does it appear, that the Apoſtles of the circumciſion

ciſion ever taught their diſciples, or ſuggeſted to them, any ſuch thing, which one can ſcarce imagine, they could have neglected, if it had been revealed to them, and ſo given them in charge. It is certain, their converts had never been taught any ſuch thing. For, St. James himſelf acquaints us, Acts xxi. 20. that the "many thouſands, that believed, were all zealous of the law." And what his own opinion, of thoſe rites, was, may be ſeen ver. 24. where he calls keeping this part of the law, "walking orderly:" and he is concerned to have St. Paul thought a ſtrict obſerver thereof. All which could not have been, if it had been revealed to him, as poſitively and expreſly as it was to St. Paul, that all believers in the Meſſiah, Jews as well as Gentiles, were abſolved from the law of Moſes, and were under no obligation, to obſerve thoſe ceremonies any longer, they being now no longer neceſſary to the people of God, in this his new kingdom, erected under the Meſſiah, nor indeed was it neceſſary, that this particular point ſhould have been, from the beginning, revealed to the other Apoſtles, who were ſufficiently inſtructed for their miſſion, and the converſion of their brethren, the Jews, by the Holy Ghoſt bringing to their minds (as was promiſed) all that our Saviour had ſaid unto them, in his life-time here, amongſt them, in the true ſenſe of it. But the ſending them to the Jews with this meſſage, that the law was aboliſhed, was to croſs the very deſign of ſending them; it was to beſpeak an averſion to their doctrine; and to ſtop the ears of the Jews, and turn their hearts from them. But St. Paul, receiving his whole knowledge of the Goſpel, immediately from heaven, by revelation, ſeems to have this particular inſtruction added, to fit him for the miſſion, he was choſen to, and make him an effectual meſſenger of the Goſpel, by furniſhing him preſently, with this neceſſary truth, concerning the ceſſation of the law, the knowledge whereof could not but come in time to the other Apoſtles, when it ſhould be ſeaſonable. Whether this be not ſo, I leave it to be conſidered.

This, at leaſt, is certain, that St. Paul alone, more than all the reſt of the Apoſtles, was taken notice of, to have preached, that the coming of Chriſt put an end to the law, and that, in the kingdom of God, erected under the Meſſiah, the obſervation of the law was neither required, nor availed aught; faith in Chriſt was the only condition of admittance, both for Jew and Gentile, all, who believed, being now equally the people of God, whether circumciſed, or uncircumciſed. This was that, which the Jews, zealous of the law, which they took to be the irrevocable, unalterable charter of the people of God, and the ſtanding rule of his kingdom, could by no means bear. And therefore, provoked by this report of St. Paul, the Jews, both converts as well as others, looked upon him as a dangerous innovator, and an enemy to the true religion, and, as ſuch, ſeized on him in the temple, Acts xxi. upon occaſion whereof it was, that he was a priſoner at Rome, when he writ this epiſtle, where he ſeems to be concerned, leſt now, he, that was the Apoſtle of the Gentiles, from whom alone the doctrine of their exemption from the law had its riſe and ſupport, was in bonds, upon that very account, it might give an opportunity to thoſe judaizing profeſſors of Chriſtianity, who contended that the Gentiles, unleſs they were circumciſed after the manner of Moſes, could not be ſaved, to unſettle the minds, and ſhake the faith of thoſe, whom he had converted. This being the controverſy, from whence roſe the great trouble and danger that, in the time of our Apoſtle, diſturbed the churches, collected from among the Gentiles. That, which chiefly diſquieted the minds, and ſhook the faith of thoſe, who from heatheniſm were converted to Chriſtianity, was this doctrine, that, except the converts from paganiſm were circumciſed, and thereby ſubjected themſelves to the law and the Jewiſh rites, they could have no benefit by the Goſpel, as may be ſeen all through the Acts, and in almoſt all St. Paul's epiſtles. Wherefore, when he heard that the Epheſians ſtood firm in the faith, whereby he means their confidence of their title to the privileges and benefits of the Goſpel, without ſubmiſſion to the law (for the introducing the legal obſervances into the kingdom of the Meſſiah, he declared to be a ſubverſion of the Goſpel, and contrary to the great and glorious deſign of that kingdom) he thanks God for them, and, ſetting forth the gracious and glorious deſign of God towards them,

prays

prays that they may be enlightened, ſo as to be able to ſee the mighty things done for them, and the immenſe advantages they receive by it. In all which he diſplays the glorious ſtate of that kingdom, not in the ordinary way of argumentation and formal reaſoning, which had no place in an epiſtle, writ as this is, all as it were in a rapture, and in a ſtyle far above the plain, didactical way, he pretends not to teach them any thing, but couches all, that he would drop into their minds, in thankſgivings and prayers, which affording a greater liberty and flight to his thoughts, he gives utterance to them, in noble and ſublime expreſſions, ſuitable to the unſearchable wiſdom and goodneſs of God, ſhewn to the world in the work of redemption. This, though perhaps, at firſt ſight, it may render his meaning a little obſcure, and his expreſſions the harder to be underſtood, yet, by the aſſiſtance of the two following epiſtles, which were both writ, whilſt he was in the ſame circumſtances, upon the ſame occaſion, and to the ſame purpoſe, the ſenſe and doctrine of the Apoſtle here may be ſo clearly ſeen, and ſo perfectly comprehended; that there can be hardly any doubt left about it, to any one, who will examine them diligently, and carefully compare them together. The epiſtle to the Coloſſians ſeems to be writ the very ſame time, in the ſame run and warmth of thoughts, ſo that the very ſame expreſſions, yet freſh in his mind, are repeated in many places; the form, phraſe, matter, and all the parts quite through, of theſe two epiſtles, do ſo perfectly correſpond, that one cannot be miſtaken, in thinking one of them very fit to give light to the other. And that to the Philippians, writ alſo by St. Paul, during his bonds at Rome, when attentively looked into, will be found to have the ſame aim with the other two; ſo that, in theſe three epiſtles taken together, one may ſee the great deſign of the Goſpel laid down, as far ſurpaſſing the law, both in glory, greatneſs, comprehenſion, grace, and bounty, and therefore, they were oppoſers, not promoters of the true doctrine of the Goſpel, and the kingdom of God under the Meſſiah, who would confine it to the narrow and beggarly elements of this world, as St. Paul calls the poſitive ordinances of the Moſaical inſtitution. To confirm the Gentile churches, whom he had converted, in this faith which he had inſtructed them in, and keep them from ſubmitting to the Moſaical rites, in the kingdom of Chriſt, by giving them a nobler and more glorious view of the Goſpel, is the deſign of this and the two following epiſtles. For the better underſtanding theſe epiſtles, it might be worth while to ſhew their harmony all through, but this ſynopſis is not a place for it, the following paraphraſe and notes will give an opportunity to point out ſeveral paſſages wherein their agreement will appear.

The latter end of this epiſtle, according to St. Paul's uſual method, contains practical directions and exhortations.

He that deſires to inform himſelf in what is left upon record, in ſacred ſcripture, concerning the church of the Epheſians, which was the Metropolis of Aſia, ſtrictly ſo called, may read the 19th and 20th of the Acts.

SECT. I.

CHAP. I. 1, 2.

CONTENTS.

An. Ch. 63.
NERONIS 9.
CHAP. I.

THESE two verſes contain St. Paul's inſcription, or introduction of this epiſtle; what there is in it remarkable for its difference, from what is to be found in his other epiſtles, we ſhall take notice of in the notes.

An. Ch. 63.
NERONIS 9.

TEXT.

1 PAUL, an apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, by the will of God, to the ſaints which are at Epheſus, and to the faithful in Chriſt Jeſus:

2 Grace be to you, and peace from God our father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

PARAPHRASE.

CHAP. I.

1 PAUL an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, by the declared will and ſpecial appointment of God, to the profeſſors of the Goſpel[a], who are in Epheſus; converts, who ſtand firm in the faith[b] of Chriſt Jeſus: 2 favour and peace be to you from God our father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

NOTES.

1 [a] Τοῖς ἁγίοις, though rightly tranſlated "ſaints," yet it does not mean any other than a national ſanctification, ſuch as the Jews had, by being ſeparated from the Gentiles, and appropriated to God, as his peculiar people, not that every one, that was of the holy nation of the Jews heretofore, or of the holy church of Chriſt, under the Goſpel, were ſaints, in that ſenſe, that the word is uſually taken now among Chriſtians, viz. ſuch perſons, as were every one of them actually in a ſtate of ſalvation.

[b] Πιστοῖς, "faithful." We have obſerved above, that this epiſtle, and that to the Coloſſians, have all through a very great reſemblance; their lineaments do ſo correſpond, that I think they may be twin-epiſtles, conceived and brought forth together, ſo that the very expreſſions of the one occurred freſh in St. Paul's memory, and were made uſe of in the other. Their being ſent by the ſame meſſenger Tychicus, is a farther probability, that they were writ at the ſame time. Πιστοῖς therefore being found in the introduction of both epiſtles, and no one other of St. Paul's, there is juſt reaſon to think, that it was a term ſuited to the preſent notion he had of thoſe, he was writing to, with reference to the buſineſs he was writing about. I take it, therefore, that by, "faithful in Chriſt Jeſus," he means here, ſuch as ſtood firm to Jeſus Chriſt, which he did not count them to do, who made circumciſion neceſſary to ſalvation, and an obſervance of Jewiſh rites a requiſite part of the Chriſtian religion. This is plain from his expreſs words, Gal. v. 1, 2. "Stand "faſt, therefore, in the liberty, wherewith Chriſt hath made us free, and be not intangled again "with the yoke of bondage. Behold I Paul ſay unto you, that if ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall "profit you nothing, &c." And thoſe, that contended for ſubmiſſion to the law, he calls "perverters of the Goſpel of Chriſt," Gal. i. 7. And more to the ſame purpoſe may be ſeen in that epiſtle: we ſhall have an occaſion to confirm this interpretation of the word πιστὸς, "faithful," here, when we come to conſider the import of the word πίστις, "faith," ver. 15. They that would have καὶ "and" not exegetical here, but uſed only to join under the title of "faithful in Chriſt Jeſus," the converts in Aſia, I ſhall deſire, beſides Col. i. 2. to read alſo 1 Cor. i. 2. and thereby judge in what ſenſe they are to underſtand, "and to the faithful in Chriſt Jeſus" here.

SECT. II.

CHAP. I. 3—14.

CONTENTS.

IN this ſection St. Paul thanks God for his grace and bounty to the Gentiles, wherein he ſo ſets forth both God's gracious purpoſe of bringing the Gentiles into his kingdom, under the Meſſiah, and his actual beſtowing on them bleſſings of all kinds, in Jeſus Chriſt, for a complete re-inſtating them in that his heavenly kingdom, that there could be nothing ſtronger ſuggeſted to make the Epheſians, and other Gentile converts, not to think any more of the law, and that much inferior kingdom of his, eſtabliſhed upon the Moſaical inſtitution, and adapted to a little canton of the earth, and a ſmall tribe of men, as now neceſſary to be retained under this more ſpiritual inſtitution, and celeſtial kingdom, erected under Jeſus Chriſt, intended to comprehend men of all nations, and extend itſelf to the utmoſt bounds of the earth, for the greater honour of God, or, as St. Paul ſpeaks, "to the praiſe of the glory of God."

PARAPHRASE.

3. BLeſſed and magnified be the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who has, in and by Jeſus Chriſt [a], furniſhed us [b] Gentiles with all ſorts of bleſſings, that may fit us to be partakers of his heavenly kingdom, without need of any aſſiſtance from
4. the law, According as he choſe us Gentiles, upon Chriſt's account alone [c], before the law was, even before

TEXT.

BLeſſed be the God and father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath bleſſed us with all ſpiritual bleſſings, in heavenly places, in Chriſt: 3

According as he hath choſen us in him, before the 4

NOTES.

3 [a] Ἐν Χριϛῷ, “In Chriſt;” I take to be put here emphatically, and to ſignify the ſame with, “filleth all in all,” v. 23. which is more fully explained, Col. iii. 11. “where there is neither “Greek, nor Jew, circumciſion nor uncircumciſion, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, but “Chriſt is all, and in all.”

[b] “Us.” The right underſtanding of this ſection, and indeed of this whole epiſtle, depends very much on underſtanding aright, who are more eſpecially comprehended under the terms, “us” and “we,” from ver. 3, to 12. For “us,” muſt ſignify either, 1. St. Paul himſelf perſonally; but that the viſible tenor of the diſcourſe at firſt ſight plainly deſtroys: beſides it ſuits not St. Paul'smodeſty to attribute ſo much in particular to himſelf, as is ſpoke of, “us” and “we,” in this ſection; or if we could think he would give himſelf that liberty; yet ver. 12. overturns it all; for ἡμᾶς τȣ̀ς προηλπικότας, “we who firſt truſted in Chriſt,” can by no means be admitted to be ſpoken by St. Paul perſonally of himſelf. Add to this, that in this very chapter, no farther off than ver. 15. St. Paul, ſpeaking of himſelf, ſays, “I,” in the ſingular number; and ſo he does, chap iii. ver. 7, 8. Or,

2. It muſt ſignify believers in general; but that προηλπικότας, joined to it, will not admit, for we, the firſt believers, cannot ſignify we all that are believers, but reſtrains the perſons to ſome ſort of men, that then began to believe, i. e. the Gentiles: and then the next words, ver. 13. have an eaſy and natural connection; we other Gentiles, who firſt believed in Chriſt, in whom alſo ye, the Gentiles alſo of Epheſus, after ye heard, believed. Or,

3. It muſt ſignify the convert Jews. But would it not be ſomewhat prepoſterous for St. Paul ſo much to magnify God's goodneſs and bounty to the Jews in particular, in an epiſtle writ to a church of converted Gentiles: wherein he addreſſes himſelf to the Gentiles, in contra-diſtinction to the Jews, and tells them they were to be made co-partners with them in the kingdom of the Meſſiah, which was opened to them by aboliſhing of the law of Moſes, intimated plainly in this very ſection, ver. 7—10. Wherein he magnifies the riches of the favour of God, to the perſons he is ſpeaking of, under the denomination “us,” in gathering again all things, i. e. men of all ſorts, under Chriſt the head; which could not mean the Jews alone: But of this he ſpeaks more openly afterwards. Farther, “we here,” and “we,” ch. ii. 3. muſt be the ſame, and denote the ſame perſons; but the “we,” ch. ii. 3. can neither be St. Paul alone, nor believers in general, nor Jewiſh converts in particular, as the obvious ſenſe of the place demonſtrates: for neither St. Paul can be called, “we all;” nor is it true that all the convert Jews had their converſation among the Gentiles, as our bible renders the Greek; which, if otherwiſe to be underſtood, is more directly againſt ſignifying the Jews. Theſe, therefore, being excluded from being meant by, “we,” and “us,” here, who can remain to be ſignified thereby, but the convert Gentiles in general? That St. Paul, who was the Apoſtle of the Gentiles, did often, in an obliging manner, join himſelf with the Gentile converts under the terms, us and we, as if he had been one of them, there are ſo many inſtances, that it cannot ſeem ſtrange that he ſhould do ſo in this ſection, Rom. v. 1—11. where it is plain all along under the term, “us,” he ſpeaks of the Gentile converts. And many other paſſages might be brought out of this epiſtle to evince it, chap. i. 11. he ſaith, “we have obtained an inheritance.” Thoſe, we, it is plain, chap. iii. 6. were Gentiles. So chap. ii. 5. “when “we,” i. e. converts of the Gentiles, “were dead in ſins:” for I do not remember that the Jews are any where ſaid, by St. Paul, to be dead in ſins; that is one of the diſtinguiſhing characters of the Gentiles: and there we ſee, in the ſame verſe, “we,” is changed into “ye:” and ſo verſe 6. and 7. having ſpoke of the Gentiles in the firſt perſon, “us,” in the beginning of the next verſe it is changed into “ye,” i. e. “ye Epheſians,” a part of thoſe Gentiles. To this I ſhall add one place more, out of the parallel epiſtle to the Coloſſians, chap. i. 12, 13. where he uſes ἡμᾶς, “us,” for the convert Gentiles, changing the “ye,” in the 10th verſe, to “us,” in the 12th; the matter of giving thanks being the ſame, all along from ver. 3. where it begins, and is repeated here again, ver. 12. i. e. The removing of the Gentiles, out of the kingdom of the Devil and darkneſs, into the kingdom of his beloved ſon: or as he expreſſes it, Eph. i. 6. “Wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved.” And in the ſame ſenſe he uſes ἡμῶν, “us,” Col. ii. 14. For thoſe, that the hand-writing of ordinances was againſt, and contrary to, were the Gentiles, as he declares, Eph. ii. 14, 15. who were kept off from coming to be the people of God, by thoſe ordinances, which were that, wherein the enmity between the Jews and Gentiles conſiſted, and was kept up; which, therefore, Chriſt aboliſhed, to make way for their union into one body, under Chriſt their head. Other paſſages, tending to the clearing of this, we ſhall have occaſion to take notice of, as they occur in the ſequel of this epiſtle.

I [c] Ἐν αὐτῷ, “in him,” i. e. Chriſt: in the former verſe it is εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν Χριϛῷ. Καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ. All which together make up this ſenſe; “as it was in con“ſideration of Chriſt alone, that God heretofore, before the foundation of the world, deſigned “us Gentiles to be his people; ſo now the Meſſiah is come, all the bleſſings and benefits, we

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foundation of the world, that we ſhould be holy, and without blame before him in love:

5 Having predeſtinated us unto the adoption of children, by Jeſus Chriſt, to himſelf, according to the good pleaſure of his will,

6 To the praiſe of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved.

PARAPHRASE.

before the foundation of the world, to be his people [a] under Jeſus the Meſſiah, and to live unblameable lives [b] before him, in all love and affection, [c] to
all the ſaints, or believers, of what nation ſoever;
5. Having pre-determined to take us Gentiles, by Jeſus
Chriſt [d], to be his ſons [e] and people, according to
the good pleaſure of his will [f]. To the end that 6.
the Gentiles too might praiſe him for his grace and mercy to them, and all mankind magnify his glory for his abundant goodneſs to them, by receiving them freely into the kingdom of the Meſſiah, to be his people again, in a ſtate of peace with him [g], barely for the ſake of him, that is his beloved [h]:
In

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"are to receive in his heavenly kingdom, are laid up in him, and to be had only by our faith "and dependence on him, without any reſpect to the law, or any other conſideration."

[a] Ἅγιοι, "ſaints," in St. Paul's epiſtles is known to ſignify, Chriſtians, i. e. ſuch as made profeſſion of the Goſpel, for thoſe were now the people of God.

[b] See in Col. i. 22. this verſe explained, where comparing it with the immediate preceding words, ver. 21. one may find a farther reaſon to take, "us," here, to ſignify the Gentile converts, the ſame thing being applied there ſolely to the Gentile converts of Coloſſe.

[c] "Affection to all the ſaints." That this is the meaning, may be ſeen, ver. 15. where to their true faith in Chriſt, which he was rejoiced with, he joined, τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, "love "unto all the Saints." The very ſame thing, which he takes notice of, in the Coloſſians, in the very ſame words, Col. i. 4. Why love is ſo often mentioned in this epiſtle, as chap. iii. 18. and iv. 2, 15, 16. and v. 2. and vi. 23. we may find a reaſon, chap. ii. 11—22. wherein there is an account given, of the enmity between the Jews and Gentiles, which Chriſt had taken away the cauſe of; and, therefore, the ceaſing of it was one great mark of men's being right in the faith, and of their having true and worthy notions of Chriſt, who had broke down the wall of partition, and opened the kingdom of heaven to all equally, who believed in him, without any the leaſt diſtinction of nation, blood, profeſſion, or religion, that they were of before, all that being now done away, and ſuperſeded by the prince of peace, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous, to make way for a more inlarged and glorious kingdom, ſolely by faith in him, which now made the only diſtinction among men; ſo that all, who agreed in that, were thereby brought to the ſame level, to be all brethren and fellow-members in Chriſt, and the people, or ſons of God, as he ſays in the next verſe.

5 [d] It was not by the obſervances of the law, but by faith alone in Jeſus Chriſt, that God predetermined to take the Gentiles into the ſtate of ſonſhip, or adoption. This was another particular, for which St. Paul bleſſes God, in the name of the Gentiles: the conſideration whereof was fit to raiſe the Epheſians thoughts above the law, and keep them firm in adherence to the liberty of the Goſpel.

[e] Υἱοθεσία, "adoption," or "ſonſhip," belonged only to the Jews, before the coming of the Meſſiah, Rom. ix. iv. For after the nations of the earth had revolted from God, their Lord and Maker, and became ſervants and worſhippers of the devil, God abandoned them to the vaſſalage they had choſen, and owned none of them for his, but the Iſraelites, whom he had adopted to be his children and people. See Exod. iv. 22. Jer. xxxi. 9. Luke i. 54. Which adoption is expreſſed to Abraham in theſe words, Gen. xvii. 7. "I will be a God to thee, and to thy ſeed after thee; "and to the Iſraelites, Exod. vi. 7. I will take you to me for a people, and I will be your God;" and ſo Lev. xxvi. 12. "I will walk amongſt you, and be your God, and ye ſhall be my people:" And ſo we ſee that thoſe whom, Exod. iv. he calls his ſons, he calls, in ſeveral other places, his people, as ſtanding both, when ſpoken nationally, for one and the ſame thing.

[f] "According to the good pleaſure of his will;" ſpoken here in the ſame ſenſe, with what is ſaid Rom. ix. 18, 23, 24. God, under the law, took the nation of Iſrael to be his people, without any merit in them; and ſo it is of his mere good pleaſure, that he even then purpoſed to enlarge his kingdom, under the Goſpel, by admitting all, that of all the nations whatſoever, would come in and ſubmit themſelves, not to the law of Moſes, but to the rule and dominion of his ſon Jeſus Chriſt; and this, as he ſays in the next words, "for the praiſe of the glory of his grace."

[g] See chap. ii. 12—14. Acts xv. 14, &c.

[h] I do not think, that any thing of greater force can be imagined, to raiſe the minds of the Epheſians, above the Jewiſh rituals, and keep them ſteady in the freedom of the Goſpel, than what St. Paul ſays here, viz. That God, before the foundation of the world, freely determined within himſelf, to admit the Gentiles into his kingdom, to be his people, for the manifeſtation of his free grace, all the world over, that all nations might glorify him: and this, for the ſake of his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, who was his beloved, and ſo was chiefly regarded in all this; and, therefore, 'twas to miſtake, or pervert, the end of the Goſpel, and debaſe this glorious diſpenſation, to make it ſubſervient to the Jewiſh ritual, or to ſuppoſe that the law of Moſes was to ſupport, or to be ſupported, by the kingdom of the Meſſiah, which was to be of a larger extent, and ſettled upon
another

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In whom we [a] have redemption by his blood, viz.
7. the forgiveneſs of tranſgreſſions, according to the
8. greatneſs of his grace and favour, Which he has
overflowed in towards us, in beſtowing on us ſo full
a knowledge and comprehenſion of the extent and
deſign of the Goſpel [b], and prudence to comply with
9. it, as becomes you [c]; In that he hath made known
to you the good pleaſure of his will and purpoſe,
which was a [d] myſtery, that he had purpoſed in him-
10. ſelf [e], until the coming of the due time of that diſ-
penſation, wherein he had predetermined to reduce
all things again, both in heaven and earth, under
11. one head [f] in Chriſt; In whom we became his poſ-
ſeſſion

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In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveneſs of ſins, according to the riches of his grace; 7

Wherein he hath abounded towards us in all wiſdom and prudence, 8

Having made known unto us the myſtery of his will, according to his good pleaſure, which he hath purpoſed in himſelf; 9

That, in the diſpenſation of the fulneſs of times, he might gather together in one all things, in Chriſt, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him: 10

In whom alſo we have ob- 11

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another foundation, whereof the Moſaical inſtitution was but a narrow, feint, and typical repreſentation.

[a] "We," does as plainly here ſtand for the Gentile converts, as it is manifeſt it does in the parallel place, Col i. 13, 14.

[b] That by πασῃ σοφια, St. Paul means a comprehenſion of the revealed will of God in the Goſpel, more particularly the myſtery of God's purpoſe of calling the Gentiles, and making out of them a people and inheritance to himſelf in his kingdom, under the Meſſiah, may be perceived by reading and comparing chap. i. 8. Col. i. 9, 10, 28. and ii. 2, 3. which verſes, read with attention to the context, plainly ſhew what St. Paul means here.

[c] That this is the meaning of this verſe, I refer my reader to Col. i. 9, 10.

9 [d] I cannot think that God's purpoſe of calling the Gentiles, ſo often termed a myſtery, and ſo emphatically declared to be concealed from ages, and particularly revealed to himſelf; and as we find, in this epiſtle, where it is ſo called by St. Paul, five times, and four times in that to the Coloſſians, is by chance, or without ſome particular reaſon. The queſtion was, "whether the "converted Gentiles ſhould hearken to the Jews, who would perſuade them, it was neceſſary for "them to ſubmit to circumciſion and the law, or to St. Paul, who had taught them otherwiſe." Now there could be nothing of more force to deſtroy the authority of the Jews, in the caſe, than the ſhewing them, that the Jews knew nothing of the matter, that it was a perfect myſtery to them, concealed from their knowledge, and made manifeſt in God's good time, at the coming of the Meſſiah, and moſt particularly diſcovered to St. Paul, by immediate revelation, to be communicated by him to the Gentiles; who, therefore, had reaſon to ſtick firm to this great truth, and not to be led away from the Goſpel, which he had taught them.

[e] See chap. iii 9.

10 [f] Ἀνακεφαλαιωσασθαι, properly ſignifies, to recapitulate, or recollect, and put together the heads of a diſcourſe. But, ſince that cannot poſſibly be the meaning of this word here, we muſt ſearch for the meaning, which St. Paul gives it here, in the doctrine of the Goſpel, and not in the propriety of the Greek.

1. 'Tis plain in ſacred ſcripture, that Chriſt at firſt, had the rule and ſupremacy over all, and was head over all. See Col. i. 15—17. Heb. i. 8.

2. There are alſo manifeſt indications in ſcripture, that a principal angel, with great numbers of angels, his followers, joining with him, revolted from this kingdom of God, and, ſtanding out in rebellion, erected to themſelves a kingdom of their own, in oppoſition to the kingdom of God, Luke x. 17—20. and had all the heathen world vaſſals and ſubjects of that their kingdom, Luke iv. 5—8. Matt. xii. 26—30. John xii. 31. and xiv. 30. and xvi. 11. Eph. vi. 12. Col. i. 13. Rom. i. 18, &c. Acts xxvi. 18, &c.

3. That Chriſt recovered this kingdom, and was re-inſtated in the ſupremacy and headſhip, in the fulneſs of time (when he came to deſtroy the kingdom of darkneſs, as St. Paul calls it here) at his death and reſurrection. Hence, juſt before his ſuffering, he ſays, John xii. 31. "Now is the "judgment of this world; now ſhall the prince of this world be caſt out." From whence may be ſeen the force of Chriſt's argument, Matt. xii. 28. "If I caſt out devils by the Spirit of God, then "the kingdom of God is come upon you:" For the Jews acknowledged that the Spirit of God, which had been withdrawn from them, was not to be given out again, 'till the coming of the Meſſiah, under whom the kingdom of God was to be erected. See alſo Luke x. 18, 19.

4. What was the ſtate of his power and dominion, from the defection of the angels, and ſetting up the kingdom of darkneſs, 'till his being re-inſtated in the fulneſs of time, there is little revealed in ſacred ſcripture, as not ſo much pertaining to the recovery of men from their apoſtacy, and re-inſtating them in the kingdom of God. 'Tis true, God gathered to himſelf a people, and ſet up a kingdom here on earth, which he maintained in the little nation of the Jews, 'till the ſetting up the kingdom of his Son, Acts i. 3. and ii. 36. which was to take place, as God's only kingdom here on earth, for the future. At the head of this, which is called the church, he ſets Jeſus Chriſt his

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tained an inheritance, being predeſtinated according to the purpoſe of him, who worketh all things, after the counſel of his own will:

12 That we ſhould be to the

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ſeſſion [a] and the lot of his inheritance, being predetermined thereunto, according to the purpoſe of him, 11
who never fails to bring to paſs what he hath purpoſed within himſelf [b]: That we of the Gentiles, 12
who

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Son: but that is not all, for he, having by his death and reſurrection conquered Satan, John xii. 31. and xvi. 11. Col. ii. 15. Heb. ii. 14. Eph. iv. 8. has all power given him in heaven and earth, and is made the head over all things for the church, [Matt. xxviii. 18. and xi. 27. John iii. 35. and xi. 3. Eph. i. 20—22. Heb. i. 2—4. and ii. 9. 1 Cor. xv. 25, 27. Phil. ii. 8—11. Col. ii. 10. Heb. x. 12, 13. Acts ii. 33. and v. 31. In both which places it ſhould be tranſlated, "to the "right hand of God."] Which reinſtating him again, in the ſupreme power, and reſtoring him, after the conqueſt of the devil, to that complete headſhip, which he had over all things, being now revealed under the Goſpel, as may be ſeen, in the texts here quoted, and in other places; I leave to the reader to judge, whether St. Paul might not, probably, have an eye to that, in this verſe, and in his uſe of the word ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι. But to ſearch throughly into this matter (which I have not, in my ſmall reading, found any where ſufficiently taken notice of) would require a treatiſe.

It may ſuffice at preſent, to take notice that this exaltation of his is expreſſed, Phil. ii. 9, 10. by all things in heaven and earth bowing the knee, at his name; which we may ſee farther explained Rev. v. 13. Which acknowledgment of his honour and power, was that, perhaps, which the proud angel that fell, refuſing, thereupon rebelled.

If our tranſlators have rendered the ſenſe of ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι right, by "gather together into "one," it will give countenance to thoſe, who are inclined to underſtand, by "things in heaven "and things on earth," the Jewiſh and Gentile world: for of them St. John plainly ſays, John xi. 52. "That Jeſus ſhould die, not for the nation of the Jews only, but that alſo συναγάγῃ εἰς ἕν, "he ſhould gather together in one, the children of God that were ſcattered abroad," i. e. the Gentiles, that were to believe, and were, by faith, to become the children of God; whereof Chriſt himſelf ſpeaks thus, John x. 16. "Other ſheep I have, which are not of this fold, them alſo I muſt "bring, and they ſhall hear my voice, and there ſhall be one fold, and one ſhepherd." This is the gathering together into one, that our Saviour ſpeaks of, and is that which very well ſuits with the Apoſtle's deſign here, where he ſays in expreſs words, that Chriſt makes τὰ ἀμφότερα ἕν, makes both Jews and Gentiles one, Eph. ii. 14. Now, that St. Paul ſhould uſe heaven and earth, for Jews and Gentiles, will not be thought ſo very ſtrange, if we conſider that Daniel himſelf expreſſes the nation of the Jews by the name of heaven, Dan. viii. 10. Nor does he want an example of it, in our Saviour himſelf, who, Luke xxi. 26. by "powers of heaven," plainly ſignifies the great men of the Jewiſh nation; nor is this the only place, in this epiſtle of St. Paul to the Epheſians, which will bear this interpretation of heaven and earth: he who ſhall read the fifteen firſt verſes of chap. iii. and carefully weigh the expreſſions, and obſerve the drift of the Apoſtle in them, will not find that he does manifeſt violence to St. Paul's ſenſe, if he underſtands by "the family in heaven and earth," ver. 15. the united body of Chriſtians, made up of Jews and Gentiles, living ſtill promiſcuouſly among thoſe two ſorts of people, who continued in their unbelief. However, this interpretation I am not poſitive in; but offer it as matter of inquiry, to ſuch who think an impartial ſearch into the true meaning of the ſacred ſcripture, the beſt employment of all the time they have.

11 [a] So the Greek word ἐκληρώθημεν will ſignify, if taken, as I think it may, in the paſſive voice, i. e. we Gentiles, who were formerly in the poſſeſſion of the devil, are now, by Chriſt, brought into the kingdom, dominion, and poſſeſſion of God again. This ſenſe ſeems very well to agree with the deſign of the place, viz. That the Gentile world had now, in Chriſt, a way opened for their returning into the poſſeſſion of God, under their proper head, Jeſus Chriſt. To which ſuit the words that follow, "that we, who firſt, amongſt the Gentiles," entertained terms of reconciliation by Chriſt, "might be to the praiſe of his glory," i. e. ſo that we of the Gentiles who firſt believed, did, as it were, open a new ſcene of praiſe and glory to God, by being reſtored to be his people, and become again a part of his poſſeſſion; a thing not before underſtood, nor looked for. See Acts xi. 18. and xv. 3, 14—19. The Apoſtle's deſign here being to ſatisfy the Epheſians, that the Gentiles were, by faith in Chriſt, reſtored to all the privileges of the people of God, as far forth as the Jews themſelves. See chap. ii. 11—22. particularly ver. 19. as to ἐκληρώθημεν, it may, I humbly conceive, do no violence to the place, to ſuggeſt this ſenſe, "we "became the inheritance" inſtead of, "we have obtained an inheritance;" that being the way, wherein God ſpeaks of his people, the Iſraelites, of whom he ſays, Deut. xxxii. 9. "The Lord's "portion is his people, Jacob is the lot of his inheritance." See alſo Deut. iv. 20. 1 Kings viii. 51. and other places. And the inheritance, which the Gentiles were to obtain, was to be obtained, we ſee Col. i. 12, 13. by their being tranſlated out of the kingdom of Satan into the kingdom of Chriſt. So that take it either way, that "we have obtained an inheritance," or "we are "become his people and inheritance;" it in effect amounts to the ſame thing, and ſo I leave it to the reader.

[b] i. e. God had purpoſed, even before the taking the Iſraelites to be his people, to take in the Gentiles, by faith in Chriſt, to be his people again: and what he purpoſes, he will do, without aſking the counſel, or conſent of any one; and therefore, you may be ſure of this your inheritance, whether the Jews conſent to it, or no.

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who firſt through Chriſt entertained hope [a], might bring praiſe and glory to God. 13. And ye, Epheſians, are alſo, in Jeſus Chriſt, become God's people and inheritance [b], having heard the word of truth, the good tidings of your ſalvation, and, having believed in him, have been ſealed by the Holy Ghoſt; 14. Which was promiſed, and is the pledge and evidence of being the people of God [c], his inheritance given out [d] for the redemption [e] of the purchaſed poſſeſſion, that ye alſo might bring praiſe and glory to God [f].

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praiſe of his glory, who firſt truſted in Chriſt.

13 In whom ye alſo truſted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the Goſpel of your ſalvation: in whom alſo after that ye believed, ye were ſealed with that holy Spirit of promiſe,

14 Which is the earneſt of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchaſed poſſeſſion, unto the praiſe of his glory.

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12 [a] 'Twas a part of the character of the Gentiles, to be without hope; ſee chap. ii. 12. But when they received the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, then they ceaſed to be aliens from the commonwealth of Iſrael, and became the people of God, and had hope, as well as the Jews; or as St. Paul expreſſes it, in the name of the converted Romans, Rom. v. 2. "We rejoice in hope of "the glory of God." This is another evidence that ἡμᾶς, "we," here, ſtands for the Gentile-converts. That the Jews were not without hope, or without God in the world, appears from that very text, Eph. ii. 12. where the Gentiles are ſet apart under a diſcriminating deſcription, properly belonging to them: the ſacred ſcripture no where ſpeaks of the Hebrew nation, that people of God, as without God, or without hope, the contrary appears every where. See Rom. ii. 17. and xi. 1, 2. Acts xxiv. 15. and xxvi. 6, 7. and xxviii. 20. And therefore, the Apoſtle might well ſay, that thoſe of the Gentiles, who firſt entertained hopes in Chriſt, were "to the "praiſe of the glory of God." All mankind having thereby, now, a new and greater ſubject of praiſing and glorifying God, for this great and unſpeakable grace and goodneſs to them, of which before they had no knowledge, no thought, no expectation.

13 [b] Ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ſeems, in the tenor and ſcheme of the words, to refer to ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐκληρώθημεν, ver. 11. St. Paul making a parallel here, between thoſe of the Gentiles, that firſt believed, and the Epheſians, tells them, that as thoſe, who heard and received the Goſpel before them, became the people of God, &c. to the praiſe and glory of his name; ſo they, the Epheſians, by believing, became the people of God, &c. to the praiſe and glory of his name, only in this verſe there is an ellipſis of ἐκληρώθητε.

14 [c] The Holy Ghoſt was neither promiſed, nor given to the heathen, who were apoſtates from God, and enemies; but only to the people of God; and therefore, the convert Epheſians, having received it, might be aſſured thereby, that they were now the people of God, and reſt ſatisfied in this pledge of it.

[d] The giving out of the Holy Ghoſt, and the gift of miracles, was the great means, whereby the Gentiles were brought to receive the Goſpel, and become the people of God.

[e] "Redemption," in ſacred ſcripture, ſignifies not always ſtrictly paying a ranſom for a ſlave, delivered from bondage, but deliverance from a ſlaviſh eſtate, into liberty: So God declares to the children of Iſrael in Egypt, Exod. vi. 6. "I will redeem you with a ſtretched-out arm." What is meant by it, is clear from the former part of the verſe, in theſe words, "I will bring you out, "from under the burden of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage." And, in the next verſe, he adds, "and I will take you to me for my people, and I will be to you a God:" the very caſe here. As God, in the place cited, promiſed to deliver his people out of bondage, under the word, "redeem;" ſo Deut. vii. 8. he telleth them, that he "had brought them out, with "a mighty hand, and redeemed them out of the houſe of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh, "king of Egypt:" which redemption was performed by God, who is called the Lord of hoſts their Redeemer, without the payment of any ranſom. But here there was περιποίησις, a purchaſe, and what the thing purchaſed was, we may ſee, Acts xx. 28. viz. "the church of God, ἣν "περιεποιήσατο, which he purchaſed with his own blood," to be a people, that ſhould be the Lord's portion, and the lot of his inheritance, as Moſes ſpeaks of the children of Iſrael, Deut. xxxii. 9. And hence St. Peter calls the Chriſtians, 1 Pet. ii. 9. λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, which in the margin of our bible is rightly tranſlated, "a purchaſed people:" but if any one takes ἐκληρώθημεν, ver. 11. to ſignify, "we have obtained an inheritance," then κληρονομία, in this verſe, will ſignify "that inheritance," and εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως, "until the redemption of that purchaſed "inheritance," i. e. until the redemption of our bodies, viz. reſurrection unto eternal life. But, beſides that this ſeems to have a more harſh and forced ſenſe, the other intrepretation is more conſonant to the ſtyle and current of the ſacred ſcripture, and (which weighs more with me) anſwers St. Paul's deſign here, which is to eſtabliſh the Epheſians, in a ſettled perſuaſion, that they, and all the other Gentiles that believed in Chriſt, were as much the people of God, his lot, and his inheritance, as the Jews themſelves, and equally partakers with them, of all the privileges and advantages belonging thereunto, as is viſible by the tenor of the ſecond chapter. And this is the uſe St. Paul mentions, of God's ſetting his ſeal, 2 Tim. ii. 19. that it might mark who are his: And accordingly we find it applied, Rev. vii. 3. to the foreheads of his ſervants, that they might be known to be his, chap. iv. 1. For ſo did thoſe who purchaſed ſervants, as it were take poſſeſſion of them, by ſetting their marks on their foreheads.

[f] As he had declared, ver. 6, and 12. that the other Gentiles, by believing and becoming the people of God, enhanced thereby the praiſe and glory of his grace and goodneſs; ſo here, ver. 14. he

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CHAP. I. 15——II. 10.

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HAving, in the foregoing ſection, thanked God for the great favours and mercies which, from the beginning, he had purpoſed for the Gentiles, under the Meſſiah, in ſuch a deſcription of that deſign of the Almighty, as was fit to raiſe their thoughts above the law, and, as St. Paul calls them, beggarly elements of the Jewiſh conſtitution, which was nothing, in compariſon of the great and glorious deſign of the Goſpel, taking notice of their ſtanding firm in the faith, he had taught them, and thanking God for it, he here, in this, prays God, that he would enlighten the minds of the Epheſian converts, to ſee fully the great things, that were actually done for them, and the glorious eſtate, they were in, under the Goſpel, of which, in this ſection, he gives ſuch a draught, as in every part of it ſhews, that, in the kingdom of Chriſt, they are ſet far above the Moſaical rites, and enjoy the ſpiritual and incomprehenſible benefits of it, not by the tenure of a few outward ceremonies: but by their faith, alone, in Jeſus Chriſt, to whom they are united, and of whom they are members, who is exalted to the top of all dignity, dominion, and power, and they with him, their head.

TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.
15 WHerefore I alſo, after I heard of your faith in	WHerefore I alſo, here, in my confinement, having heard [a] of the continuance of your faith in 15.

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he pronounces the ſame thing of the Epheſians, in particular, to whom he is writing, to poſſeſs their minds with the ſenſe of the happy eſtate they were now in, by being Chriſtians; for which he thanks God, ver. 3. and here again in the next words.

15 [a] Ἀκούσας τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ, "Wherefore I alſo after I heard of your faith in "the Lord Jeſus." St. Paul's hearing of their faith, here mentioned, cannot ſignify his being informed, that they had received the Goſpel, and believed in Chriſt; this would have looked impertinent for him to have told them, ſince he himſelf had converted them, and had lived a long time amongſt them, as has been already obſerved. We muſt, therefore, ſeek another reaſon of his mentioning his hearing of their faith, which muſt ſignify ſomething elſe, than his being barely acquainted that they were Chriſtians, and this we may find in theſe words, chap. iii. 13. "Wherefore I deſire that ye faint not, at my tribulations for you." He, as Apoſtle of the Gentiles, had alone preached up freedom from the law, which the other Apoſtles, who had not that province (ſee Gal. ii. 9.) in their converting the Jews, ſeem to have ſaid nothing of, as is plain from Acts xxi. 20, 21. It was upon account of his preaching, that the Chriſtian converts were not under any ſubjection to the obſervances of the law, and that the law was aboliſhed, by the death of Chriſt, that he was ſeized at Jeruſalem, and ſent as a criminal to Rome, to be tried for his life; where he was now a priſoner. He being, therefore, afraid that the Epheſians, and other convert Gentiles, ſeeing him thus under perſecution, in hold, and in danger of death, upon the ſcore of his being the preacher, and zealous propagator and miniſter of this great article of the Chriſtian faith, which ſeemed to have had its riſe and defence, wholly from him, might give it up, and not ſtand firm in the faith, which he had taught them, was rejoiced, when in his confinement he heard, that they perſiſted ſtedfaſt in that faith, and in their love to all the ſaints, i. e. as well as the convert Gentiles, that did not, as thoſe Jews, that did, conform to the Jewiſh rites. This I take to be the meaning of his hearing of their faith, here mentioned, and conformably hereunto, chap. vi. 19, 20. he deſires their prayers, "that he may with boldneſs preach the my"ſtery of the Goſpel, of which he is the ambaſſador in bonds." This myſtery of the Goſpel, it is plain from chap. i. 9, &c. and chap. iii. 3——7. and other places, was God's gracious purpoſe of taking the Gentiles, as Gentiles, to be his people, under the Goſpel. St. Paul, whilſt he was a priſoner at Rome, writ to two other churches, that at Philippi, and that at Coloſs: to the Coloſſians, chap. i. 4. he uſes, almoſt verbatim, the ſame expreſſion that he does here, "having "heard of your faith in Chriſt Jeſus, and of your love, which ye have to all the ſaints;" he gives thanks to God, for their knowing and ſticking to the grace of God in truth, which had been taught them by Epaphras, who had informed St. Paul of this, and their affection to him, whereupon he expreſſes his great concern, that they ſhould continue in that faith, and not be drawn away to judaizing, which may be ſeen from ver. 14. of this chapter, to the end of the ſecond. So that "the hearing of their faith," which he ſays, both to the Epheſians and Coloſſians, is not his

PARAPHRASE.

in Chriſt Jeſus, and your love to all the ſaints [a],
16. ceaſe not to give thanks for you, making mention
17. of you in my prayers; that the God of our Lord
Jeſus Chriſt, the father of glory [b], would endow
your ſpirts with wiſdom [c], and revelation [d], Where-
18. by you may know him; and enlighten the eyes of
your underſtandings, that you may ſee what hopes
his calling you to be Chriſtians carries with it, and
what

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the Lord Jeſus, and love unto all the ſaints,

16 Ceaſe not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers;

17 That the God of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the father of glory, may give unto you the ſpirit of wiſdom and revelation, in the knowledge of him:

18 The eyes of your underſtanding being enlightned; that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and

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his being told, that they were Chriſtians, by their continuing in the faith, they were converted to and inſtructed in, viz. That they became the people of God, and were admitted into his kingdom, only by faith in Chriſt, without ſubmittting to the Moſaical inſtitution, and legal obſervances, which was the thing, he was afraid they ſhould be drawn to, either through any deſpondency in themſelves, or importunity of others, now that he was removed from them, and in bonds, and thereby give up that truth and freedom of the Goſpel, which he had preached to them.

To the ſame purpoſe he writes to the Philippians, chap. i. 3—5. telling them that he gave "thanks to God," ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνείᾳ ἀυτῶν, upon every mention was made of them, upon every account he received of their continuing in the fellowſhip and profeſſion of the Goſpel, as it had been taught them by him, without changing, or wavering at all, which is the ſame with "hearing of their faith," and that thereupon he prays, amongſt other things, chiefly that they might be kept from judaizing, as appears, ver. 27, 28. where the thing, he deſired to hear of them, was, "that they ſtood firm in one ſpirit, and one mind, jointly contending for the faith of the Goſpel; in nothing ſtartled by thoſe, who are oppoſers;" ſo the words are, and not "their adverſaries." Now there was no party, at that time, who were in oppoſition to the Goſpel, which St. Paul preached, and with whom the convert Gentiles had any diſpute, but thoſe, who were for keeping up circumciſion, and the Jewiſh rites, under the goſpel. Theſe were they, whom St. Paul apprehended, alone, as likely to affright the convert Gentiles, and make them ſtart out of the way from the Goſpel, which is the proper import of πτυρόμενοι. Though this paſſage clearly enough indicates what it was, that he was, and ſhould always be, glad to hear of them; yet he more plainly ſhews his apprehenſion of danger to them, to be from the contenders for Judaiſm, in the expreſs warning he gives them, againſt that ſort of men, chap. iii. 2, 3. So that, this hearing, which he mentions, is the hearing of theſe three churches perſiſting firmly in the faith of the Goſpel, which he had taught them, without being drawn at all towards judaizing. It was that, for which St. Paul gave thanks, and it may reaſonably be preſumed, that, if he had writ to any other churches of converted Gentiles, whilſt he was a priſoner at Rome, upon the like carriage of theirs, ſomething of the ſame kind would have been ſaid to them. So that the great buſineſs of theſe three epiſtles, written during his being a priſoner at Rome, was to explain the nature of the kingdom of God under the Meſſiah, from which the Gentiles were now no longer ſhut out, by the ordinances of the law; and confirm the churches, in the belief it. St. Paul, being choſen and ſent by God, to preach the Goſpel to the Gentiles, had, in all his preaching, ſet forth the largeneſs and freedom of the kingdom of God, now laid open to the Gentiles, by taking away the wall of partition, that kept them out. This made the Jews his enemies; and, upon this account, they had ſeized him, and he was now a priſoner at Rome. Fearing that the Gentiles might be wrought upon, to ſubmit to the law, now that he was thus removed, or ſuffering for this Goſpel, he tells theſe three churches, that he rejoices at their ſtanding firm in the faith, and thereupon writes to them to explain and confirm to them the kingdom of God under the Meſſiah, into which all men now had an entrance, by faith in Chriſt, without any regard to the terms, whereby the Jews were formerly admitted. The ſetting forth the largeneſs and free admittance into this kingdom, which was ſo much for the glory of God, and ſo much ſhewed his mercy and bounty to mankind, that he makes it, as it were, a new creation, is, I ſay, plainly the buſineſs of theſe three epiſtles, which tend all viſibly to the ſame thing, that any one, that reads them, cannot miſtake the Apoſtle's meaning, they giving ſuch a clear light one to another.

15 [a] "All the ſaints." One finds in the very reading of theſe words, that the word [all] is emphatical here, and put in, for ſome particular reaſon. I can, I confeſs, ſee no other but this, viz. That they were not, by the judaizers, in the leaſt drawn away from their eſteem and love of thoſe, who were not circumciſed, nor obſerved the Jewiſh rites; which was a proof to him, that they ſtood firm in the faith and freedom of the Goſpel, which he had inſtructed them in.

17 [b] "Father of glory:" an Hebrew expreſſion, which cannot well be changed, ſince it ſignifies his being glorious himſelf, being the fountain from whence all glory is derived, and to whom all glory is to be given. In all which ſenſes, it may be taken here, where there is nothing that appropriates it, in peculiar, to any of them.

[c] "Wiſdom," is viſibly uſed here for a right conception and underſtanding of the Goſpel. See note, ver. 8.

[d] "Revelation," is uſed by St. Paul, not always for immediate inſpiration, but as it is meant here, and in moſt other places, for ſuch truths, which could not have been found out by human reaſon,

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what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the ſaints,

19 And what is the exceeding greatneſs of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power;

20 Which he wrought in Chriſt, when he raiſed him from the dead, and ſet him at his own right hand, in the heavenly places.

21 Far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this

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what an abundant glory it is to the ſaints, to become
his people, and the lot of his inheritance; And what 19.
an exceeding great power he has employed upon us [a],
who believe; A power correſponding to that mighty 20.
power, which he exerted in the raiſing Chriſt from
the dead, and in ſetting him next to himſelf, over
all things, relating to his heavenly kingdom [b]; Far 21.
above all principality, and power, and might, and
dominion [c], and any other, either man or angel, of
greater dignity and excellency, that we may come
to be acquainted with, or hear the names of, either
in

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but had their firſt diſcovery from revelation, though men afterwards come to the knowledge of thoſe truths, by reading them in the ſacred ſcripture, where they are ſet down, for their information.

19 [a] "Us," here, and "you," chap. ii. 1. and "us," chap. ii. 5. it is plain ſignify the ſame, who being dead, partook of the energy of that great power, that raiſed Chriſt from the dead, i. e. the convert Gentiles, and all thoſe glorious things he, in ver. 18—23. intimates to them, by praying they may ſee them, he here in this 19th verſe tells, is beſtowed on them, as believers, and not as obſervers of the Moſaical rites.

20 [b] Ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, "in heavenly places," ſays our tranſlation, and ſo ver. 3. but poſſibly the margin reading, "things," will be thought the better, if we compare ver. 22. He ſet him at his right hand, i. e. transferred on him his power; ἐν ἐπουρανίοις, i. e. in his heavenly kingdom; that is to ſay, ſet him at the head of his heavenly kingdom, ſee ver. 22. This kingdom, in the Goſpel, is called indifferently, Βασιλεῖα Θεοῦ, "the kingdom of God;" and Βασιλεῖα τῶν οὐρανῶν, "the "kingdom of heaven." God had before, a kingdom and people of this world, viz. that kingdom, which he erected to himſelf, of the Jews, ſelected and brought back to himſelf, out of the apoſtatized maſs of revolted and rebellious mankind: with this his people he dwelt, among them he had his habitation, and ruled as their king, in a peculiar kingdom; and, therefore, we ſee that our Saviour calls the Jews, Matt. viii. 12. "the children of the kingdom." But that kingdom, though God's, was not yet βασιλεῖα τῶν οὐρανῶν, "the kingdom of heaven," that came with Chriſt: See Matt. iii. 2. and x. 7. That was but ἐπίγειος, "of the earth," compared to this ἐπουράνιος, "heavenly kingdom" which was to be erected under Jeſus Chriſt; and, with that ſort of diſtinction, our Saviour ſeems to ſpeak and uſe thoſe words ἐπίγεια, "earthly," and ἐπουράνια, "heavenly," John iii. 12. In his diſcourſe there, with Nicodemus, he tells them, "unleſs a man were "born again, he could not ſee the kingdom of God." This being born again ſtuck with Nicodemus, which Chriſt reproaches him with, ſince, being a teacher in Iſrael, he underſtood not that, which belonged to the Jewiſh conſtitution, wherein to be baptized, for admittance into that kingdom, was called and counted to be born again; and therefore ſays, if, having ſpoken to you ἐπίγεια, things relating to your own, earthly conſtitution, you comprehend me not, how ſhall you receive what I ſay, if I ſpeak to you, τὰ ἐπουράνια, heavenly things, i. e. of that kingdom, which is purely heavenly? And according to this, St. Paul's words here, Eph. i. 10. τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, (which occur again, chap. iii. 15. Col. i. 16, 20.) may perhaps not unfitly be interpreted, "of the ſpiritual, heavenly kingdom of God;" and that alſo, of the more earthly one of the Jews, whoſe rites and poſitive inſtitutions St. Paul calls "elements of the world," Gal. iv. 3. Col. ii. 8. which were both, at the coming of the Meſſiah, conſolidated into one, and together re-eſtabliſhed under one head, Chriſt Jeſus. The whole drift of this, and the two following chapters, being to declare the union of Jews and Gentiles, into one body, under Chriſt, the head of the heavenly kingdom. And he that ſedately compares Eph. ii. 16. with Col. i. 20. (in both which places it is evident, the Apoſtle ſpeaks of the ſame thing, viz. God's reconciling of both Jews and Gentiles, by the croſs of Chriſt) will ſcarce be able to avoid thinking, that "things in heaven, and things on earth," ſignify the people of the one, and the other of theſe kingdoms.

21 [c] Theſe abſtract names are frequently uſed, in the new teſtament, according to the ſtyle of the eaſtern languages, for thoſe veſted with power and dominion, &c. and that not only here on earth, among men, but in heaven, among ſuperior beings: and ſo often are taken to expreſs ranks and degrees of angels: and, though they are generally agreed to do ſo here, yet there is no reaſon to exclude earthly potentates, out of this text, when πάσης neceſſarily includes them; for that men in power, are one ſort of ἀρχαὶ and ἐξουσίαι, in a ſcripture-ſenſe, our Saviour's own words ſhew, Luke xii. 11. and xx. 2. Beſides the Apoſtle's chief aim here, being to ſatisfy the Epheſians, that they were not to be ſubjected to the law of Moſes, and the government of thoſe, who ruled by it, but they were called to be of the kingdom of the Meſſiah: it is not to be ſuppoſed, that here, where he ſpeaks of Chriſt's exaltation, to a power and dominion paramount to all other, he ſhould not have an eye to that little and low government of the Jews, which it was beneath the ſubjects of ſo glorious a kingdom, as that of Jeſus Chriſt, to ſubmit themſelves to. And this the next words do farther enforce.

An. Ch. 63.
Neronis 9.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. I. 22. in this world, or the world to come. And hath put all things in ſubjection to him, and him, inveſted with a power over all things, he hath conſtituted
23. head of the church, Which is his body, which is completed by him alone [a], from whom comes all, that gives any thing of excellency and perfection, to any of the members of the church: where to be a Jew, or a Greek, circumciſed, or uncircumciſed, a Barbarian, or a Scythian, a ſlave, or a freeman, matters not; but to be united to him, to partake of his influence and ſpirit, is all in all.

Chap. II. 1. And [b] you, alſo being dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, In

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world, but alſo in that which is to come:

22 And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church,

23 Which is his body, the fulneſs of him that filleth all in all.

1 And you hath he quickened who were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins,

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23 [a] Πλήρωμα, "fulneſs," here, is taken in a paſſive ſenſe, for a thing to be filled, or completed, as appears by the following words, "of him that filleth all in all," i. e. it is Chriſt the head, who perfecteth the church, by ſupplying and furniſhing all things to all the members, to make them what they are, and ought to be, in that body. See chap. v. 18. Col. ii. 10. and iii. 10, 11.

1 [b] Καὶ, "and," gives us here the thread of St. Paul's diſcourſe, which is impoſſible to be underſtood, without ſeeing the train of it; without that view, it would be like a rope of gold duſt, all the parts would be excellent, and of value, but would ſeem heaped together, without order, or connexion. This "and," here, it is true, ties the parts together, and points out the connexion and coherence of St. Paul's diſcourſe; but yet it ſtands ſo far from ἐκάθισεν, "ſet," in ver. 20. of the foregoing chapter; and συνεζωοποίησε, "quickened," ver. 5. of this chapter, which are the two verbs it copulates together; that by one, not acquainted with St. Paul's ſtyle, it would ſcarce be obſerved or admitted, and therefore it may not be amiſs, to lay it in its due light, ſo as to be viſible to an ordinary reader. St. Paul, v. 18—20. prays that the Epheſians may be ſo enlightened, as to ſee the great advantages, they received by the Goſpel: thoſe that he ſpecifies are theſe; 1. What great hopes it gave them. 2. What an exceeding glory accompanied the inheritance of the ſaints. 3. The mighty power, exerted by God on their behalf, which bore ſome proportion to that, which he employed in the raiſing Chriſt from the dead, and placing him at his right hand: upon the mention of which, his mind, being full of that glorious image, he lets his pen run into a deſcription of the exaltation of Chriſt; which laſts to the end of that chapter, and then reaſſumes the thread of his diſcourſe; which in ſhort ſtands thus; "I pray God, that the eyes of "your underſtandings may be enlightened, that you may ſee the exceeding great power of God, "which is employed upon us who believe: [κατα την] correſponding to that energy, wherewith "he raiſed Chriſt from the dead, and ſeated him at his right hand; for ſo alſo has he raiſed you, "who were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins: us, I ſay, who were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, has he "quickened, and raiſed together with Chriſt, and ſeated together with him in his heavenly king"dom." This is, in ſhort, the train and connexion of his diſcourſe from chap. i. 18. to ii. 5. though it be interrupted by many incident thoughts; which, as his manner is, he enlarges upon by the way, and then returns to the thread of his diſcourſe. For here again, in this firſt verſe of the ſecond chapter, we muſt obſerve, that, having mentioned their being dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, he enlarges upon that forlorn eſtate of the Gentiles before their converſion; and then comes to what he deſigned, that God out of his great goodneſs, quickned, raiſed, and placed them together with Chriſt, in his heavenly kingdom. In all which it is plain, he had more regard to the things he declared to them, than to a nice, grammatical conſtruction of his words: for 'tis manifeſt ϗ "and," ver. 1. and ϗ "and," ver. 5. copulate συνεζωοποίησε, "quickened," with ἐκάθισεν, "ſet," ver. 20. of the foregoing chapter, which the two following words, ver. 6. make evident, ϗ συνήγειρε ϗ συνεκάθισεν ἐν ἐπουρανίοις, "and hath raiſed up together, and hath made ſit together in heavenly "places." St. Paul, to diſplay the great power and energy of God, ſhewed toward the Gentiles, in bringing them into his heavenly kingdom, declares it to be κατὰ τὴν ἐνεργείαν, proportionable to that power, wherewith he raiſed Jeſus from the dead, and ſeated him at his right hand. To expreſs the parallel, he keeps to the parallel terms concerning Chriſt; he ſays, chap. i. 20. ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ϗ ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, "raiſing him from the dead, and "ſet him at his own right hand, in heavenly places." Concerning the Gentile converts his words are, chap. ii. ver. 5, 6. ϗ ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι, συνεζωοποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ, ϗ συνήγειρε ϗ συνεκάθισεν ἐν ἐπουρανίοις, "and us being dead in treſpaſſes, he hath quickned together with Chriſt, "and hath raiſed us up together, and made us ſit together in heavenly places." It is alſo viſible that, ὑμᾶς, "you," v. 1. and ἡμᾶς, "us," v. 5. are both governed by the verb συνεζωοποίησε, "quickned "together, ver. 5. though the grammatical conſtruction be ſomewhat broken, but is repaired in the ſenſe, which lies thus, "God, by his mighty power, raiſed Chriſt from the dead; by the like "mighty power you, Gentiles of Epheſus, being dead in treſpaſſes and ſins; what do I ſay, you "of Epheſus? nay, us all, converts of the Gentiles, being dead in treſpaſſes, has he quickned and "raiſed from the dead. You Epheſians, were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, in which you walked "according to the courſe of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the ſpirit "that

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TEXT.

2 Wherein, in time paſt, ye walked, according to the courſe of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the ſpirit that now worketh in the children of diſobedience.

3 Among whom alſo we all had our converſation in times paſt, in the luſts of our fleſh, fulfilling the deſires of the fleſh, and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others.

4 But God, who is rich in

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2 In which you Gentiles, before you were converted to the Goſpel, walked, according to the ſtate and conſtitution of this world [a], conforming yourſelves to the will and pleaſure of the prince of the power of the air [b], the ſpirit that now yet poſſeſſes and works [c] in the children of diſobedience [d].
3 Of which number even we all having formerly been [e], lived in the luſts of our fleſh, fulfilling the deſires thereof, and of our blinded perverted mind [f].
4 But [g] God, who is rich in

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"that yet worketh in the children of diſobedience, and ſo were we, all the reſt of us, who are "converted from Gentiliſm; we, all of us, of the ſame ſtamp and ſtrain, involved in the ſame "converſation, living, heretofore, according to the luſts of our fleſh, to which we were perfectly "obedient, doing what our carnal wills and blinded minds directed us, being then no leſs children "of wrath, no leſs liable to wrath and puniſhment, than thoſe, that remain ſtill children of diſ-"obedience, i. e. unconverted; but God, rich in mercy, for his great love, wherewith he loved "us, hath quickned us all, being dead in treſpaſſes, (for 'tis by grace ye are ſaved) and raiſed us, "&c." This is St. Paul's ſenſe, drawn out more at length, which, in his compendious way of writing, wherein he crowds many ideas together, as they abounded in his mind, could not eaſily be ranged under rules of grammar. The promiſcuous uſe St. Paul here makes of "we" and "you," and his ſo eaſy changing one into the other, plainly ſhews, as we have already obſerved, that they both ſtand for the ſame ſort of perſons, i. e. Chriſtians, that were formerly pagans, whoſe ſtate and life, whilſt they were ſuch, he here expreſly deſcribes.

2 [a] Ἀιὼν may be obſerved, in the new teſtament, to ſignify the laſting ſtate and conſtitution of things, in the great tribes, or collections of men, conſidered in reference to the kingdom of God; whereof there were two moſt eminent, and principally intended, if I miſtake not, by the word αἰῶνες, when that is uſed alone, and that is ὁ νῦν αἰων, "this preſent world," which is taken for that ſtate of the world, wherein the children of Iſrael were his people, and made up his kingdom upon earth, the Gentiles, i. e. all the other nations of the world, being in a ſtate of apoſtacy and revolt from him, the profeſſed vaſſals and ſubjects of the devil, to whom they paid homage, obedience, and worſhip: and αἰὼν μέλλων, "the world to come," i. e. the time of the Goſpel, wherein God, by Chriſt, broke down the partition-wall between Jew and Gentile, and opened a way for reconciling the reſt of mankind, and taking the Gentiles again into his kingdom under Jeſus Chriſt, under whoſe rule he had put it.

[b] In theſe words St. Paul points out the devil, the prince of the revolted part of the creation, and head of that kingdom, which ſtood in oppoſition to, and was at war with, the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt.

[c] Ἐνεργῦντος is the proper term, whereby, in the Greek, is ſignified the poſſeſſion and acting of any perſon by an evil ſpirit.

[d] "Children of diſobedience," are thoſe of the Gentiles, who continued ſtill in their apoſtacy, under the dominion of Satan, who ruled and acted them, and returned not from their revolt, deſcribed, Rom. i. 18, &c. into the kingdom of God, now that Jeſus Chriſt had opened an entrance into it, to all thoſe, who diſobeyed not his call; and thus they are called, chap. v. 6.

3 [e] Ἐν οἷς cannot ſignify, "amongſt whom we alſo all had our converſation:" for if ἡμεῖς, "we," ſtands for either the converted Jews, or converts in general, it is not true. If "we," ſtands (as is evident it doth) for the converted Gentiles, of what force, or tendency is it for the apoſtle to ſay we, the converted Gentiles, heretofore lived among the unconverted Gentiles? But it is of great force, and to his purpoſe, in magnifying the free grace of God to them, to ſay, "we of the Gen-"tiles, who are now admitted to the kingdom of God, were formerly of that very ſort of men, "in whom the prince of the power of the air ruled, leading lives in the luſts of our fleſh, obeying "the will and inclinations thereof, and ſo as much expoſed to the wrath of God, as thoſe who "ſtill remain in their apoſtacy under the dominion of the devil.

[f] This was the ſtate, that the Gentile world were given up to. See Rom. i. 21, 24. Parallel to this 3d verſe of this 2d chapter, we have a paſſage in chap. iv. 17——20. of this ſame epiſtle, where καθῶς ϗ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη, "even as the other Gentiles," plainly anſwers ὡς ϗ οἱ λοιποὶ,, "even "as the others," here and ἐν ματαιότητι τῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν, ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοία, "in the vanity of their "minds, having their underſtandings darkned," anſwers, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν, ποιῦντες τὰ θελήματα τῆς σαρκὸς ϗ τῶν διανοιῶν, "in the luſts of our fleſh, fulfilling the deſires of the fleſh and "of the mind." He that compares theſe places, and conſiders that, what is ſaid in the fourth chapter, contains the character of the Gentile world, of whom it is ſpoken; I ſay, he that reads and conſiders theſe two places well together, and the correſpondency between them, cannot doubt of the ſenſe, I underſtand this verſe in; and that St. Paul here, under the terms, "we" and "our," ſpeaks of the Gentile converts.

4 [g] Ὁ δὲ, "But," connects this verſe admirably well, with the immediately preceding, which makes the parts of that incident diſcourſe cohere, which ending in this verſe, St. Paul, in the beginning

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PARAPHRASE.

Chap. II. in mercy[a], through his great love, wherewith he
5. loved us, Even us, Gentiles, who were dead[b] in treſ-
paſſes, hath he quickened[c], together with Chriſt,
6. (by grace ye are ſaved) And hath raiſed[d] us up to-
gether with Chriſt, and made us partakers in and
with Jeſus Chriſt, of the glory and power of his hea-
venly kingdom, which God has put into his hands,
7. and put under his rule: That, in the ages[e] to come,
he might ſhew the exceeding riches of his grace,
in his kindneſs towards us, through Chriſt Jeſus.
8. For by God's free grace it is, that ye[f] are, through
faith in Chriſt, [g] ſaved and brought into the king-
dom of God, and made his people, not by any thing
you did yourſelves to deſerve it; it is the free gift of
God, who might, if he had ſo pleaſed, with juſtice
have

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mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us,

Even, when we were dead in ſins, hath quickned us together with Chriſt, (by grace ye are ſaved) 5

And hath raiſed us up together, and made us ſit together in heavenly places, in Chriſt Jeſus. 6

That, in the ages to come, he might ſhew the exceeding riches of his grace, in his kindneſs towards us, through Chriſt Jeſus. 7

For by grace are ye ſaved, through faith; and that not of yourſelves: it is the gift of God: 8

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of ver. 5. takes up the thread of his diſcourſe again, as if nothing had come between, though ὁ δὲ "but," in the beginning of this 4th verſe, rather breaks than continues the ſenſe of the whole. See note ver 1.

[a] "Rich in mercy." The deſign of the apoſtle being, in this epiſtle, to ſet forth the exceeding great mercy and bounty of God to the Gentiles, under the Goſpel, as is manifeſt at large, ch. iii. It is plain that ἡμᾶς, "us," here in this verſe, muſt mean the Gentile converts.

[b] "Dead in treſpaſſes," does not mean here, under the condemnation of death, or obnoxious to death for our tranſgreſſions; but ſo, under the power and dominion of ſin, ſo helpleſs in that ſtate into which, for our apoſtacy, we were delivered up, by the juſt judgment of God, that we had no more thought, nor hope, nor ability to get out of it, than men, dead and buried, have to get out of the grave. This ſtate of death he declares to be the ſtate of Gentiliſm, Col. ii. 13. in theſe words: "and you, being dead in treſpaſſes, and the uncircumciſion of your fleſh, hath God "quickned together with him," i. e. Chriſt.

[c] "Quickned." This quickening was by the ſpirit of God, given to thoſe who, by faith in Chriſt, were united to him, became members of Chriſt, and ſons of God, partaking of the adoption, by which ſpirit they were put into a ſtate of life; ſee Rom. viii. 9.—15. and made capable, if they would, to live to God, and not to obey ſin, in the luſts thereof, nor to yield their members inſtruments of ſin unto iniquity; but to give up themſelves to God, as men alive from the dead, and their members to God as inſtruments of righteouſneſs; as our apoſtle exhorts the converted Romans to do, Rom. vi. 11—13.

6 [d] Wherein this raiſing conſiſts, may be ſeen, Rom. vi. 1—10.

7 [e] The great favour and goodneſs of God manifeſts itſelf, in the ſalvation of ſinners, in all ages: but that, which moſt eminently ſets forth the glory of his grace, was thoſe, who were firſt of all converted from heatheniſm to Chriſtianity, and brought out of the kingdom of darkneſs, in which they were as dead men, without life, hope, or ſo much as a thought of ſalvation, or a better ſtate, into the kingdom of God. Hence it is that he ſays, chap. i. 12. "That we "ſhould be to the praiſe of his glory, who firſt believed." To which he ſeems to have an eye in this verſe; the firſt converſion of the Gentiles, being a ſurprizing and wonderful effect and inſtance of God's exceeding goodneſs to them, which, to the glory of his grace, ſhould be admired and acknowledged by all future ages; and ſo Paul and Barnabas ſpeak of it, Acts xiv. 27. "They "rehearſed all that God had done with him, and how he had opened the door of faith to the "Gentiles." And ſo James and the elders at Jeruſalem, when they heard, what things God had wrought by St. Paul's miniſtry, amongſt the Gentiles, "they glorified the Lord," Acts xxi. 19, 20.

8 [f] "Ye." The change of "we," in the foregoing verſe, to "ye," here, and the like change obſervable ver. 1 and 5 plainly ſhews, that the perſons ſpoken of, under theſe two denominations, are of the ſame kind, i. e. Gentile converts; only St. Paul, every now and then, the more effectually to move thoſe he is writing to, changes "we" into "ye" and vice verſâ; and ſo makes, as it were, a little ſort of diſtinction, that he may the more emphatically apply himſelf to them.

[g] "Saved." He that reads St. Paul with attention, cannot but obſerve, that ſpeaking of the Gentiles, he calls their being brought back again, from their apoſtacy, into the kingdom of God, their being ſaved. Before they were thus brought to be the people of God again, under the Meſſiah, they were, as they are here deſcribed, aliens, enemies, without hope, without God, dead in treſpaſſes and ſins; and therefore when, by faith in Chriſt, they came to be reconciled, and to be in covenant again with God, as his ſubjects and liege people, they were in the way of ſalvation; and if they perſevered, could not miſs attaining of it, tho' they were not yet in actual poſſeſſion. The apoſtle, whoſe aim it is, in this epiſtle, to give them an high ſenſe of God's extraordinary grace and favour to them, and to raiſe their thoughts above the mean obſervances of the law, ſhews them that there was nothing in them; no deeds, or works of their's, nothing that they could do, to prepare, or recommend themſelves, contributed aught to the bringing them into the kingdom of God,

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9 Not of works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt:

10 For we are his workmanſhip, created in Chriſt Jeſus unto good works, which God

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have left you in that forlorn eſtate. That no man might have any pretence of boaſting of himſelf, or his own works, or merit. 9.

So that, in this new ſtate in the kingdom of God, we are (and ought to look upon ourſelves, not as deriving any thing from ourſelves, but as) the mere workmanſhip of God, crea- 10.

ted

NOTE.

under the Goſpel; that it was all purely the work of grace; for they were all dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, and could do nothing, not make one ſtep, or the leaſt motion towards it. Faith, which alone gained them admittance, and alone opened the kingdom of heaven to believers, was the ſole gift of God; men, by their natural faculties, could not attain to it. 'Tis faith, which is the ſource and beginning of this new life; and the Gentile world, who were without ſenſe, without hope of any ſuch thing, could no more help themſelves, or do any thing to procure it themſelves, than a dead man can do any thing, to procure himſelf life. 'Tis God here does all; by revelation of what they could never diſcover by their own natural faculties, he beſtows on them the knowledge of the Meſſiah, and the faith of the Goſpel; which, as ſoon as they have received, they are in the kingdom of God, in a new ſtate of life; and being thus quickned by the ſpirit, may, as men alive, work if they will. Hence St. Paul ſays, Rom. x. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of "God," having in the foregoing verſes, declared, there is no believing without hearing, and no hearing without a preacher, and no preacher unleſs he be ſent, i. e. the good tidings of ſalvation by the Meſſiah, and the doctrine of faith was not, nor could be, known to any, but to thoſe, to whom God communicated it, by the preaching of prophets and apoſtles, to whom he revealed it, and whom he ſent on this errand with this diſcovery. And thus God, now, gave faith to the Epheſians, and the other Gentiles, to whom he ſent St. Paul, and others his fellow-labourers, to beſtow on them the knowledge of ſalvation, reconciliation, and reſtoration into his kingdom of the Meſſiah. All which though revealed by the ſpirit of God, in the writings of the old teſtament, yet the Gentile world were kept wholly ſtrangers from the knowledge of, by the ceremonial law of Moſes, which was the wall of partition, that kept the Gentiles at a diſtance, aliens and enemies; which wall God, according to his gracious purpoſe before the erecting of it, having now broke down, communicated to them the doctrine of faith, and admitted them, upon their acceptance of it, to all the advantages and privileges of his kingdom; all which was done of his free grace, without any merit, or procurement of their's; "he was found of them, who ſought him not, and was made mani"feſt to them, that aſk not after him." I deſire him, that would clearly underſtand this chap. ii. of the Epheſians, to read carefully with it, Rom. x. and 1 Cor. ii. 9—16. where he will ſee, that faith is wholly owing to the revelation of the ſpirit of God, and the communication of that revelation, by men ſent by God, who attained this knowledge, not by the aſſiſtance of their own natural parts, but from the revelation of the ſpirit of God. Thus faith, we ſee, is the gift of God, and with it, when men by baptiſm are admitted into the kingdom of God, comes the ſpirit of God, which brings life with it: for the attaining this gift of faith, men do, or can do, nothing; grace hitherto does all, and works are wholly excluded; God himſelf creates them to do good works, but when, by him, they are made living creatures, in this new creation, it is then expected, that being quickned, they ſhould act; and, from henceforwards, works are required, not as the meritorious cauſe of ſalvation; but as a neceſſary, indiſpenſible qualification of the ſubjects of God's kingdom, under his ſon Jeſus Chriſt; it being impoſſible, that any one ſhould, at the ſame time, be a rebel and a ſubject too: and, tho' none can be ſubjects of the kingdom of God, but thoſe who, continuing in the faith, that has been once beſtowed on them, ſincerely endeavour to conform themſelves to the laws of their Lord and maſter Jeſus Chriſt; and God gives eternal life to all thoſe, and thoſe only that do ſo; yet eternal life is the gift of God, the gift of free grace, ſince their works of ſincere obedience afford no manner of title to it; their righteouſneſs is imperfect, i. e. they are all unrighteous, and ſo deſerve death; but God gives them life, upon the account of his righteouſneſs, vid. Rom. i. 17. The righteouſneſs of faith, which is by Jeſus Chriſt; and ſo they are ſtill ſaved by grace.

Now when God hath, by calling them into the kingdom of his ſon, thus quickned men, and they are, by his free grace, created in Chriſt Jeſus unto good works, that then works are required of them, we ſee in this, that they are called on, and preſſed, to "walk worthy of God, who hath "called them to his kingdom and glory," 1 Theſſ. ii 12. And to the ſame purpoſe here, ch. iv. 1. Phil. i. 27. Col. i. 10—12. So that of thoſe, who are in the kingdom of God, who are actually under the covenant of grace, good works are ſtrictly required, under the penalty of the loſs of eternal life; "if ye live after the fleſh, ye ſhall die; but if through the ſpirit, ye mortify the deeds "of the body, ye ſhall live," Rom. viii. 13. And ſo Rom. vi. 11, 13. they are commanded to obey God, as living men. This is the tenour of the whole new teſtament: the apoſtate, heathen world were dead, and were, of their ſelves, in that ſtate, not capable of doing any thing to procure their tranſlation into the kingdom of God, that was purely the work of grace: but, when they received the Goſpel, they were then made alive by faith, and by the ſpirit of God: and, then, they were in a ſtate of life, and working and works were expected of them. Thus grace and works conſiſt, without any difficulty; that which has cauſed the perplexity and ſeeming contradiction, has been men's miſtake concerning the kingdom of God: God in the fulneſs of time, ſet up his kingdom in this world, under his ſon; into which he admitted all thoſe, who believed on him, and received Jeſus, the Meſſiah, for their Lord. Thus, by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, men became the people of God, and

ſubjects

PARAPHRASE.

ted[a] in Chriſt Jeſus, to the end we ſhould do good works, for which he had prepared and fitted us, to live in them[b].

TEXT.

hath before ordained, that we ſhould walk in them.

NOTES.

ſubjects of his kingdom; and, being by baptiſm admitted into it, were from henceforth, during their continuing in the faith and profeſſion of the Goſpel, accounted ſaints, the beloved of God, the faithful in Chriſt Jeſus, the people of God, ſaved, &c. for in theſe terms, and the like, the ſacred ſcripture ſpeaks of them. And indeed thoſe, who were thus tranſlated into the kingdom of the ſon of God, were no longer in the dead ſtate of the Gentiles; but, having paſſed from death to life, were in the ſtate of the living, in the way to eternal life; which they were ſure to attain, if they perſevered in that life, which the Goſpel required, viz. faith and ſincere obedience. But yet, this was not an actual poſſeſſion of eternal life, in the kingdom of God in the world to come; for by apoſtacy or diſobedience, this, tho' ſometimes called ſalvation, might be forfeited and loſt; whereas he, that is once poſſeſſed of the other, hath actually an eternal inheritance in the heavens, which fadeth not away. Theſe two conſiderations of the kingdom of heaven, ſome men have confounded and made one; ſo that a man being brought into the firſt of theſe, wholly by grace without works, faith being all that was required to inſtate a man in it, they have concluded that, for the attaining eternal life, or the kingdom of God in the world to come, faith alone, and not good works, are required, contrary to expreſs words of ſcripture, and the whole tenor of the Goſpel: but yet not being admitted into that ſtate of eternal life for our good works, 'tis by grace, here too, that we are ſaved, our righteouſneſs, after all, being imperfect, and we, by our ſins, liable to condemnation and death: but 'tis by grace, we are made partakers of both theſe kingdoms: 'tis only into the kingdom of God in this world, we are admitted by faith alone, without works; but for our admittance into the other, both faith and obedience, in a ſincere endeavour to perform thoſe duties, all thoſe good works, which are incumbent on us, and come in our way, to be performed by us, from the time of our believing, till our death.

10. [a] "Workmanſhip of God created." It is not by virtue of any works of the law, nor in conſideration of our ſubmitting to the Moſaical inſtitution; or having any alliance with the Jewiſh nation, that we, Gentiles, are brought into the kingdom of Chriſt; we are, in this, entirely the workmanſhip of God; and are, as it were, created therein, framed and fitted by him, to the performance of thoſe good works, which we were from thence to live in; and ſo owe nothing of this our new being, in this new ſtate, to any preparation, or fitting, we received from the Jewiſh church, or any relation we ſtood in, thereunto. That this is the meaning of the new creation, under the Goſpel, is evident from St. Paul's own explaining of it, himſelf, 2 Cor. v. 16—18. viz. That being in Chriſt was all one, as if he were in a new creation; and, therefore, from henceforth he knew no body after the fleſh, i. e. he pretended to no privilege, for being of a Jewiſh race, or an obſerver of their rites; all theſe old things were done away; all things under the Goſpel are new, and of God alone.

[b] This is conformable to what he ſays, ver. 5, 6. That God quickned and raiſed the Gentiles, that were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, with Chriſt, being by faith united to him, and partaking of the ſame ſpirit of life, which raiſed him from the dead; whereby, as men brought to life, they were enabled (if they would not reſiſt, nor quench that ſpirit) to live unto God, in righteouſneſs and holineſs, as before they were under the abſolute dominion of Satan and their own luſts.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. II. 11—22.

CONTENTS.

FRom this doctrine of his, in the foregoing ſection, that God of his free grace, according to his purpoſe from the beginning, had quickned and raiſed the convert Gentiles, together with Chriſt, and ſeated them with Chriſt, in his heavenly kingdom, St. Paul here, in this ſection, draws this inference, to keep them from judaizing, that, though they (as was the ſtate of the heathen world) were heretofore, by being uncircumciſed, ſhut out from the kingdom of God, ſtrangers from the covenants of promiſe, without hope, and without God in the world; yet they were, by Chriſt, who had taken away the ceremonial law, that wall of partition, that kept them in that ſtate of diſtance and oppoſition, now received, without any ſubjecting them to the law of Moſes, to be the people of God, and had the ſame admittance into the kingdom of God, with the Jews themſelves, with whom they were now created into one new man, or body of men, ſo that they were no longer to look on themſelves, any more, as aliens, or remoter from the kingdom of God, than the Jews themſelves.

TEXT.

11 WHerefore, remember
that ye being, in time
paſt, Gentiles in the fleſh, who
are called uncircumciſion, by
that which is called the cir-
cumciſion in the fleſh, made
by hands;

12 That, at that time, ye were
without Chriſt, being aliens
from the commonwealth of
Iſrael, and ſtrangers from the
covenants of promiſe, having
no hope, and without God in
the world:

13 But now in Chriſt Jeſus,
ye, who ſometimes were far
off, are made nigh, by the
blood of Chriſt.

14 For he is our peace, who
hath made both one, and hath
broken down the middle wall
of partition between us;

15 Having aboliſhed, in his
fleſh, the enmity, even the
law of commandments, con-

PARAPHRASE.

WHerefore remember, that ye, who were here- 11.
tofore Gentiles, diſtinguiſhed and ſeparated
from the Jews, who are circumciſed by a circumci-
ſion made with hands, in their fleſh, by your not
being circumciſed in your fleſh[a], were, at that time, 12.
without all knowledge of the Meſſiah, or any ex-
pectation of deliverance, or ſalvation, by him[b]; ali-
ens from the commonwealth of Iſrael[c], and ſtran-
gers to the covenants of promiſe[d], not having any
hope of any ſuch thing, and living in the world
without having the true God for your God[e], or you
being his people. But now you, that were formerly 13.
remote and at a diſtance, are, by Jeſus Chriſt,
brought near, by his death[f]. For it is he, that re- 14.
conciléth us[g] to the Jews, and hath brought us and
them, who were before at an irreconcilable diſtance,
into unity one with another, by removing the mid-
dle wall of partition[h], that kept us at diſtance, ha- 15.
ving taken away the cauſe of enmity[i], or diſtance,
between us, by aboliſhing[k] that part of the law,
which

NOTES.

11 [a] This ſeparation was ſo great, that, to a Jew, the uncircumciſed Gentiles were counted ſo polluted and unclean, that they were not ſhut out, barely from their holy places and ſervice; but from their tables and ordinary converſation.

12 [b] That this is the meaning of being, "without Chriſt," here, is evident from this, that what St. Paul ſays here, is to ſhew the different ſtate of the Gentiles, from that of the Jews, before the coming of our Saviour.

[c] Who were alone, then, the people of God.

[d] "Covenants." God, more than once, renewed his promiſe to Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob, and the children of Iſrael, that, upon the conditions propoſed, he would be their God, and they ſhould be his people.

[e] It is, in this ſenſe, that the Gentiles are called ἄθεοι; for there were few of them Atheiſts, in our ſenſe of the word, i. e. denying ſuperior powers; and many of them acknowledged one ſupreme, eternal God; but as St. Paul ſays, Rom. i. 21. "When they knew God, they glori- "fied him not as God;" they owned him not alone, but turned away from him, the inviſible God, to the worſhip of images, and the falſe gods of their countries.

13 [f] How this was done, the following words explain, and Col. ii. 14.

14 [g] Ἡμῶν, "our," in this verſe, muſt ſignify perſons in the ſame condition, with thoſe he ſpeaks to, under the pronoun ὑμεῖς, "ye," in the foregoing verſe, or elſe the Apoſtle's argument, here, would be wide, and not concluſive; but "ye," in the foregoing verſe, inconteſtibly ſignifies the convert Gentiles, and ſo therefore muſt ἡμῶν in this verſe.

[h] See Col. i. 20.

15 [i] It was the ritual law of the Jews, that kept them, and the Gentiles, at an irreconcilable diſtance; ſo that they could come to no terms of a fair correſpondence, the force whereof was ſo great, that even after Chriſt was come, and had put an end to the obligation of that law; yet it was almoſt impoſſible to bring them together; and this was that which, in the beginning, moſt obſtructed the progreſs of the Goſpel, and diſturbed the Gentile converts.

[k] "By aboliſhing." I do not remember that the law of Moſes, or any part of it, is, by an actual repeal, any where abrogated; and yet we are told here, and in other places of the new teſtament, that it is aboliſhed. The want of a right underſtanding of what this aboliſhing was, and how it was brought about, has, I ſuſpect, given occaſion to the miſunderſtanding of ſeveral texts of ſacred ſcripture; I beg leave, therefore, to offer what the ſacred ſcripture ſeems to me to ſuggeſt concerning this matter, till a more thorough enquiry, by ſome abler hand, ſhall be made into it. After the general revolt and apoſtacy of mankind, from the acknowledgment and worſhip of the one, only, true, inviſible God, their maker, the children of Iſrael, by a voluntary ſubmiſſion to him, and acknowledgment of him, to be their God and ſupreme Lord, came to be his people, and he, by a peculiar covenant, to be their King; and thus erected to himſelf a kingdom in this world, out of that people, to whom he gave a law by Moſes, which was to be the law of the Iſraelites, his people, with a purpoſe at the ſame time, that he would, in due ſeaſon, transfer this his kingdom, in this world, into the hands of the Meſſiah, whom he intended to ſend into the world, to be the prince and ruler of his people, as he had foretold and promiſed

to

PARAPHRASE.

which conſiſted in poſitive commands and ordinances, that

TEXT.

tained in ordinances, for to make in himſelf, of twain,

NOTE.

to the Jews. Into which kingdom of his, under his ſon, he purpoſed alſo, and foretold, that he would admit and incorporate the other nations of the earth, as well as thoſe of the poſterity of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, who were to come into this his enlarged kingdom, upon new terms, that he ſhould then propoſe; and that thoſe, and thoſe only, ſhould from henceforth be his people. And thus it came to paſs, that, tho' the law, which was given by Moſes, to the Iſraelites, was never repealed, and ſo ceaſed not to be the law of that nation; yet it ceaſed to be the law of the people and kingdom of God, in this world; becauſe the Jews, not receiving him to be their King, whom God had ſent, to be the King, and ſole ruler of his kingdom for the future, ceaſed to be the people of God, and the ſubjects of God's kingdom. And thus Jeſus Chriſt, by his death, entering into his kingdom, having then fulfilled all, that was required of him, for the obtaining of it, put an end to the law of Moſes, opening another way to all people, both Jews and Gentiles, into the kingdom of God, quite different from the law of ordinances, given by Moſes, viz. Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, by which, and which alone, every one, that would, had now admittance into the kingdom of God, by one plain, eaſy, and ſimple ceremony of baptiſm. This was that which, though it was alſo foretold, the Jews underſtood not, having a very great opinion of themſelves, becauſe they were the choſen people of God; and of their law, becauſe God was the author of it; and ſo concluded, that both they were to remain the people of God for ever, and alſo, that they were to remain ſo, under the ſame law, which was never to be altered; and ſo never underſtood what was foretold them, of the kingdom of the Meſſiah, in reſpect of the ceaſing of their law of ordinances, and the admittance of the Gentiles, upon the ſame terms with them, into the kingdom of the Meſſiah; which, therefore, St. Paul calls, over and over again, a myſtery, and a myſtery hidden from ages.

Now he, that will look a little farther into this kingdom of God, under theſe two different diſpenſations, of the law and the Goſpel, will find, that it was erected by God, and men were recalled into it, out of the general apoſtacy from their Lord and maker, for the unſpeakable good and benefit of thoſe who, by entering into it, returned to their allegiance, that thereby they might be brought into a way and capacity of being reſtored to that happy ſtate, of eternal life, which they had all loſt in Adam, which it was impoſſible, they could ever recover, whilſt they remained worſhippers and vaſſals of the devil; and ſo out-laws and enemies to God, in the kingdom, and under the dominion of Satan; ſince the moſt biaſſed and partial inclination of an intelligent being, could never expect that God ſhould reward rebellion and apoſtacy with eternal happineſs, and take men, that were actually vaſſals and adorers of his arch-enemy, the devil, and immediately give them eternal bliſs, with the enjoyment of pleaſures in his preſence, and at his right hand for evermore. The kingdom of God, therefore, in this world, was, as it were, the entrance to the kingdom of God in the other world, and the receptacle and place of preparation of thoſe, who aimed at a ſhare in that eternal inheritance. And, hence the people of the Jews were called holy, choſen, and ſons of God; as were afterwards the Chriſtians, called ſaints, elect, beloved, and children of God, &c. But there is this remarkable difference to be obſerved, in what is ſaid of the ſubjects of this kingdom, under the two different diſpenſations, of the law and the Goſpel, that the converts to Chriſtianity, and profeſſors of the Goſpel, are often termed and ſpoke of, as ſaved, which I do not remember that the Jews, or proſelytes, members of the commonwealth, any where are: the reaſon whereof is, that the conditions of that covenant, whereby they were made the people of God, under that conſtitution of God's kingdom, in this world, was, "do this and "live;" but "he, that continues not in all theſe things to do them, ſhall die." But the condition of the covenant, whereby they become the people of God, in the conſtitution of his kingdom under the Meſſiah, is, "believe and repent, and thou ſhalt be ſaved, i. e. Take Chriſt for thy "Lord, and do ſincerely but what thou canſt to keep his law, and thou ſhalt be ſaved;" in the one of which, which is, therefore, called the covenant of works, thoſe, who are actually in that kingdom, could not attain the everlaſting inheritance: And in the other, called the covenant of grace, thoſe, who if they would but continue, as they began, i. e. in the ſtate of faith and repentance, i. e. in a ſubmiſſion to, and owning of Chriſt, and a ſteady, unrelenting reſolution of not offending againſt his law, could not miſs it, and ſo might truly be ſaid, to be ſaved, they being in an unerring way to ſalvation. And thus we ſee, how the law of Moſes is, by Chriſt, aboliſhed, under the Goſpel, not by any actual repeal of it; but is ſet aſide, by ceaſing to be the law of the kingdom of God, tranſlated into the hands of the Meſſiah, and ſet up under him; which kingdom ſo erected, contains all that God now does, or will own to be his people, in this world. This way of aboliſhing of the law, did not make thoſe obſervances unlawful to thoſe who, before their converſion to the Goſpel, were circumciſed, and under the law; they were indifferent things, which the converted Jews might, or might not obſerve, as they found convenient: that which was unlawful, and contrary to the Goſpel, was the making thoſe ritual obſervances neceſſary to be joined with faith, in believers, for juſtification, as we ſee they did, who, Acts xv. taught the brethren, that, unleſs they were circumciſed, after the manner of Moſes, they could not be ſaved; ſo that the nailing of it to Chriſt's croſs, Col. ii. 14. was the taking away, from thenceforth, all obligation for any one to be circumciſed, and to put himſelf under the obſervances of the law, to become one of the people of God, but was no prohibition to any one, who was circumciſed before converſion, to obſerve them. And accordingly we ſee, Gal. ii. 11. that what St. Paul blames in St. Peter, was "compelling the Gentiles to live as the Jews do:" had not that been the caſe, he would no more have blamed his carriage at Antioch, than he did his obſerving the law at Jeruſalem.

TEXT.

one new man, ſo making peace;

16 And that he might reconcile both unto God, in one body, by the croſs, having ſlain the enmity thereby:

17 And came and preached peace to you, which were afar off, and to them that were nigh.

18 For, through him, we both have an acceſs, by one ſpirit, unto the father.

19 Now, therefore, ye are no more ſtrangers and foreigners; but fellow-citizens with the ſaints, and of the houſhold of God;

20 And are built upon the foundation of the Apoſtles and prophets, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner-ſtone:

21 In whom all the building,

PARAPHRASE.

that ſo he might make [a], or frame the two, viz.
Jews and Gentiles, into one new ſociety, or body
of God's people, in a new conſtitution, under himſelf[b],
ſo making peace between them. And might 16.
reconcile them both to God, being thus united into
one body, in him, by the croſs, whereby he deſtroyed
that enmity, or incompatibility, that was between
them, by nailing to his croſs the law of ordinances,
that kept them at a diſtance. And being come, 17.
preached the good tidings of peace to you Gentiles,
that were far off from the kingdom of heaven, and
to the Jews, that were near, and in the very precincts
of it. For it is by him, that we, both Jews 18.
and Gentiles, have acceſs to the Father, by one and
the ſame ſpirit. Therefore ye, Epheſians, though 19.
heretofore Gentiles, now believers in Chriſt, you are
no more ſtrangers and foreigners, but without any
more a-do fellow-citizens of the ſaints, and domeſticks
of God's own family: Built upon the foundation, 20.
laid by the apoſtles and prophets, whereof Jeſus
Chriſt is the corner-ſtone: In whom all the building, 21.

NOTES.

The Apoſtle here tells us, what part of the Moſaical law it was, that Chriſt put an end to, by his death, viz. τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι, "the law of commandments in ordinances;" i. e. the poſitive injunctions of the law of Moſes, concerning things in their own nature indifferent, which became obligatory, meerly by virtue of a direct, poſitive command; and are called by St. Paul in the parallel place, Col. ii. 14. χειρογραφον τοις δόγμασι, "the hand-writing of ordinances." There were, beſides theſe, contained in the book of the law of Moſes, the law of nature, or, as it is commonly called, the moral law; that unmoveable rule of right, which is of perpetual obligation: This Jeſus Chriſt is ſo far from abrogating, that he has promulgated it a-new, under the Goſpel, fuller and clearer, than it was in the Moſaical conſtitution, or any where elſe; and, by adding, to its precepts, the ſanction of his own divine authority, has made the knowledge of that law more eaſy and certain, than it was before; ſo that the ſubjects of his kingdom, whereof this is now the law, can be at no doubt, or loſs, about their duty; if they will but read and conſider the rules of morality, which our Saviour and his apoſtles have delivered, in very plain words, in the holy ſcriptures, of the new teſtament.

15 [a] "Make;" the Greek word is κτίσῃ, which does not always ſignify creation, in a ſtrict ſenſe.

[b] This, as I take it, being the meaning, it may not be amiſs, perhaps, to look into the reaſon, why St. Paul expreſſes it in this more figurative manner, viz. "to make in himſelf, of twain, one "new man," which I humbly conceive, was more ſuitable to the ideas he had, and ſo were, in fewer words, more lively and expreſs to his purpoſe: he always has Jeſus Chriſt in his mind, as the head of the church, which was his body, from and by whom alone, by being united to him, the whole body, and every member of it, received life, vigour, and ſtrength, and all the benefits of that ſtate; which admirably well ſhews, that whoever were united to this head, muſt needs be united to one another; and alſo, that all the privileges and advantages they enjoyed, were wholly owing to their union with, and adhering to, him their head; which were the two things, that he was here inculcating to the convert Gentiles of Epheſus, to ſhew them, that now under the Goſpel men became the people of God, merely by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and having him for their head, and not at all by keeping the ritual law of Moſes, which Chriſt had aboliſhed, and ſo had made way for the Jews and Gentiles to become one in Chriſt, ſince now faith in him alone united them into one body, under that head, with the obſervance of the law; which is the meaning of, "ſo making peace." I hope this ſingle note, here, may lead ordinary readers into an underſtanding of St. Paul's ſtyle, and, by making them obſerve the reaſon, give them an eaſier entrance into the meaning of St. Paul's figurative expreſſions.

If the nation of the Jews had owned and received Jeſus the Meſſiah, they had continued as the people of God; but after that they had nationally rejected him, and refuſed to have him rule over them, and put him to death, and ſo had revolted from their allegiance, and withdrawn themſelves from the kingdom of God, which he had now put into the hands of his Son, they were no longer the people of God; and, therefore, all thoſe of the Jewiſh nation, who, after that, would return to their allegiance, had need of reconciliation, to be re-admitted into the kingdom of God, as part of his people, who were now received into peace and covenant with him, upon other terms, and under other laws, than being the poſterity of Jacob, or obſervers of the law of Moſes.

PARAPHRASE.

ing, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy
22. temple in the Lord: In which even the Gentiles, alſo, are built up, together with the believing Jews, for an habitation of God, through the Spirit [a].

TEXT.

fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord:
In whom you, alſo, are builded together, for an habitation of God, through the Spirit. 22

NOTE.

22 [a] The ſenſe of which allegory I take to be this: It is plain, from the atteſtation of the apoſtles and prophets, that the Gentiles, who believe in Chriſt, are thereby made members of his kingdom, united together, under him, their head, into ſuch a well-framed body, wherein each perſon has his proper place, rank, and function, to which he is fitted, that God will accept and delight in them as his people, and live amongſt them, as in a well-framed building, dedicated and ſet apart to him, whereof the Gentiles make a part, and without any difference put between you, are framed in equality, and promiſcuouſly with the believing Jews, by the Spirit of God, to be one people, amongſt whom he will dwell, and be their God, and they ſhall be his people.

SECT. V.

CHAP. III. 1—21.

CONTENTS.

THIS ſection gives a great light to thoſe foregoing, and more clearly opens the deſign of this epiſtle: for here St. Paul, in plain words, tells them, it is for preaching this doctrine, that was a myſtery, till now being hid from former ages, viz. that the Gentiles ſhould be co-heirs with the believing Jews, and, making one body, or people, with them, ſhould be equally partakers of the promiſes, under the Meſſiah, of which myſtery he, by particular favour and appointment, was ordained the preacher. Whereupon he exhorts them not to be diſmayed, or flinch, in the leaſt, from the belief, or profeſſion of this truth, upon his being perſecuted and in bonds, upon that account. For his ſuffering for it, who was the preacher and propagator of it, was ſo far from being a juſt diſcouragement to them, from ſtanding firmly in the belief of it, that it ought to be to them a glory, and a confirmation of this eminent truth of the Goſpel, which he peculiarly taught; and thereupon he tells them, he makes it his prayer to God, that they may be ſtrengthned herein, and be able to comprehend the largeneſs of the love of God in Chriſt, not confined to the Jewiſh nation and conſtitution, as the Jews conceited; but far ſurpaſſing the thoughts of thoſe who, preſuming themſelves knowing, would confine it to ſuch only, who were members of the Jewiſh church, and obſervers of their ceremonies.

PARAPHRASE.

1. FOR my preaching of this [a], I Paul am a priſoner, upon account of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, for the ſake and ſervice of you Gentiles [b]:
2. Which you cannot doubt of, ſince [c] ye have heard

of

TEXT.

FOR this cauſe, I Paul, the priſoner of Jeſus Chriſt, for you Gentiles: 1
If ye have heard of the 2

NOTES.

[a] 1 See Col. iv. 3. 2 Tim. ii. 9, 10.

[b] See Phil. i. 7. Col. i. 24.

2 [c] Εἴγε, is ſometimes an affirmative particle, and ſignifies in Greek the ſame that, ſiquidem does in Latin, and ſo the ſenſe requires it to be underſtood here; for it could not be ſuppoſed but the Epheſians, among whom St. Paul had lived ſo long, muſt have heard, that he was, by expreſs commiſſion from God, made Apoſtle of the Gentiles, and, by immediate revelation, inſtructed in the doctrine, he was to teach them, whereof this, of their admittance into the kingdom of

God

TEXT.

diſpenſation of the grace of
God, which is given me to
you ward:
3 How that, by revelation,
he made known unto me the
myſtery, (as I wrote afore in
few words.
4 Whereby, when ye read, ye
may underſtand my know-
ledge in the myſtery of Chriſt)
5 Which in other ages was
not made known unto the
ſons of men, as it is now re-
vealed unto his holy Apoſtles
and prophets, by the ſpirit:
6 That the Gentiles ſhould
be fellow-heirs, and of the
ſame body, and partakers of
his promiſe, in Chriſt, by the
Goſpel:
7 Whereof I was made a mi-
niſter, according to the gift

PARAPHRASE.

of the diſpenſation of the grace of God, which was
given to me, in reference to you Gentiles: How that, 3.
by ſpecial revelation, he made known unto me, in
particular [a], the myſtery [b], (as I hinted to you above,
viz. chap. i. 9. By the bare reading whereof ye may 4.
be aſſured of my knowledge in this formerly conceal-
ed and unknown part of the Goſpel of Chriſt) [c]:
Which in former ages was not made known to the 5.
ſons of men, as it is now revealed to his holy Apoſ-
tles and prophets, by the ſpirit, viz. That the Gen- 6.
tiles ſhould be fellow-heirs, be united into one body,
and partake of his promiſe [d] in Chriſt, jointly with
the Jews [e], in the time [f] of the Goſpel; Of which 7.
doctrine I, in particular, was made the miniſter [g],
according to the free and gracious gift of God, given
unto

NOTES.

God purely by faith in Chriſt, without circumciſion, or other legal obſervances, was one great and neceſſary point, whereof St. Paul was ſo little ſhy, that we ſee the world rung of it, Acts xxi. 28. And if his preaching and writing were of a piece, as we need not doubt, this myſtery of God's purpoſe to the Gentiles, which was communicated to him by revelation, and we hear of, ſo often in his epiſtles, was not concealed from them he preached to.

3 [a] Though St. Peter was, by a viſion from God, ſent to Cornelius, a Gentile, Acts x. yet we do not find, that this purpoſe, of God's calling the Gentiles to be his people, equally with the Jews, without any regard to circumciſion or the Moſaical rites, was revealed to him, or to any other of the Apoſtles, as a doctrine, which they were to preach and publiſh to the world: neither, indeed, was it needful, that it ſhould be any part of their commiſſion, who were Apoſtles only of the circumciſion, to mix that, in their meſſage to the Jews, which ſhould make them ſtop their ears and refuſe to hearken to the other parts of the Goſpel, which they were more concerned to know and be inſtructed in.

[b] See Col. i. 26.

4 [c] One may be ready to aſk, "to what purpoſe is this, which this parentheſis contains here, "concerning himſelf?" And, indeed, without having an eye on the deſign of this epiſtle, it is pretty hard to give an account of it; but, that being carried in view, there is nothing plainer, nor more pertinent and perſuaſive than this here; for what can be of more force, to make them ſtand firm to the doctrine which he had taught them, of their being exempt from circumciſion, and the obſervances of the law? If you have heard, and I aſſure you in my epiſtle, that this myſtery of the Goſpel was revealed, in a particular manner, to me from heaven: the very reading of this is enough to ſatisfy you, that I am well inſtructed in that truth, and that you may ſafely depend upon what I have taught you, concerning this point, notwithſtanding I am in priſon for it, which is a thing you ought to glory in, ſince I ſuffer for a truth, wherein you are ſo nearly concerned; ſee chap. vi. 19.

6 [d] The promiſe here intended, is the promiſe of the Spirit; ſee Gal. iii. 14. which was not given to any, but to the people and children of God; and, therefore, the Gentiles received not the Spirit, till they became the people of God, by faith in Chriſt, in the times of the Goſpel.

[e] Though the Jews are not expreſly named here; yet it is plain, from the foregoing chapter, ver. 11, &c. that it is of the union of the Gentiles with the Jews, and making with them one body of God's people, equally ſharing in all the privileges and benefits of the Goſpel, that he is here ſpeaking, the ſame which he teaches, Gal. iii. 26—29.

[f] Διὰ τοῦ ἐυαγγελίου, ſignifies here, "in the time of the Goſpel." as δι᾽ ἀκροβυστίας ſignifies, in the "time of uncircumciſion," Rom. iv. 11. ſee note [a] on Rom. vii. 5. The ſame thing being intended here, which, chap. i. 10. is thus expreſſed; "that in the diſpenſation of the fulneſs of "times, i. e. in the time of the Goſpel, all things might be gathered together, or united, in "Chriſt, or by Chriſt."

7 [g] Though he does not, in expreſs words, deny others to be made miniſters of it, for it neither ſuited his modeſty, nor the reſpect he had, for the other Apoſtles, ſo to do; yet his expreſſion here, will be found ſtrongly to imply it, eſpecially if we read and conſider well the two following verſes, for this was a neceſſary inſtruction to one, who was ſent to convert the Gentiles, though thoſe, who were ſent to their brethren the Jews, were not appointed to promulgate it. This one Apoſtle of the Gentiles, by the ſucceſs of his preaching to the Gentiles, the atteſtation of miracles, and the gift of the Holy Ghoſt, joined to what Peter had done, by ſpecial direction, in the caſe of Cornelius, would be enough, in its due ſeaſon, to convince the other Apoſtles of this truth, as we may ſee it did, Acts xv. and Gal. ii. 6—9. And of what conſequence, and how much St. Paul thought the preaching of this doctrine his peculiar buſineſs, we may ſee, by what he ſays, chap. vi. 19, 20. where any one may ſee, by the different treatment he received, from the reſt of the Apoſtles,

An. Ch. 63.
Neronis 9.
Chap. III.

PARAPHRASE.

unto me, by the effectual working of his power, in his ſo wonderful converting the Gentiles by my
8. preaching [a]; Unto me, I ſay, who am leſs than the leaſt of all ſaints, is this favour given, that I ſhould preach among the Gentiles the unſearchable
9. riches of Chriſt [b]: And make all men [c] perceive, how this myſtery comes now to be communicated [d] to the world, which has been concealed from all paſt ages, lying hid in the ſecret purpoſe of God, who frames and manages this whole new creation,
10. by Jeſus Chriſt [e]; To the intent that now, under the

TEXT.

of the grace of God, given unto me, by the effectual working of his power.

8 Unto me, who am leſs than the leaſt of all ſaints, is this grace given, that I ſhould preach, among the Gentiles, the unſearchable riches of Chriſt;

9 And to make all men ſee, what is the fellowſhip of the myſtery, which, from the beginning of the world, hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jeſus Chriſt:

10 To the intent that now

NOTES.

Apoſtles, being in bonds upon that account, that his preaching herein differed from their's, and he was thereupon, as he tells us himſelf, treated "as an evil doer," 1 Tim. ii. 9. The hiſtory whereof we have, Acts xxi. 17, &c. as we have elſewhere obſerved. And it is, upon the account of his preaching this doctrine, and diſplaying to the world this concealed truth, which he calls every where a hidden myſtery; that he gives, to what he had preached, the diſtinguiſhing title of, "my Goſpel," Rom. xvi. 25. which he is concerned, that God ſhould eſtabliſh them in, that being the chief deſign of his epiſtle to the Romans, as here to the Epheſians. The inſiſting ſo much on this, that it was the ſpecial favour and commiſſion of God to him, in particular, to preach this doctrine, of God's purpoſe of calling the Gentiles to the word was, not out of vanity, or boaſting, but was here of great uſe to his preſent purpoſe, as carrying a ſtrong reaſon with it, why the Epheſians ſhould rather believe him, to whom, as their Apoſtle, it was made manifeſt, and committed to be preached, than the Jews, from whom it had been concealed, and was kept as a myſtery, and was in itſelf ἀνεξιχνίαστον, inſcrutable by men, though of the beſt natural parts and endowments.

[a] This ſeems to be the energy of the power of God, which he here ſpeaks of, as appears by what he ſays of St. Peter, and of himſelf, Gal. ii. 8. Ὁ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς, ἐνήργησε καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, "He that wrought effectually in Peter to the Apoſtleſhip of the circum-"ciſion, the ſame was mighty, or wrought effectually in him," as ἐνέργεια is here tranſlated, of which his very great modeſty could not hinder him from ſpeaking, thus 1 Cor. xv. 9, 10. "I "am the leaſt of the Apoſtles, that am not meet to be called an Apoſtle, becauſe I perſecuted the "church of God: but, by the grace of God, I am what I am, and his grace, which was beſtowed "upon me, was not in vain, but I laboured more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace "of God that was with me:" a paſſage very ſuitable to what he ſays, in this and the next verſe.

8 [b] i. e. That abundant treaſure of mercy, grace and favour, laid up in Jeſus Chriſt, not only to the Jews, but to the whole heathen world, which was beyond the reach of human ſagacity to diſcover, and could be known, only by revelation.

9 [c] "All men," i. e. men of all ſorts and nations, Gentiles as well as Jews.

[d] Τίς ἡ κοινωνία, "what is the communication," i. e. that they may have light from me, to ſee and look into the reaſon and ground of the diſcovery, or communication of this myſtery to them now by Jeſus Chriſt, who is now exhibited to the world, into whoſe hands God has put the management of this whole diſpenſation.

[e] To open our way to a right ſenſe of theſe words, τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι διὰ Ἰησοῦ, it will be neceſſary, in the firſt place, to conſider the terms of it, and how they are uſed by St. Paul.

1. As to κτίσαντι, "created," it is to be acknowledged, that it is the word uſed, in ſacred ſcripture, to expreſs creation, in the ſcriptural ſenſe of creation, i. e. making out of nothing; yet that it is not always uſed in that ſenſe, by St. Paul, is viſible from the 15th verſe of the foregoing chapter, where our tranſlators have rightly rendered κτίσῃ, "make," and it would contain a manifeſt abſurdity to render it there, create, in the theological ſenſe of the word, create.

2. It is to be obſerved, that St. Paul often chooſes to ſpeak of the work of redemption by Chriſt as a creation. Whether it were, becauſe this was the chief end of the creation, or whether it were becauſe there was no leſs ſeen of the wiſdom, power and goodneſs of God, in this, than in the firſt creation, and the change of loſt and revolted man, from being dead in ſins, to newneſs of life, was as great, and by as great a power as at firſt making out of nothing; or whether it was becauſe the ἀνακεφαλαίωσις, under Jeſus Chriſt the head, mentioned chap. i. 10. was a reſtitution of the creation to its primitive ſtate and order, which, Acts iii. 21. is called ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων, "the reſtitution of all things," which was begun with the preaching of St. John Baptiſt, (who was the Elias that reſtored all things, Matt. xvii. 11. i. e. opened the kingdom of heaven to believers of all nations, Luke xvi. 16.) and is compleated in Chriſt's coming with his ſaints, in the glory of his father, at the laſt day. But, whether ſome, or all, of theſe conjectures, which I have mentioned, be the reaſon of it, this is certain, that St. Paul ſpeaks of the work of redemption, under the name of creation. So 2 Cor. v. 7. "If any one be in Chriſt, καινὴ κτίσις, he is a new "creature, or, it is a new creation." And Gal. vi. 15. "In Chriſt Jeſus, neither circumciſion "availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion, but καινὴ κτίσις, the new creation.

'Tis then to be conſidered, of which creation τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι, "who created all things," is here to be underſtood. The buſineſs St. Paul is upon, in this place, is to ſhew that God's purpoſe,

TEXT.

unto the principalities and powers, in heavenly places, might be known, by the church, the manifold wiſdom of God,

PARAPHRASE.

the Goſpel, the manifold wiſdom of God, in the ordering and management of his heavenly kingdom, might be made known to principalities and powers by the church [a], According to that prediſpoſition of

NOTES.

poſe, of taking in the Gentiles to be his people under the Goſpel, was a myſtery, unknown in former ages, and now, under the kingdom of the Meſſiah, committed to him, to be preached to the world.

This is ſo manifeſtly the deſign of St. Paul here, that no body can miſtake it. Now, if the creation of the material world, of this viſible frame, of ſun, moon, and ſtars, and heavenly bodies that are over us, and of the earth we inhabit, hath no immediate relation, as certainly it hath not, to this myſtery, this deſign of God's, to call the Gentiles into the kingdom of his Son, it is to make St. Paul a very looſe writer and weaker arguer, in the middle of a diſcourſe, which he ſeems to lay much ſtreſs on, and to preſs earneſtly on the Epheſians (for he urges it, more than once) to bring in things, not at all to his purpoſe, and of no uſe to the buſineſs in hand. We cannot, therefore, avoid taking the creation, and things created here, to be thoſe of the new creation, viz. thoſe, of which the kingdom of Chriſt, which was this new creation, was to be made up, and in that ſenſe, τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, "who created all things by Jeſus Chriſt," is a reaſon to ſhew, why God kept his purpoſe, of making the Gentiles meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the Saints, or, as he expreſſeth it, chap. ii. 10. that they "ſhould be his workmanſhip, "created in Chriſt Jeſus unto good works," concealed from former ages, viz. becauſe this new creation was in Chriſt Jeſus, and ſo proper to be preached and publiſhed, when he was come, which is ſtrongly confirmed by the words of the following verſe, viz. "that now, in its due time, by this "new piece of workmanſhip of his, viz. the church, might be made known the manifold wiſdom "of God." This taking in the Gentiles, into the kingdom of his Son, and after that, the reaſſuming again of the Jews, who had been rejected, St. Paul looks on, as ſo great an inſtance, and diſplay of the wiſdom of God, that it makes him cry out, Rom. xi. 33. "O the depth of "the riches, both of the wiſdom and knowledge of God; how unſearchable are his judgments, "and his ways paſt finding out!"

10 [a] There be two things, in this verſe, that to me make it hard to determine the preciſe ſenſe of it; the firſt is, what is meant by ἀρχαῖς and ἐξουσίαις, terms, that ſometimes, in ſacred ſcripture, ſignify temporal magiſtrates, and ſo our Saviour uſes them, Luke xii. 11. and St. Paul, Tit. iii. 1. Sometimes for thoſe, who are veſted with any power, whether men, or angels, ſo 1 Cor. xv. 24. Sometimes for evil angels; ſo they are underſtood, chap. vi. 12. Sometimes they are underſtood of good angels, ſo Col. i. 16. Now, to which of theſe to determine the ſenſe here, I confeſs myſelf not ſufficiently enlightened. Indeed ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, in the things of his heavenly kingdom, would do ſomething towards it, were it undoubtedly certain, whether thoſe words were, in conſtruction, to be joined to ἀρχαῖς and ἐξουσίαις, or to σοφία; i. e. whether we are to underſtand it of principalities and powers, in the kingdom of heaven, or of the wiſdom of God, in the ordering of that kingdom: if the firſt of theſe, then 'tis evident, they would ſignify the heavenly hoſt, of good angels, employed in the guard and promotion of the kingdom of Chriſt. But, the knowledge, ſpoken of here, as communicated to theſe principalities and powers, being only in conſequence of St. Paul's preaching, 'tis not eaſy to conceive, that the revelation and commiſſion given to St. Paul, for the declaring the myſtery, of God's purpoſe to take the Gentiles into the church, was to the intent the angels, either good or bad, ſhould be inſtructed in this great and important truth, wherein the wiſdom of God ſo much ſhewed itſelf, and that they ſhould have no knowledge of it, before, nor otherwiſe. This is ſo great a difficulty, that it ſeems ſtrongly to perſuade, that the principalities and powers, here mentioned, are of this world; but, againſt this, there lyes this obvious objection, that the magiſtrates of the heathen world did not much concern themſelves in what St. Paul preached, nor, upon his declaring that the Gentiles, under the Meſſiah, were to be taken in, to be the people of God, did in effect gather from the church, thus conſtituted, any arguments of the wiſdom of God. If, therefore, I may venture my conjecture, for I dare not be poſitive, in a place, that I confeſs myſelf not fully to underſtand, I ſhould take this to be the meaning of it. The high-prieſts, ſcribes, and phariſees, who are the rulers of the Jewiſh nation, and alone pretend to any authority in theſe matters, deny the converted heathens to be the people of God, becauſe they neglect the law and circumciſion, and thoſe other rites, whereby God has appointed thoſe, who are his people, to be ſeparated from the reſt of the world, and made holy to himſelf. And ſo far moſt of the converted Jews agree with them, that they will not allow the converted Gentiles to be members and ſubjects of the kingdom of the Meſſiah, without being circumciſed, and ſubmitting to the laws and ceremonies of the Jews, as the only religion and way of worſhip, wherein they can be allowed to be God's people, or be accepted by him. Now, ſays St. Paul, God of his ſpecial grace, has commiſſioned me to preach, to the world, this his hidden purpoſe, of taking the Gentiles into the kingdom of his Son, that ſo, by the church, conſiſting of members, who are God's people, without being circumciſed, or obſerving the other Moſaical rites, might, which the Jews could by no means conceive, now be made known and declared, to the leaders and chief of that nation, the manifold wiſdom of God, which is not, as the Jews imagine, tied up to their own way, but can bring about his purpoſes, by ſundry manners, and in ways, that they thought not of. This ſeems ſuitable to the Apoſtle's meaning here; for tho' the Jews were not hereby converted, yet, when urged by the converted Gentiles, it ſerved to ſtop

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Chap. III.

PARAPHRASE.

11. [a] of the ages, or ſeveral diſpenſations, which he made
12. in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord; By whom we have bold-
neſs and acceſs to God the father, with confidence, by
13. faith [b] in him. Wherefore my deſire is, that ye be
not diſmayed by my preſent affliction, which I ſuf-
fer for your ſake, and is in truth a glory to you,
that ought to raiſe your hearts, and ſtrengthen your
14. reſolutions. Upon this account, I bend my knees,
in prayer to the father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt [c],
15. From whom the whole family, or lineage, both in
heaven and earth have their denomination, viz. Je-
ſus Chriſt, that is already in heaven, and believers
that are ſtill on earth, have all God for their father,
16. are all the ſons of God. That he would grant you,
according to the great glory he deſigned to you,
Gentiles, who ſhould receive the Goſpel under the
Meſſiah [d], to be ſtrengthned with might, by his ſpi-
17. rit, in the inward man [e]; That Chriſt may dwell in
your hearts by faith; that you, being ſettled and eſta-
bliſhed in the ſenſe of the love of God to you, in
18. Jeſus Chriſt, May be able, together with all Chriſ-
tians, to comprehend the length, and breadth, and
height, and depth of this myſtery, of God's pur-
poſe of calling and taking in the Gentiles, to be his
19. people, in the kingdom of his ſon [f]: And to under-
ſtand

TEXT.

According to the eternal purpoſe, which he purpoſed, in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord: 11

In whom we have boldneſs and acceſs with confidence, by the faith of him. 12

Wherefore, I deſire that ye faint not at my tribulations for you, which is your glory. 13

For this cauſe, I bow my knees unto the father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 14

Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is nameed. 15

That he would grant you, according the riches of his glory, to be ſtrengthened with might, by his ſpirit, in the inner man; 16

That Chriſt may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, 17

May be able to comprehend with all ſaints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; 18

And to know the love of Chriſt, which paſſeth know- 19

NOTES.

their mouths, and thereby to confirm the Gentiles, in the liberty of the Goſpel. And thus, by the church, to whom St. Paul ſays, Col. i. 24. and ii. 2. God would now have made it manifeſt, by his preaching, is this myſtery made known to principalities and powers, i. e. the rulers and teachers of the Jewiſh nation, the ſaints, who were appriſed of it, by St. Paul's preaching, urging, and manifeſting it to them. And to this ſenſe of this paſſage, theſe two words νῦν, "now," and πολυποίκιλος, "manifold," ſeem wholly accommodated, i. e. Now, that the uncircumciſed Gentiles believe in Chriſt, and are, by baptiſm, admitted into the church, the wiſdom of God is made known to the Jews, not to be tied up to one invariable way and form, as they perſuade themſelves; but diſplays itſelf in ſundry manners, as he thinks fit.

11 [a] Whether by αἰῶνες, "ages," here, the ſeveral diſpenſations, mankind was under, from firſt to laſt, or whether the two great diſpenſations of the law and the Goſpel (for that αἰῶνες are uſed in the ſacred ſcripture, to denote theſe, I think an attentive reader cannot doubt) be here meant, this ſeems viſibly the ſenſe of the place, that all theſe diſpenſations, in the ſeveral ages of the church, were all, by the pre-ordination of God's purpoſe, regulated and conſtituted in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord; that is, with regard to Chriſt, who was deſigned and appointed Lord and head over all; which ſeems to me to anſwer τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, "who created all things "by Jeſus Chriſt," ver. 9.

12 [b] Πίστις αὐτοῦ, "Faith of him," the genitive caſe of the object, as well as of the agent, is ſo frequent, in ſacred ſcripture, that there needs nothing to be ſaid of it.

14 [c] "The father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt," ſet down, as it is in the beginning of this verſe, joined to the deſign of the Apoſtle, in this place, makes me think, that the ſenſe of it is, ſo plainly, that which I have given of it, that I do not ſee any difficulty can be made about it. In the foregoing chapter, ver. 19. he tells the convert Gentiles of Epheſus, that now they believe in Chriſt, they are "no longer ſtrangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the ſaints, and "of the houſhold of God;" here he goes on, and tells them, they are of the family and lineage of God, being jointly with Jeſus Chriſt, who is already in heaven, the ſons of God: what could be of greater force to continue them ſtedfaſt in the doctrine, he had preached to them, and which he makes it his whole buſineſs, here, to confirm them in, viz. that they need not be circumciſed and ſubmit to the law of Moſes, they being already, by faith in Chriſt, the ſons of God, and of the ſame lineage and family with Chriſt himſelf, who was already, by that title, poſſeſſed of his inheritance in glory?

16 [d] See this ſenſe of this paſſage as given, Col. i. 27 and not much different, ch. i. 17, &c.
[e] What, "the inward man," ſignifies, ſee Rom. vii. 22. 2 Cor. iv. 16.

18 [f] This myſtery, being the ſubject St. Paul is here upon, and which he endeavours to magnify to them, and eſtabliſh in their minds, the height and breadth, &c. which he mentions in theſe words, being not applied to any thing elſe, cannot, in good ſenſe, be underſtood of any thing elſe.

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

Chap. III.

ledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulneſs of God.

20 Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly, above all that we aſk or think, according to the power that worketh in us,

21 Unto him be glory in the church by Chriſt Jeſus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

ſtand the exceeding [a] love of God, in bringing us to the knowledge of Chriſt: that you may be filled with that knowledge, and all other gifts, with God's plenty, or to that degree of fulneſs, which is ſuitable to his purpoſe of munificence and bounty towards you [b]. 20. Now to him that worketh in us, by a power, whereby he is able to do, exceedingly beyond all that we can aſk or think; 21. Unto him be glory in the church, by Chriſt Jeſus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

NOTES.

19 [a] ὑπερβάλλουσαν, "exceeding," ſeems to be here a comparative term, joined to the love of God, in communicating the knowledge of Chriſt, and declaring it ſuperior to ſome other thing; if you deſire to know what, he himſelf tells you, on the ſame occaſion, Phil. iii. 8. viz. to circumciſion, and the other ritual inſtitutions of the law, which the Jews looked on, as the marks of the higheſt degree of God's love to them, whereby they were ſanctified and ſeparated to him, from the reſt of the world, and ſecured of his favour. To which, if any one will add what St. Paul ſays, on the ſame ſubject, Col. ii. 2, &c. (for his buſineſs is the very ſame in theſe three epiſtles) he will not want light to guide him, in the ſenſe of this place here.

[b] Εἰς πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, "to all the fulneſs of God;" the fulneſs of God is ſuch fulneſs, as God is wont to beſtow, i. e. wherein there is nothing wanting to any one, but every one is filled to the utmoſt of his capacity. This I take to be the meaning of εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα Θεοῦ, and then πᾶν πλήρωμα may be underſtood, to ſhew, that it is not a fulneſs of one thing, and an emptineſs of another, but it is a fulneſs of all thoſe gifts, which any one ſhall need, and may be uſeful to him, or the church.

20 [c] What power that is, ſee chap. i. 19, 20.

SECT. VI.

CHAP. IV. 1—16.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul having concluded the ſpecial part of his epiſtle, with the foregoing chapter, he comes in this, as his manner is, to practical exhortations. He begins with unity, love, and concord, which he preſſes upon them, upon a conſideration that he makes uſe of, in more of his epiſtles than one, i. e. their being all members of one and the ſame body, whereof Chriſt is the head.

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

Chap. IV.

1 I Therefore, the priſoner of the Lord, beſeech you, that ye walk worthy of the vocation, wherewith ye are called,

2 With all lowlineſs and meekneſs, with long-ſuffering, forbearing one another in love;

3 Endeavouring to keep the unity of the ſpirit, in the bond of peace.

4 There is one body, and one ſpirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling;

5 One Lord, one faith, one baptiſm,

6 One God and father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.

1. I Therefore, who am in bonds, upon account of the Goſpel, beſeech you to walk worthy of the calling, wherewith ye are called, 2. With lowlineſs and meekneſs, with long-ſuffering, bearing with one another in love; 3. Taking care to preſerve the unity of the ſpirit, in the bond of peace; 4. Conſidering your ſelves as being one body, enlivened and acted by one ſpirit, as alſo was your calling, in one hope: 5. There is one Lord, one faith, one baptiſm, 6. One God and father of you all, who is above all, in the midſt amongſt

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CHAP. IV.

PARAPHRASE.

amongſt you all, and in every one of you. And to
7. every one of us is made a free donation, according
to that proportion of gifts, which Chriſt has allotted
8. to every one. Wherefore the Pſalmiſt ſaith, "[a] When
" he aſcended up on high, he led captivity captive,
9. " and gave gifts unto men." (Now that he aſcended,
what is it, but that he deſcended firſt, into the
10. lower parts of the earth? He, that deſcended, is
the ſame alſo, that aſcended above all heavens, that
there, receiving the fulneſs of power, he might be
11. able to fill all his members [b].) And therefore, he
alone, framing the conſtitution of his new government,
by his own power, and according to ſuch a
model, and ſuch rules as he thought beſt, making
ſome apoſtles, others evangeliſts, and others paſtors
12. and teachers; Putting thus together, in a fit order
and frame, the ſeveral members of his new collected
people, that each, in its proper place and function,
might contribute to the whole, and help to build up
13. the body of Chriſt: Till all cementing together, in
one faith, and knowledge of the Son of God, to the
full ſtate of a grown man, according to the meaſure
of that ſtature, which is to make up the fulneſs
14. of Chriſt: That we ſhould be no longer children, toſſed
to and fro, and carried about with every wind of
doctrine, by men verſed in the ſlights of cheating,
and their cunning artifices, laid in train to deceive.
15. But being ſteady in true and unfeigned love, ſhould
grow up into a firm union, in all things, with
16. Chriſt, who is the head: From whom the whole
body, fitly framed together, and compacted by that
which every joint ſupplies, according to the proper
force and function of each particular part, makes an
increaſe of the whole body, building itſelf up in love,
or a mutual concern of the parts [c].

TEXT.

7 But unto every one of us is given grace, according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt.

8 Wherefore he ſaith, when he aſcended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.

9 (Now that he aſcended, what is it, but that he alſo deſcended firſt, into the lower parts of the earth?

10 He that deſcended, is the ſame alſo, that aſcended up, far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.)

11 And he gave ſome, apoſtles: and ſome, prophets: and ſome, evangeliſts: and ſome, paſtors and teachers;

12 For the perfecting of the ſaints, for the work of the miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt:

13 Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt:

14 That we henceforth be no more children, toſſed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the ſlight of men, and cunning craftineſs, whereby they lye in wait to deceive:

15 But ſpeaking the truth in love, may grow up into him, in all things, which is the head, even Chriſt:

16 From whom the whole body, fitly joined together, and compacted, by that which every joint ſupplieth, according to the effectual working, in the meaſure of every part, maketh increaſe of the body, unto the edifying of itſelf in love.

NOTES.

8 [a] Pſal. lxviii. 18.

9, 10 [b] St. Paul's argumentation, in theſe two verſes, is ſkilfully adapted to the main deſign of his epiſtle. The convert Gentiles were attacked, by the unconverted Jews, who were declared enemies to the thoughts of a Meſſiah that died: St. Paul, to enervate that objection of theirs, proves by the paſſage out of the Pſalms, ver. 8. that he muſt die and be buried. Beſides the unbelieving Jews, ſeveral of them, that were converted to the Goſpel, or at leaſt profeſſed to be ſo, attacked the Gentile converts, on another ſide, perſuading them, that they could not be admitted to be the people of God, in the kingdom of the Meſſiah, nor receive any advantage by him, unleſs they were circumciſed, and put themſelves wholly under the Jewiſh conſtitution. He had ſaid a great deal, in the three firſt chapters, to free them from this perplexity, but yet takes occaſion here, to offer them a new argument, by telling them, that Chriſt, the ſame Jeſus that died, and was laid in his grave, was exalted to the right hand of God, above all the heavens, in the higheſt ſtate of dignity and power, that he himſelf, being filled with the fulneſs of God, believers, who were all his members, might receive immediately from him, their head, a fulneſs of gifts and graces, upon no other terms, but barely as they were his members.

16 [c] The ſum of all that St. Paul ſays, in this figurative diſcourſe, is, that Chriſtians, all as members of one body, whereof Chriſt is the head, ſhould, each in his proper place, according to the gifts beſtowed upon him, labour with concern and good will, for the good and increaſe of the whole, till it be grown up to that fulneſs, which is to complete it, in Chriſt Jeſus. This is, in ſhort, the ſenſe of the exhortation, contained in this ſection, which carries a ſtrong inſinuation with it, eſpecially if we take in the reſt of the admonitions, to the end of the epiſtle, that the Moſaical obſervances were no part of the buſineſs, or character, of a Chriſtian; but were wholly to be neglected, and declined, by the ſubjects of Chriſt's kingdom.

SECT. VII.

CHAP. IV. 17——24.

CONTENTS.

IN this ſection, the Apoſtle exhorts them wholly to forſake their former converſation, which they had paſſed their lives in, whilſt they were Gentiles, and to take up that, which became them, and was proper to them, now they were Chriſtians. Here we may ſee the Heathen and Chriſtian ſtate and converſation deſcribed, and ſet in oppoſition one to the other.

TEXT.

17 THIS I ſay, therefore, and teſtify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk, not as other Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their mind,

18 Having the underſtanding darkned, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, becauſe of the blindneſs of their heart:

19 Who, being paſt feeling, have given themſelves over unto laſciviouſneſs, to work all uncleanneſs with greedineſs.

20 But ye have not ſo learned Chriſt:

21 If ſo be, that ye have heard him, and have been taught by him, as the truth is in Jeſus:

22 That ye put off, concerning the former converſation, the old man, which is corrupt, according to the deceitful luſts:

23 And be renewed in the ſpirit of your mind;

24 And that ye put on the new man, which, after God, is created in righteouſneſs, and true holineſs.

PARAPHRASE.

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Chap. IV.

THIS I ſay, therefore, and teſtify to you, from 17.
the Lord, that ye henceforth walk, not as the
unconverted Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their
minds[a], Having their underſtandings darkned, being 18.
alienated from that rule and courſe of life, which
they own and obſerve, who are the profeſſed ſubjects
and ſervants of the true God[b], through the ignorance
that is in them, becauſe of the blindneſs of their
hearts; Who, being paſt feeling, have given themſelves 19.
over to laſciviouſneſs, to the committing of all uncleanneſs,
even beyond the bounds of natural deſires[c].
But you, that have been inſtructed in the religion of 20.
Chriſt, have learned other things; If you have been 21.
ſcholars of his ſchool, and have been taught the truth,
as it is in the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt: That you change 22.
your former converſation, abandoning thoſe deceitful
luſts, wherewith you were entirely corrupted: And
that, being renewed in the ſpirit of the mind, You 23.
become new men[d], framed and faſhioned according 24.
to the will of God, in righteouſneſs and true holineſs.

NOTES.

17 [a] This "vanity of mind," if we look into Rom. i. 21, &c. we ſhall find to be the apoſtatiſing of the Gentiles, from the true God, to idolatry; and, in conſequence of that, to all that profligate way of living, which followed thereupon, and is there deſcribed, by St. Paul.

18 [b] This "alienation" was from owning ſubjection to the true God, and the obſervance of thoſe laws, which he had given, to thoſe of mankind, that continued and profeſſed to be his people; ſee chap. ii. 12.

12 [c] Πλεονεξία, "covetouſneſs," in the common acceptation of the word, is the letting looſe our deſires to that which, by the law of juſtice, we have no right to. But St. Paul, in ſome of his epiſtles, uſes it for intemperate and exorbitant deſires of carnal pleaſures, not confined within the bounds of nature. He that will compare with this verſe here, chap. v. 3. Col. iii. 5. 1 Theſſ. iv. 6. 1 Cor. v. 10, 11. and well conſider the context, will find reaſon to take it here, in the ſenſe I have given of it, or elſe it will be very hard to underſtand theſe texts of ſcripture. In the ſame ſenſe the learned Dr. Hammond underſtands ϖλεονεξία, Rom. i. 29. Which, though perhaps the Greek idiom will ſcarce juſtify, yet the Apoſtle's ſtyle will, who often uſes Greek terms in the full latitude of the Hebrew words, which they are uſually put for in tranſlating, though, in the Greek uſe of them, they have nothing at all of that ſignification, particularly the Hebrew word בצע, which ſignifies covetouſneſs, the ſeptuagint tranſlate μιασμὸς, Ezek. xxxiii. 31. In which ſenſe the apoſtle uſes ϖλεονεξία here. In theſe, and the two preceding verſes, we have a deſcription of the ſtate of the Gentiles without, and their wretched and ſinful ſtate, whilſt unconverted to the Chriſtian faith, and ſtrangers from the kingdom of God; to which may be added, what is ſaid of theſe ſinners of the Gentiles, chap. ii. 11——13. Col. i. 21. 1 Theſſ. iv. 5. Col. iii. 5——7. Rom. i. 30, 31.

24 [d] What the ϖαλαιός ἄνθρωπος, "the old man," that is to be put off, is, and the καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, "the new man," that is to be put on, is, may be ſeen in the oppoſite characters of good and bad men, in the following part of this, and in ſeveral other of St. Paul's epiſtles.

SECT. VIII.

CHAP. IV. 25.——V. 2.

CONTENTS.

AFter the general exhortation, in the cloſe of the foregoing ſection, to the Epheſians, to renounce the old courſe of life they led, when they were Heathens, and to become perfectly new men, conformed to the holy rules of the Goſpel, St. Paul deſcends to particulars, and here, in this ſection, preſſes ſeveral particulars of thoſe great ſocial virtues, juſtice and charity, &c.

An. Ch. 63.
NERONIS 9.

PARAPHRASE.

Chap. IV.
25. WHerefore putting away lying, let every man
ſpeak truth to his neighbour; for we are
26. members one of another. If you meet with provocations,
that move you to anger, take care that you
indulge it not ſo far, as to make it ſinful: defer not
its cure, till ſleep calm the mind, but endeavour to
recover your ſelf forthwith, and bring your ſelf into
27. temper; Leſt you give an oportunity to the devil, to
28. produce ſome miſchief, by your diſorder. Let him
that hath ſtole, ſteal no more, but rather let him labour
in ſome honeſt calling, that he may have even
29. wherewithal to relieve others, that need it. Let not
any filthy language, or a miſbecoming word come
out of your mouths, but let your diſcourſe be pertinent
to the occaſion, and tending to edification, and
ſuch as may have a becoming gracefulneſs in the ears
30. of the hearers. And grieve not the holy ſpirit of
God, whereby ye are ſealed [a] to the day of redemp-
31. tion. Let all bitterneſs, and wrath, and anger, and
clamour and evil-ſpeaking, be put away from you,
32. with all malice. And be ye kind one to another,
tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God,
Chap. V. 1. for Chriſt's ſake, hath forgiven you. Therefore,
as becomes children, that are beloved and cheriſhed
by God, propoſe him as an example to your ſelves,
2. to be imitated, And let love conduct and influence
your whole converſation, as Chriſt alſo hath loved
us, and hath given himſelf for us, an offering, and
an acceptable ſacrifice [b] to God.

TEXT.

WHerefore, putting away lying, ſpeak every man truth with his neighbour: for we are members one of another. 25

Be ye angry and ſin not: let not the ſun go down upon your wrath: 26

Neither give place to the devil. 27

Let him that ſtole, ſteal no more: but rather let him labour, working, with his hands, the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth. 28

Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good, to the uſe of edifying; that it may miniſter grace unto the hearers. 29

And grieve not the holy ſpirit of God; whereby ye are ſealed unto the day of redemption. 30

Let all bitterneſs, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil ſpeaking, be put away from you, with all malice. 31

And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Chriſt's ſake hath forgiven you. 32

Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children; 1

And walk in love; as Chriſt alſo hath loved us, and hath given himſelf for us, an offering and a ſacrifice to God, for a ſweet ſmelling ſavour. 2

NOTES.

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30 [a] "Sealed," i. e. have God's mark ſet upon you, that you are his ſervants, a ſecurity to you, that you ſhould be admitted into his kingdom, as ſuch, at the day of redemption, i. e. at the reſurrection, when you ſhall be put in the actual poſſeſſion of a place in his kingdom, among thoſe who are his, whereof the ſpirit is now an earneſt: See note [g] chap. i. 14.

2 [b] "Of a ſweet ſmelling ſavour," was, in ſcripture-phraſe, ſuch a ſacrifice as God accepted, and was pleaſed with; ſee Gen. viii. 21.

SECT. IX.

CHAP. V. 3——20.

CONTENTS.

THE next ſort of ſins he dehorts them from, are thoſe of intemperance, eſpecially thoſe of uncleanneſs, which were ſo familiar, and ſo unreſtrained amongſt the heathens.

An. Ch. 63.
NERONIS 9.

CHAP. V.

TEXT.

3 BUT fornication, and all uncleanneſs, or covetouſneſs, let it not be once named amongſt you, as becometh ſaints:

4 Neither filthineſs, nor fooliſh talking, nor jeſting, which are not convenient: but rather giving of thanks.

5 For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean

PARAPHRASE.

3 BUT fornication and all uncleanneſs, or exorbitant deſires in venereal matters [a], let it not be once named amongſt you, as becometh ſaints: 4 Neither filthineſs, nor fooliſh talking, nor pleaſantry of diſcourſe of this kind, which are none of them convenient, but rather giving of thanks. 5 For this you are thoroughly inſtructed in, and acquainted with, that no fornicator, nor unclean perſon, nor lewd, laſcivious

NOTE.

3 [a] The word in the Greek is πλεονεξία, which properly ſignifies covetouſneſs, or an intemperate, ungoverned love of riches: but the chaſte ſtyle of the ſcripture makes uſe of it, to expreſs the letting looſe of the deſires to irregular, venereal pleaſures, beyond what was fit and right. This one can hardly avoid being convinced of, if one conſiders how it ſtands joined with theſe ſorts of ſins, in thoſe many places, which Dr. Hammond mentions, in his notes on Rom. i. 29. and ch. iv. 19. of this epiſtle, and ver. 5. of this chap. v. compared with this here, they are enough to ſatisfy one, what πλεονεξία, "covetouſneſs," means here; but, if that ſhould fail, theſe words, "let "it not be once named amongſt you, as becometh ſaints," which are ſubjoined to covetouſneſs, put it paſt doubt; for what indecency, or miſbecomingneſs is it, amongſt Chriſtians, to name covetouſneſs? πλεονεξία, therefore, muſt ſignify the title of ſins, that are not fit to be named amongſt Chriſtians, ſo that πᾶσα ἀκαθαρσία ἢ πλεονεξία, ſeem not here to be uſed definitively, for ſeveral ſorts of ſins, but as two names of the ſame thing, explaining one another; and ſo this verſe will give us a true notion of the word πορνεία, in the new teſtament, the want whereof, and taking it to mean fornication, in our Engliſh acceptation of that word, as ſtanding for one diſtinct ſpecies of uncleanneſs, in the natural mixture of an unmarried couple, ſeems to me to have perplexed the meaning of ſeveral texts of ſcripture; whereas, taken in that large ſenſe, which ἀκαθαρσία and πλεονεξία ſeem here to expound it, the obſcurity, which follows from the uſual notion of fornication, applied to it, will be removed. Some men have been forward to conclude from the Apoſtle's letter to the convert Gentiles of Antioch, Acts xv. 28. wherein they find fornication joined with two, or three other actions; that ſimple fornication, as they call it, was not much diſtant, if at all, from an indifferent action, whereby, I think, they very much confounded the meaning of the text. The Jews, that were converted to the Goſpel, could by no means admit, that thoſe of the Gentiles, who retained any of their ancient idolatry, though they profeſſed faith in Chriſt, could by any means be received by them, into the communion of the Goſpel, as the people of God, under the Meſſiah; and ſo far they were in the right, to make ſure of it, that they had fully renounced idolatry; the generality inſiſted on it, that they ſhould be circumciſed, and ſo, by ſubmitting to the obſervances of the law, give the ſame proof, that Proſelytes were wont to do, that they were perfectly clear from all remains of idolatry. This the Apoſtles thought more than was neceſſary; but eating of things ſacrificed to idols, and blood, whether let out of the animal, or contained in it, being ſtrangled; and fornication, in the large ſenſe of the word, as it is put for all ſorts of uncleanneſs, being the preſumed marks of idolatry to the Jews, they forbid the convert Gentiles, thereby to avoid the offence of the Jews, and prevent a ſeparation between the profeſſors of the Goſpel, upon this account. This therefore, was not given to the convert Gentiles, by the Apoſtles of the circumciſion, as a ſtanding rule of morality, required by the Goſpel; if that had been the deſign, it muſt have contained a great many other particulars; what laws of morality they were under, as ſubjects of Jeſus Chriſt, they doubted not, but St. Paul, their Apoſtle, taught and inculcated to them: all that they iuſtructed them in here, was neceſſary for them to do, ſo as to be admitted into one fellowſhip and communion with the converts of the Jewiſh nation, who would certainly avoid them, if they found that they made no ſcruple of thoſe things, but practiſed any of them. That fornication, or all ſorts of uncleanneſs, were the conſequence and concomitants of idolatry, we ſee, Rom. i. 29. and it is known, were favoured by the heathen worſhip: and therefore the practice of thoſe ſins is every where ſet down, as the characteriſtical, heathen, mark of the idolatrous Gentiles, from which abominations the Jews, both by their law, profeſſion, and general practice, were ſtrangers; and this was one of thoſe things, wherein chiefly God

laſcivious libertine in ſuch matters, who is in truth
an idolater, ſhall have any part in the kingdom of
6. Chriſt, and of God. Let no man deceive you with
vain, empty talk [a]; theſe things in themſelves are
highly offenſive to God, and are that, which he will
bring the heathen world (who will not come in, and
ſubmit to the law of Chriſt) to judgment for [b].
7, 8. Be ye not, therefore, partakers with them. For ye were
heretofore, in your Gentile ſtate, perfectly in the
dark [c], but now, by believing in Chriſt, and receiving [d]
the Goſpel, light and knowledge is given to you,
walk as thoſe who are in a ſtate of light (for
9. the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodneſs, righte-
10. ouſneſs and truth [e]) Practiſing that which, upon
11. examination, you find acceptable to the Lord. And
do not partake in the fruitleſs works of darkneſs [f];
do not go in the practice of thoſe ſhameful actions,
as if they were indifferent, but rather reprove them.
12. For the things, that the Gentile-idolaters [g] do in
ſecret, are ſo filthy and abominable, that it is a ſhame
13. ſo much as to name them. This you now ſee, which
is an evidence of your being enlightened, for all
things, that are diſcovered to be amiſs, are made
14. manifeſt by the light [h]. Wherefore he ſaith, awake
thou that ſleepeſt, and ariſe from the dead, and Chriſt
ſhall

perſon, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Chriſt, and of God.

Let no man deceive you with vain words: for, becauſe of theſe things, cometh the wrath of God upon the children of diſobedience. 6

Be not ye, therefore, partakers with them. 7

For ye were ſometimes darkneſs, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light, 8

(For the fruit of the ſpirit is in all goodneſs, and righteouſneſs, and truth) 9

Proving what is acceptable unto the Lord. 10

And have no fellowſhip with the unfruitful works of darkneſs, but rather reprove them. 11

For it is a ſhame even to ſpeak of thoſe things, which are done of them in ſecret. 12

But all things, that are reproved, are made manifeſt by the light: for whatſoever doth make manifeſt, is light. 13

Wherefore he ſaith, awake thou that ſleepeſt, and ariſe 14

NOTES.

God ſevered his people from the idolatrous nations, as may be ſeen, Lev. xviii. 20. &c. And hence I think that πλεονεξία, uſed for licentious intemperance in unlawful and unnatural luſts, is in the new teſtament called idolatry, and πλεονέκτης, an idolater; ſee 1 Cor. v. 11. Col. iii. 5. Eph. v. 5. as being the ſure and undoubted mark of an heathen idolater.

6 [a] One would gueſs by this, that as there were Jews who would perſuade them, that it was neceſſary for all Chriſtians to be circumciſed, and obſerve the law of Moſes; ſo there were others, who retained ſo much of their ancient heatheniſm, as to endeavour to make them believe, that thoſe venereal abominations and uncleanneſſes, were no other, than what the Gentiles eſteemed them, barely indifferent actions, not offenſive to God, or inconſiſtent with his worſhip, but only a part of the peculiar and poſitive, ceremonial law of the Jews, whereby they diſtinguiſhed themſelves from other people, and thought themſelves holier than the reſt of the world, as they did, by their diſtinctions of food, into clean and unclean, theſe actions being, in themſelves, as indifferent as thoſe meats, which the apoſtle confutes, in the following words.

[b] "Children of diſobedience," here, and chap. ii. 2. and Col. iii. 6. are plainly the Gentiles, who refuſed to come in, and ſubmit themſelves to the Goſpel, as will appear to any one, who will read theſe places and the contexts with attention.

8 [c] St. Paul, to expreſs the great darkneſs the Gentiles were in, calls them, darkneſs itſelf.

[d] Which is thus expreſſed, Col. i. 12, 13. "Giving thanks to the Father, who hath made us "meet to be partakers of the inheritance of his ſaints in light, who hath delivered us from the "power of darkneſs, and tranſlated us into the kingdom of his dear Son." The kingdom of Satan, over the Gentile world, was a kingdom of darkneſs; ſee Eph. vi. 12. And ſo we ſee Jeſus is pronounced by Simeon, "a light to lighten the Gentiles," Luke ii. 32.

9 [e] This parentheſis ſerves to give us the literal ſenſe of all, that is here required by the apoſtle, in this allegorical diſcourſe of light.

[f] Theſe deeds of the unconverted heathen, who remained in the kingdom of darkneſs, are thus expreſſed by St. Paul, Rom. vi. 21. "What fruit had you then, in thoſe things, whereof you "are now aſhamed, for the end of thoſe things is death?"

12 [g] That by them, here, are meant the unconverted Gentiles, is ſo viſible, that there needs nothing to be ſaid to juſtify the interpretation of the word.

13 [h] See John iii. 20. The Apoſtle's argument here, to keep the Epheſian converts from being miſled by thoſe, that would perſuade them, that the Gentile impurities were indifferent actions was to ſhew them, that they were now better enlightned, to which purpoſe, ver. 5. he tells them that they know, that no ſuch perſon hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Chriſt, or of God. This he tells them, ver. 8, &c. was light, which they had received from the Goſpel, which, before their converſion, they knew nothing of, but were in perfect darkneſs and ignorance of it, but now they were better inſtructed, and ſaw the difference, which was a ſign of light; and, therefore, they

TEXT.

from the dead, and Chriſt ſhall give thee light.

15 See, then, that ye walk circumſpectly; not as fools, but as wiſe;

16 Redeeming the time; becauſe the days are evil.

17 Wherefore be ye not unwiſe, but underſtanding what the will of the Lord is.

18 And be not drunk with wine wherein is exceſs; but be filled with the ſpirit.

19 Speaking to your ſelves in pſalms, and hymns, and ſpiritual ſongs, ſinging and making melody in your heart to the Lord,

20 Giving thanks always for all things, unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

PARAPHRASE.

ſhall give thee light. Since, then, you are in the 15.
light, make uſe of your eyes to walk exactly in the
right way, not as fools, rambling at adventures, but
as wiſe, in a ſteady, right-choſen courſe, Securing 16.
your ſelves [a] by your prudent carriage, from the inconveniencies
of thoſe difficult times, which threaten
you with danger. Wherefore be ye not unwiſe, but 17.
underſtanding what the will of the Lord is. And be 18.
not drunken with wine, wherein there is exceſs [b];
ſeek not diverſion in the noiſy and intemperate jollity
of drinking; but, when you are diſpoſed to a chearful
entertainment of one another, let it be with the
gifts of the holy Spirit, that you are filled with, Sing- 19.
ing hymns, and pſalms, and ſpiritual ſongs among
your ſelves; this makes real and ſolid mirth in the
heart, and is melody well pleaſing to God himſelf;
Giving thanks always, for all things, in the name of 20.
our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to God and the Father.

NOTES.

they ſhould follow that light, which they had received from Chriſt, who had raiſed them from among the Gentiles, (who were ſo far dead, as to be wholly inſenſible of the evil courſe and ſtate they were in) and had given them light, and a proſpect into a future ſtate, and the way to attain everlaſting happineſs.

16 [a] St. Paul here intimates, ver. 6. that the unconverted heathens, they lived among, would be forward to tempt them to their former, lewd, diſſolute lives; but to keep them from any approaches that way, that they have light now, by the Goſpel, to know that ſuch actions are provoking to God, and will find the effects of his wrath in the judgments of the world to come. All thoſe pollutions, ſo familiar among the Gentiles, he exhorts them carefully to avoid; but yet to take care, by their prudent carriage to the Gentiles, they lived amongſt, to give them no offence, that ſo they might eſcape the danger and trouble, that otherwiſe might ariſe to them, from the intemperance and violence of thoſe heathen idolaters, whoſe ſhameful lives the Chriſtian practice could not but reprove. This ſeems to be the meaning of "redeeming the "time" here, which Col. iv. 5. the other place where it occurs, ſeems ſo manifeſtly to confirm and give light to. If this be not the ſenſe of "redeeming the time" here, I muſt own myſelf ignorant of the preciſe meaning of the phraſe, in this place.

18 [b] St. Paul dehorts them from wine, in a too free uſe of it, becauſe therein is exceſs; the Greek word is ἀσωτία, which may ſignify luxury, or diſſoluteneſs: i. e. that drinking is no friend to continency and chaſtity, but gives up the reins to luſt and uncleanneſs, the vice he had been warning them againſt: or ἀσωτία, may ſignify intemperance, and diſorder, oppoſite to that ſober and prudent demeanour, adviſed in redeeming the time.

SECT. X.

CHAP. V. 21.—VI. 9.

CONTENTS.

IN this ſection, he gives rules concerning the duties, ariſing from the ſeveral relations men ſtand in one to another, in Society; thoſe which he particularly inſiſts on, are theſe three, huſbands and wives, parents and children, maſters and ſervants.

PARAPHRASE.

21. SUbmit [a] your ſelves one to another, in the fear of
22. God. As for example, wives, ſubmit your ſelves
to your own huſbands, as being members of the
23. church, you ſubmit your ſelves to the Lord. For the
huſband is the head of the wife, as Chriſt himſelf is
the head of the church, and it is he, the head, that
preſerves that his body [b]; ſo ſtands it between man
24. and wife. Therefore, as the church is ſubject to Chriſt,
ſo let wives be to their huſbands in every thing.
25. And you huſbands, do you, on your ſide, love your
wives, even as Chriſt alſo loved the church, and
26. gave himſelf to death for it; That he might ſanctify
and fit it to himſelf, purifying it by the waſhing of
baptiſm, joined with the preaching and reception of
27. the Goſpel [c]; That ſo he himſelf [d] might preſent
it to himſelf an honourable ſpouſe, without the leaſt
ſpot of uncleanneſs, or miſbecoming feature, or any
thing amiſs; but that it might be holy, and without
28. all manner of blemiſh. So ought men to love their
wives, as their own bodies; he that loveth his wife,
29. loveth himſelf. For no man ever hated his own fleſh,
but nouriſheth and cheriſheth it, even as the Lord
30. Chriſt doth the church: For we are members of his
31. body, of his fleſh, and of his bones. For this cauſe
ſhall a man leave his father and mother, and ſhall be
joined unto his wife, and they two ſhall be one
32. fleſh [e]. Theſe words contain a very myſtical ſenſe in
them,

TEXT.

SUbmiting your ſelves one to another, in the fear of God. 21

Wives, ſubmit your ſelves unto your own huſbands, as unto the Lord. 22

For the huſband is the head of the wife, even as Chriſt is the head of the church: and he is the ſaviour of the body. 23

Therefore, as the church is ſubject unto Chriſt, ſo let the wives be to their own huſbands in every thing. 24

Huſbands, love your wives, even as Chriſt alſo loved the church, and gave himſelf for it. 25

That he might ſanctify and cleanſe it, with the waſhing of water, by the word. 26

That he might preſent it to himſelf a glorious church not having ſpot, or wrinkle, or any ſuch thing; but that it ſhould be holy, and without blemiſh. 27

So ought men to love their wives, as their own bodies: he that loveth his wife, loveth himſelf. 28

For no man ever yet hated his own fleſh; but nouriſheth and cheriſheth it, even as the Lord the church: 29

For we are members of his body, of his fleſh, and of his bones. 30

For this cauſe ſhall a man leave his father and mother, and ſhall be joined unto his wife, and they two ſhall be one fleſh. 31

This is a great myſtery: but I ſpeak concerning Chriſt and the church. 32

NOTES.

21 [a] This, though in grammatical conſtruction it be joined to the foregoing diſcourſe, yet I think it ought to be looked on, as introductory to what follows in this ſection, and to be a general rule given to the Epheſians, to ſubmit to thoſe duties, which the ſeveral relations they ſtood in, to one another, required of them.

23 [b] 'Tis from the head that the body receives its healthy and vigorous conſtitution of health and life; this St. Paul pronounces here of Chriſt, as head of the church, that by that parallel which he makes uſe of, to repreſent the relation between huſband and wife, he may both ſhew the wife the reaſonableneſs of her ſubjection to her huſband, and the duty incumbent on the huſband to cheriſh and preſerve his wife, as we ſee he purſues it, in the following verſes.

26 [c] Ἐν ῥήματι, "by the word." The purifying of men is aſcribed ſo much, throughout the whole new teſtament, to the word, i. e. the preaching of the Goſpel, and baptiſm, that there needs little to be ſaid to prove it; ſee John xv. 3. and xvii. 17. 1 Pet. i. 22. Tit. iii. 5. Heb. x. 22. Col. ii. 12, 13. and as it is at large explained in the former part of the ſixth chapter to the Romans.

27 [d] "He himſelf," ſo the Alexandrine copy reads it αὐτὸς, and not αὐτὴν, more ſuitable to the Apoſtle's meaning here, who, to recommend to huſbands love and tenderneſs to their wives, in imitation of Chriſt's affection to the church, ſhews, that whereas other brides take care to ſpruce themſelves, and ſet off their perſons, with all manner of neatneſs and cleanneſs, to recommend themſelves to their bridegrooms; Chriſt himſelf, at the expence of his own pains and blood, purified and prepared himſelf for his ſpouſe, the church, that he might preſent it to himſelf, without ſpot, or wrinkle.

30 and 31 [e] Theſe two verſes may ſeem to ſtand here diſorderly, ſo as to diſturb the connexion, and make the inferences disjointed, and very looſe, and inconſiſtent to any one, who more minds the order and grammatical conſtruction of St. Paul's words, written down, than the thoughts that poſſeſſed his mind, when he was writing. 'Tis plain the Apoſtle had here two things in view; the

one

Chap. V.

TEXT.

33 Nevertheleſs, let every one of you, in particular, ſo love his wife, even as himſelf; and the wife ſee that ſhe reverence her huſband.

1 Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right.

2 Honour thy father and mother, (which is the firſt commandment with promiſe)

3 That it may be well with thee, and thou mayeſt live long on the earth.

4 And ye fathers provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

5 Servants, be obedient to them that are your maſters, according to the fleſh, with fear and trembling, in ſingleneſs of your heart, as unto Chriſt:

6 Not with eye-ſervice, as men-pleaſers; but as the ſervants of Chriſt, doing the will of God from the heart;

7 With good will doing ſervice, as to the Lord, and not to men:

8 Knowing that whatſoever good thing any man doth, the ſame ſhall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free.

9 And ye maſters, do the ſame things unto them, forbearing threatning: knowing that your maſter alſo is in heaven, neither is there reſpect of perſons with him.

PARAPHRASE.

them[a], I mean in reference to Chriſt and the church.
But laying that aſide, their literal ſenſe lays hold on 33.
you, and therefore do you huſbands, every one of
you in particular, ſo love his wife, as his own ſelf, Chap. VI.
and let the wife reverence her huſband. Children, 1.
obey your parents, performing it as required thereunto by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; for this is right and
conformable to that command, Honour thy father 2.
and mother, (which is the firſt command with promiſe) That it may be well with thee, and thou mayeſt
be long-lived upon the earth. And on the other ſide, 3.
ye fathers do not, by the auſterity of your carriage, 4.
deſpiſe and diſcontent your children, but bring them
up, under ſuch a method of diſcipline, and give them
ſuch inſtruction, as is ſuitable to the Goſpel. Ye that 5.
are bondmen, be obedient to thoſe who are your
maſters, according to the conſtitution of human
affairs, with great reſpect and ſubjection, and with
that ſincerity of heart which ſhould be uſed to Chriſt
himſelf: Not with ſervice only in thoſe outward ac- 6.
tions, that come under their obſervation; aiming at
no more but the pleaſing of men; but, as the ſervants
of Chriſt, doing what God requires of you, from your
very hearts, In this with good will paying your duty 7.
to the Lord, and not unto men, Knowing that what- 8.
ſoever good thing any one doth to another, he ſhall
be conſidered and rewarded for it by God, whether
he be bond or free. And ye maſters, have the like 9.
regard and readineſs to do good to your bond-ſlaves,
forbearing the roughneſs even of unneceſſary menaces, knowing that even you your ſelves have a maſter
in heaven above, who will call you, as well as them,
to an impartial account for your carriage one to another, for he is no reſpecter of perſons.

NOTES.

one was, to preſs men to love their wives, by the example of Chriſt's love to his church; and the force of that argument lay in this, that a man and his wife were one fleſh, as Chriſt and his church were one: but this latter, being a truth of the greater conſequence of the two, he was as intent on ſettling that upon their minds, though it were but an incident, as the other which was the argument he was upon; and therefore, having ſaid, ver. 29. that "every one nouriſheth and "cheriſheth his own fleſh, as Chriſt doth the church," 'twas natural to ſubjoin the reaſon there, viz. becauſe "we were members of his body, of his fleſh, and of his bones:" a propoſition he took as much care to have believed, as that it was the duty of huſbands to love their wives; which doctrine, of Chriſt and the church being one, when he had ſo ſtrongly aſſerted, in the words of Adam concerning Eve, Gen. ii. 23. which he, in his conciſe way of expreſſing himſelf, underſtands both of the wife and of the church, he goes on with the words in Gen. ii. 24. which makes their being one fleſh, the reaſon why a man was more ſtrictly to be united to his wife, than to his parents, or any other relation.

32 [a] 'Tis plain, by ver. 30, here, and the application therein of theſe words, Gen. ii. 23. to Chriſt and the church, that the Apoſtles underſtood ſeveral paſſages in the old teſtament, in reference to Chriſt and the Goſpel, which evangelical, or ſpiritual, ſenſe was not underſtood, 'till, by the aſſiſtance of the ſpirit of God, the Apoſtles ſo explained and revealed it. This is that, which St. Paul, as we ſee he does here, calls myſtery, He that has a mind to have a true notion of this matter, let him carefully read 1 Cor. ii. where St. Paul very particularly explains this matter.

SECT. XI.

CHAP. VI. 10—20.

CONTENTS.

He concludes this epiſtle, with a general exhortation to them, to ſtand firm againſt the temptations of the devil, in the exerciſe of Chriſtian virtues and graces, which he propoſes to them, as ſo many pieces of Chriſtian armour fit to arm them cap-a-pee, and preſerve them in the conflict.

PARAPHRASE.

10. Finally, my brethren, go on reſolutely in the pro-
feſſion of the Goſpel, in reliance upon that pow-
er, and in the exerciſe of that ſtrength, which is ready
11. for your ſupport, in Jeſus Chriſt; Putting on the whole
armour of God, that ye may be able to reſiſt all the
12. attacks of the devil. For our conflict is not barely
with men, but with principalities, and with powers [a],
with the rulers of the darkneſs, that is in men, in the
preſent conſtitution of the world, and the ſpiritual
managers of the oppoſition to the kingdom of God.
13. Wherefore, take unto your ſelves the whole armour
of God, that you may be able to make reſiſtance in
the evil day, when you ſhall be attacked, and, having
acquitted your ſelves in every thing as you ought, to
14. ſtand and keep your ground: Stand faſt, therefore,
having your loins girt with truth; and having on the
15. breaſt-plate of righteouſneſs; And your feet ſhod with
a readineſs to walk in the way of the Goſpel of peace,
16. which you have well ſtudied and conſidered. Above
all taking the ſhield of faith, wherein you may re-
ceive, and ſo render ineffectual all the fiery darts of
17. the wicked one, i. e. the devil.—Take alſo the hopes
of ſalvation for an helmet; and the ſword of the ſpi-
18. rit, which is the word of God [b]: Praying, at all ſea-
ſons, with all prayer and ſupplication in the ſpirit, at-
tending and watching hereunto, with all perſeve-
19. rance, and ſupplication, for all the ſaints; And for
me, in particular, that I may, with freedom and
plainneſs of ſpeech, preach the word, to the manifeſt-
ing and laying open that part of the Goſpel, that con-
cerns the calling of the Gentiles, which has hitherto,
as a myſtery, lain concealed, and not been at all un-
20. derſtood. But I, as an ambaſſador, am ſent to make
known to the world, and am now in priſon, upon
that very account: but let your prayers be, that, in
the diſcharge of this my commiſſion, I may ſpeak
plainly and boldly, as an ambaſſador from God ought
to ſpeak.

TEXT.

10 Finally, my brethren, be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.

11 Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtand againſt the wiles of the devil.

12 For we wreſtle not againſt fleſh and blood, but againſt principalities, againſt powers, againſt the rulers of the darkneſs of this world, againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs in high places.

13 Wherefore, take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withſtand in the evil day, and having done all, to ſtand.

14 Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breaſt-plate of righteouſneſs.

15 And your feet ſhod with the preparation of the Goſpel of peace;

16 Above all, taking the ſhield of faith, wherewith ye ſhall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.

17 And take the helmet of ſalvation, and the ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God:

18 Praying always with all prayer and ſupplication in the ſpirit, and watching thereunto, with all perſeverance, and ſupplication, for all ſaints;

19 And for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the myſtery of the Goſpel:

20 For which I am an ambaſſador in bonds: that therein I may ſpeak boldly, as I ought to ſpeak.

NOTES.

12 [a] "Principalities and powers," are put here, 'tis viſible, for thoſe revolted angels, which ſtood in oppoſition to the kingdom of God.

17 [b] In this foregoing allegory, St. Paul, providing armour for his Chriſtian ſoldier, to arm him, at all points, there is no need curiouſly to explain, wherein the peculiar correſpondence between thoſe virtues and thoſe pieces of armour conſiſted, it being plain enough, what the Apoſtle means, and wherewith he would have believers be armed for their warfare.

SECT. XII.

CHAP. VI. 21.——24.

EPILOGUS.

An. Ch. 63.
Neronis 9.
Chap. VI.

TEXT.

21 BUT that ye alſo may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother and faithful miniſter in the Lord, ſhall make known to you all things:

22 Whom I have ſent unto you for the ſame purpoſe, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts.

23 Peace be to the brethren, and love, with faith, from God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

24 Grace be with all them, that love our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in ſincerity. Amen.

PARAPHRASE.

TYchicus, a beloved brother, and faithful mini- 21.
ſter of the Lord in the work of the Goſpel,
ſhall acquaint you how matters ſtand with me, and
how I do, and give you a particular account how all
things ſtand here. I have ſent him, on purpoſe, to 22.
you, that you might know the ſtate of our affairs,
and that he might comfort your hearts. Peace be to 23.
the brethren, and love, with faith, from God the
Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Grace be with all 24.
thoſe that love our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in ſincerity[a].

NOTE.

24 [a] Ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, "in ſincerity," ſo our tranſlation; the Greek word ſignifies, "in incorruption." St. Paul cloſes all his epiſtles, with this benediction, "grace be with you;" but this here is ſo peculiar a way of expreſſing himſelf, that it may give us ſome reaſon to enquire what thoughts ſuggeſted it. It has been remarked, more than once, that the main buſineſs of his epiſtle, is that, which fills his mind, and guides his pen, in his whole diſcourſe. In this to the Epheſians he ſets forth the Goſpel, as a diſpenſation ſo much, in every thing, ſuperior to the law; that it was to debaſe, corrupt, and deſtroy the Goſpel, to join circumciſion and the obſervance of the law, as neceſſary to it. Having writ this epiſtle to this end, he here, in the cloſe, having the ſame thought ſtill upon his mind, pronounces favour on all thoſe, that love the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in incorruption, i. e. without the mixing, or joining any thing with him, in the work of our ſalvation, that may render the Goſpel uſeleſs and ineffectual. For thus he ſays, Gal. v. 2. "If ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing." This I ſubmit to the conſideration of the judicious reader.

POSTHUMOUS

WORKS

OF

JOHN LOCKE Eſq;

VIZ.

I. Of the conduct of the underſtanding.

II. An examination of P. Malebranche's opinion of ſeeing all things in God.

III. A diſcourſe of miracles.

IV. Part of a fourth letter for toleration.

V Memoirs relating to the life of Anthony firſt Earl of Shafteſbury.

To which is added,

VI. His new method of a common-place-book, written originally in French, and now tranſlated into Engliſh.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

READER.

THE enſuing treatiſes are true and genuine remains of the deceaſed author, whoſe name they bear; but, for the greateſt part, received not his laſt hand, being in a great meaſure little more than ſudden views, intended to be afterwards reviſed and farther looked into; but by ſickneſs, intervention of buſineſs, or preferable enquiries, happened to be thruſt aſide, and ſo lay neglected.

The "conduct of the underſtanding" he always thought to be a ſubject very well worth conſideration. As any miſcarriages, in that point, accidentally came into his mind, he uſed ſometimes to ſet them down in writing, with thoſe remedies, that he could then think of. This method, tho' it makes not that haſte to the end, which one could wiſh, yet perhaps is the only one, that can be followed in the caſe. It being here, as in phyſic, impoſſible for a phyſician to deſcribe a diſeaſe, or ſeek remedies for it, till he comes to meet with it. Such particulars of this kind, as occurred to the author, at a time of leiſure, he, as is before ſaid, ſet down in writing; intending, if he had lived, to have reduced them into order and method, and to have made a complete treatiſe; whereas, now it is only a collection of caſual obſervations, ſufficient to make men ſee ſome faults in the conduct of their underſtanding, and ſuſpect there may be more, and may, perhaps, ſerve to excite others to enquire farther into it, than the author hath done.

"The examination of P. Malebranche's opinion, "of ſeeing all things in God," ſhews it to be a very groundleſs

groundleſs notion, and was not publiſhed by the author, becauſe he looked upon it to be an opinion, that would not ſpread, but was like to die of its ſelf, or at leaſt to do no great harm.

"The diſcourſe of miracles" was writ for his own ſatisfaction, and never went beyond the firſt draught, and was occaſioned by his reading "Mr. Fleetwood's "eſſay on miracles," and the letter writ to him on that ſubject.

"The fourth letter for toleration" is imperfect, was begun by the author, a little before his death, but never finiſhed. It was deſigned for an anſwer to a book entitled, "A ſecond letter to the author of the three let-"ters for toleration," &c. which was writ againſt the authors's third letter for toleration, about twelve years after the ſaid third letter had been publiſh'd.

"The memoirs of the late Earl of Shafteſbury" are only certain particular facts, ſet down in writing by the author, as they occurred to his memory; if time and health would have permitted him, he had gone on farther, and, from ſuch materials, have collected and compiled an hiſtory of that noble Peer.

OF

OF THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
UNDERSTANDING.

Quid tam temerarium tamque indignum ſapientis gravitate atque conſtantiâ quàm aut falſum ſentire, aut quod non ſatis exploratè perceptum ſit, & cognitum, ſine ullâ dubitatione defendere? Cic. de Natura Deorum lib. 1.

INTRODUCTION.

Introduction.

§ 1. THE laſt reſort a man has recourſe to, in the conduct of himſelf, is his underſtanding: for though we diſtinguiſh the faculties of the mind, and give the ſupreme command to the will, as to an agent; yet the truth is, the man, which is the agent, determines himſelf to this, or that, voluntary action, upon ſome precedent knowledge, or appearance of knowledge in the underſtanding. No man ever ſets himſelf about any thing, but upon ſome view, or other, which ſerves him for a reaſon, for what he does: and whatſoever faculties he employs, the underſtanding, with ſuch light as it has, well or ill informed, conſtantly leads; and by that light, true or falſe, all his operative powers are directed. The will itſelf, how abſolute and uncontroulable ſoever it may be thought, never fails in its obedience to the dictates of the underſtanding. Temples have their ſacred images, and we ſee what influence they have always had, over a great part of mankind. But in truth, the ideas and images in men's minds are the inviſible powers, that conſtantly govern them; and to theſe they all univerſally pay a ready ſubmiſſion. It is, therefore, of the higheſt concernment, that great care ſhould be taken of the underſtanding, to conduct it right, in the ſearch of knowledge, and in the judgments it makes,

THE Logick, now in uſe, has ſo long poſſeſſed the chair, as the only art taught in the ſchools, for the direction of the mind, in the ſtudy of the arts and ſciences, that it would perhaps be thought an affectation of novelty to ſuſpect, that rules, that have ſerved the learned world theſe two, or three thouſand years, and which, without any complaint of defects, the learned have reſted in, are not ſufficient to guide the underſtanding. And I ſhould not doubt, but this attempt would be cenſured as vanity, or preſumption, did not the great Lord Verulam's authority juſtify it; who, not ſervilely thinking learning could not be advanced, beyond what it was, becauſe for many ages it had not been, did not reſt in the lazy approbation and applauſe of what was, becauſe it was; but enlarged his mind to

Introduction. what might be. In his preface to his novum organum, concerning logick, he pronounces thus, "qui ſummas dialecticæ partes tribuerunt, atque inde fidiſſima "ſcientiis præſidia comparari putârunt, veriſſimé & optimé viderunt intellectum "humanum, ſibi permiſſum, meritò ſuſpectum eſſe debere. Verum infirmior "omninò eſt malo medicina; nec ipſa mali expers. Siquidem dialectica, quæ "recepta eſt, licet ad civilia & artes, quæ in ſermone & opinione poſitæ ſunt, "rectiſſimè adhibeatur; naturæ tamen ſubtilitatem longo intervallo non attingit, "& prenſando quod non capit, ad errores potius ſtabiliendos & quaſi figendos, "quam ad viam veritati aperiendam valuit."

"THEY, ſays he, who attributed ſo much to Logick, perceived very well "and truly, that it was not ſafe to truſt the underſtanding to itſelf without the "guard of any rules. But the remedy reached not the evil, but became a part "of it: for the Logick, which took place, though it might do well enough in "civil affairs, and the arts, which conſiſted in talk and opinion; yet comes "very far ſhort of ſubtilty, in the real performances of nature; and catching "at what it cannot reach, has ſerved to confirm and eſtabliſh errors, rather than "to open a way to truth." And therefore a little after he ſays, "That it is abſolutely neceſſary, that a better and perfecter uſe and employment of the mind "and underſtanding ſhould be introduced." "Neceſſariò requiritur ut melior & "perfectior mentis & intellectùs humani uſus & adoperatio introducatur.

Parts. § 2. THERE is, it is viſible, great variety in men's underſtandings, and their natural conſtitutions put ſo wide a difference between ſome men, in this reſpect, that art and induſtry would never be able to maſter; and their very natures ſeem to want a foundation to raiſe on it, that which other men eaſily attain unto.—Amongſt men of equal education there is great inequality of parts. And the woods of America, as well as the ſchools of Athens, produce men of ſeveral abilities in the ſame kind. Though this be ſo, yet I imagine moſt men come very ſhort, of what they might attain unto, in their ſeveral degrees, by a neglect of their underſtandings. A few rules of logick are thought ſufficient, in this caſe, for thoſe who pretend to the higheſt improvement; whereas I think there are a great many natural defects in the underſtanding, capable of amendment; which are overlooked and wholly neglected. And it is eaſy to perceive, that men are guilty of a great many faults, in the exerciſe and improvement of this faculty of the mind, which hinder them in their progreſs, and keep them in ignorance and error all their lives. Some of them I ſhall take notice of, and endeavor to point out proper remedies for, in the following diſcourſe.

Reaſoning. § 3. BESIDES the want of determined ideas, and of ſagacity, and exerciſe in finding out, and laying in order, intermediate ideas, there are three miſcarriages, that men are guilty of, in reference to their reaſon, whereby this faculty is hindred in them, from that ſervice, it might do, and was deſigned for. And he, that reflects upon the actions and diſcourſes of mankind, will find their defects in this kind very frequent, and very obſervable.

1. THE firſt is of thoſe, who ſeldom reaſon at all, but do and think according to the example of others, whether parents, neighbours, miniſters, or who elſe they are pleaſed to make choice of to have an implicit faith in, for the ſaving of themſelves the pains and trouble, of thinking and examining for themſelves.

2. THE ſecond is of thoſe, who put paſſion in the place of reaſon, and being reſolved that ſhall govern their actions and arguments, neither uſe their own, nor hearken to other people's reaſon, any farther than it ſuits their humour, intereſt, or party; and theſe one may obſerve commonly content themſelves with words, which have no diſtinct ideas to them, though, in other matters, that they come with an unbyaſſed indifferency to, they want not abilities to talk and hear reaſon, where they have no ſecret inclination, that hinders them from being tractable to it.

3. THE third ſort is of thoſe, who readily and ſincerely follow reaſon; but, for want of having that, which one may call large, ſound, round-about ſenſe, have not a full view of all, that relates to the queſtion, and may be of moment to decide it. We are all ſhort-ſighted, and very often ſee but one ſide of a matter; our views are not extended to all, that has a connexion with it. From this

this defect I think no man is free. We ſee but in part, and we know but in part, and therefore, it is no wonder we conclude not right from our partial views. This might inſtruct the proudeſt eſteemer of his own parts, how uſeful it is to talk and conſult with others, even ſuch as come ſhort of him in capacity, quickneſs and penetration: for, ſince no one ſees all, and we generally have different proſpects of the ſame thing, according to our different, as I may ſay, poſitions to it, it is not incongruous to think, nor beneath any man to try, whether another may not have notions of things, which have eſcaped him, and which his reaſon would make uſe of, if they came into his mind. The faculty of reaſoning, ſeldom or never deceives thoſe, who truſt to it; its conſequences, from what it builds on, are evident and certain, but that, which it oftneſt, if not only, miſleads us in, is, that the principles from which we conclude, the grounds upon which we bottom our reaſoning, are but a part, ſomething is left out, which ſhould go into the reckoning, to make it juſt and exact. Here we may imagine a vaſt and almoſt infinite advantage, that angels and ſeparate ſpirits may have over us; who, in their ſeveral degrees of elevation above us, may be endowed with more comprehenſive faculties, and ſome of them, perhaps, have perfect and exact views of all finite beings, that come under their conſideration, can, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye, collect together all their ſcattered and almoſt boundleſs relations. A mind ſo furniſhed, what reaſon has it to acquieſce in the certainty of its concluſions!

In this we may ſee the reaſon, why ſome men of ſtudy and thought, that reaſon right, and are lovers of truth, do make no great advances in their diſcoveries of it. Error and truth are uncertainly blended in their minds; their deciſions are lame and defective, and they are very often miſtaken in their judgments: the reaſon whereof is, they converſe but with one ſort of men, they read but one ſort of books, they will not come in the hearing but of one ſort of notions: the truth is, they canton out to themſelves a little Goſhen, in the intellectual world, where light ſhines, and, as they conclude day bleſſes them; but the reſt of that vaſt expanſum they give up to night and darkneſs, and ſo avoid coming near it. They have a pretty traffick with known correſpondents, in ſome little creek, within that they confine themſelves, and are dextrous managers enough of the wares and products of that corner, with which they content themſelves, but will not venture out, into the great ocean of knowledge, to ſurvey the riches, that nature hath ſtored other parts with, no leſs genuine, no leſs ſolid, no leſs uſeful, than what has fallen to their lot, in the admired plenty and ſufficiency of their own little ſpot, which to them contains whatſoever is good in the univerſe. Thoſe who live thus mewed up, within their own contracted territories, and will not look abroad, beyond the boundaries, that chance, conceit, or lazineſs has ſet to their enquiries; but live ſeparate from the notions, diſcourſes and attainments of the reſt of mankind, may not amiſs be repreſented, by the inhabitants of the Marian iſlands; who, being ſeparated, by a large tract of ſea, from all communion with the habitable parts of the earth, thought themſelves the only people of the world. And, though the ſtraitneſs of the conveniences of life amongſt them, had never reached ſo far, as to the uſe of fire, till the Spaniards, not many years ſince, in their voyages from Acapulco to Manilia, brought it amongſt them; yet, in the want and ignorance of almoſt all things, they looked upon themſelves, even after that the Spaniards had brought, amongſt them, the notice of variety of nations, abounding in ſciences, arts and conveniences of life, of which they knew nothing, they looked upon themſelves, I ſay, as the happieſt and wiſeſt people of the univerſe. But, for all that, no body, I think, will imagine them deep naturaliſts, or ſolid metaphyſicians; no body, will deem the quickeſt-ſighted amongſt them to have very enlarged views in ethicks, or politicks, nor can any one allow the moſt capable amongſt them to be advanced ſo far in his underſtanding, as to have any other knowledge, but of the few little things of his and the neighbouring iſlands, within his commerce; but far enough from that comprehenſive enlargement of mind, which adorns a ſoul, devoted to truth, aſſiſted with letters, and a free generation of the ſeveral views and

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ſentiments of thinking men of all ſides. Let not men, therefore, that would have a ſight of what every one pretends to be deſirous to have a ſight of, truth in its full extent, narrow and blind their own proſpect. Let not men think there is no truth, but in the ſciences, that they ſtudy, or the books that they read. To prejudge other men's notions, before we have looked into them, is not to ſhew their darkneſs, but to put out our own eyes. "Try all things, "hold faſt that which is good," is a divine rule, coming from the Father of light and truth; and it is hard to know, what other way men can come at truth, to lay hold of it, if they do not dig and ſearch for it as for gold and hid treaſure; but he, that does ſo, muſt have much earth and rubbiſh, before he gets the pure metal; ſand, and pebbles, and droſs uſually lye blended with it, but the gold is never the leſs gold, and will enrich the man, that employs his pains, to ſeek and ſeparate it. Neither is there any danger, he ſhould be deceived by the mixture. Every man carries about him a touch-ſtone, if he will make uſe of it, to diſtinguiſh ſubſtantial gold from ſuperficial glitterings, truth from appearances. And, indeed, the uſe and benefit of this touch-ſtone, which is natural reaſon, is ſpoiled and loſt, only by aſſumed prejudices, overweening preſumption, and narrowing our minds. The want of exerciſing it, in the full extent of things intelligible, is that, which weakens and extinguiſhes this noble faculty in us. Trace it, and ſee whether it be not ſo. The day-labourer, in a country-village, has commonly but a ſmall pittance of knowledge, becauſe his ideas and notions have been confined to the narrow bounds of a poor converſation and employment: the low mechanick of a country-town does ſomewhat out-do him; porters and coblers of great cities ſurpaſs them. A country gentleman, who leaving Latin and learning in the univerſity, removes thence to his manſion-houſe, and aſſociates with neighbours of the ſame ſtrain, who reliſh nothing but hunting and a bottle; with thoſe alone he ſpends his time, with thoſe alone he converſes, and can away with no company, whoſe diſcourſe goes beyond what claret, and diſſoluteneſs inſpires. Such a patriot, formed in this happy way of improvement, cannot fail, as we ſee to give notable deciſions upon the bench, at quarter-ſeſſions, and eminent proofs of his ſkill in politicks, when the ſtrength of his purſe and party have advanced him to a more conſpicuous ſtation. To ſuch a one, truly, an ordinary coffee-houſe gleaner of the city is an errant ſtateſman, and as much ſuperior too, as a man, converſant about Whitehall and the court, is to an ordinary ſhop-keeper. To carry this a little farther. Here is one muffled up in the zeal and infallibility of his own ſect, and will not touch a book, or enter into debate with a perſon that will queſtion any of thoſe things, which to him are ſacred. Another ſurveys our differences in religion with an equitable and fair indifference, and ſo finds, probably, that none of them are in every thing unexceptionable. Theſe diviſions and ſyſtems were made by men, and carry the mark of fallible on them; and in thoſe, whom he differs from, and, till he opened his eyes, had a general prejudice againſt, he meets with more to be ſaid for a great many things, than before he was aware of, or could have imagined. Which of theſe two, now, is moſt likely to judge right, in our religious controverſies, and to be moſt ſtored with truth, the mark all pretend to aim at? All theſe men, that I have inſtanced in, thus unequally furniſhed with truth, and advanced in knowledge, I ſuppoſe of equal natural parts; all the odds between them has been the different ſcope, that has been given to their underſtandings to range in, for the gathering up of information, and furniſhing their heads with ideas, notions and obſervations, whereon to employ their minds, and form their underſtandings.

It will, poſſibly, be objected, "who is ſufficient for all this?" I anſwer, more than can be imagined. Every one knows what his proper buſineſs is, and what, according to the character he makes of himſelf, the world may juſtly expect of him; and, to anſwer that, he will find he will have time and opportunity enough, to furniſh himſelf, if he will not deprive himſelf, by a narrowneſs of ſpirit, of thoſe helps that are at hand. I do not ſay to be a good geographer, that a man ſhould viſit every mountain, river, promontory and creek, upon the face of the earth, view the buildings, and ſurvey the land

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every where, as if he were going to make a purchaſe: but yet, every one muſt allow that he ſhall know a country better, that makes often ſallies into it, and traverſes it up and down, than he that, like a mill-horſe, goes ſtill round in the ſame track, or keeps within the narrow bounds of a field, or two, that delight him. He that will enquire out the beſt books, in every ſcience, and inform himſelf of the moſt material authors of the ſeveral ſects of philoſophy, and religion, will not find it an infinite work to acquaint himſelf with the ſentiments of mankind, concerning the moſt weighty and comprehenſive ſubjects. Let him exerciſe the freedom of his reaſon and underſtanding, in ſuch a latitude as this, and his mind will be ſtrengthened, his capacity enlarged, his faculties improved; and the light, which the remote and ſcattered parts of truth will give to one another, will ſo aſſiſt his judgment, that he will ſeldom be widely out, or miſs giving proof of a clear head, and a comprehenſive knowledge. At leaſt, this is the only way I know, to give the underſtanding its due improvement, to the full extent of its capacity, and to diſtinguiſh the two moſt different things I know, in the world, a logical chicaner from a man of reaſon. Only he, that would thus give the mind its flight, and ſend abroad his enquiries into all parts after truth, muſt be ſure to ſettle in his head determined ideas, of all that he employs his thoughts about, and never fail to judge himſelf, and judge unbiaſſedly, of all that he receives from others, either in their writings, or diſcourſes. Reverence, or prejudice, muſt not be ſuffered to give beauty, or deformity, to any of their opinions.

Of practice and habits.

§ 4. WE are born with faculties and powers, capable almoſt of any thing, ſuch at leaſt, as would carry us farther, than can eaſily be imagined: but it is only the exerciſe of thoſe powers, which gives us ability and ſkill in any thing, and leads us towards perfection.

A MIDDLE-AGED ploughman will ſcarce ever be brought to the carriage and language of a gentleman, though his body be as well proportioned, and his joints as ſupple, and his natural parts not any way inferior. The legs of a dancing-maſter, and the fingers of a muſician, fall as it were naturally, without thought, or pains, into regular and admirable motions. Bid them change their parts, and they will in vain endeavor to produce like motions, in the members not uſed to them, and it will require length of time and long practice to attain but ſome degrees of a like ability. What incredible and aſtoniſhing actions do we find rope-dancers and tumblers bring their bodies to! Not but that ſundry, in almoſt all manual arts, are as wonderful; but I name thoſe which the world takes notice of, for ſuch, becauſe, on that very account, they give money to ſee them. All theſe admired motions, beyond the reach and almoſt the conception of unpractiſed ſpectators, are nothing but the mere effects of uſe and induſtry in men, whoſe bodies have nothing peculiar in them from thoſe of the amazed lookers on.

As it is in the body, ſo it is in the mind; practice makes it what it is, and moſt, even of thoſe excellencies, which are looked on, as natural endowments, will be found, when examined into more narrowly, to be the product of exerciſe, and to be raiſed to that pitch, only by repeated actions. Some men are remarked for pleaſantneſs in raillery; others for apologues, and appoſite, diverting ſtories. This is apt to be taken, for the effect of pure nature, and that the rather, becauſe it is not got by rules, and thoſe, who excel in either of them, never purpoſely ſet themſelves to the ſtudy of it, as an art to be learnt. But yet it is true, that at firſt ſome lucky hit, which took with ſome body and gained him commendation, encouraged him to try again, inclined his thoughts and endeavours that way, till at laſt he inſenſibly got a facility in it, without perceiving how, and that is attributed wholly to nature, which was much more the effect of uſe and practice. I do not deny, that natural diſpoſition may often give the firſt riſe to it, but that never carries a man far, without uſe and exerciſe; and it is practice alone, that brings the powers of the mind, as well as thoſe of the body, to their perfection. Many a good poetick vein is buried under a trade, and never produces any thing, for want of improvement. We ſee the ways of diſcourſe and reaſoning are very different, even concerning the ſame matter, at court and in the univerſity. And he that will go, but from Weſtminſter-Hall, to the Exchange, Of practice and habits.

will find a different genius and turn in their ways of talking, and yet one cannot think that all, whoſe lot fell in the city, were born with different parts from thoſe, who were bred at the univerſity, or inns of court.

To what purpoſe all this, but to ſhew that the difference, ſo obſervable in men's underſtandings and parts, does not ariſe ſo much from their natural faculties, as acquired habits. He would be laughed at, that ſhould go about to make a fine dancer, out of a country hedger, at paſt fifty. And he will not have much better ſucceſs, who ſhall endeavour, at that age, to make a man reaſon well, or ſpeak handſomely, who has never been uſed to it, tho' you ſhould lay before him a collection of all the beſt precepts of logick, or oratory. No body is made any thing, by hearing of rules, or laying them up in his memory; practice muſt ſettle the habit of doing, without reflecting on the rule, and you may as well hope to make a good painter, or muſician, extempore, by a lecture and inſtruction in the arts of muſick and painting, as a coherent thinker, or ſtrict reaſoner by a ſet of rules, ſhewing him wherein right reaſoning conſiſts.

THIS being ſo, that defects and weakneſs in men's underſtandings, as well as other faculties, come from want of a right uſe of their own minds; I am apt to think, the fault is generally miſlaid upon nature, and there is often a complaint of want of parts, when the fault lies in want of a due improvement of them. We ſee men frequently dextrous and ſharp enough in making a bargain, who, if you reaſon with them about matters of religion, appear perfectly ſtupid.

Ideas.

§ 5. I WILL not here, in what relates to the right conduct and improvement of the underſtanding, repeat again the getting clear and determined ideas, and the employing our thoughts rather about them, than about ſounds put for them, nor of ſettling the ſignification of words, which we uſe with our ſelves, in the ſearch of truth, or with others, in diſcourſing about it. Thoſe hindrances of our underſtandings, in the purſuit of knowledge, I have ſufficiently enlarged upon, in another place; ſo that nothing more needs here to be ſaid of thoſe matters.

Principles.

§ 6. THERE is another fault, that ſtops, or miſleads, men in their knowledge, which I have alſo ſpoken ſomething of, but yet is neceſſary to mention here again, that we may examine it to the bottom, and ſee the root it ſprings from, and that is a cuſtom of taking up with principles, that are not ſelf-evident, and very often not ſo much as true. It is not unuſual to ſee men reſt their opinions upon foundations, that have no more certainty and ſolidity than the propoſitions built on them, and embraced for their ſake. Such foundations are theſe and the like, viz. the founders, or leaders, of my party are good men, and therefore their tenets are true; it is the opinion of a ſect that is erroneous, therefore it is falſe: it hath been long received in the world, therefore it is true; or it is new, and therefore falſe.

THESE, and many the like, which are by no means the meaſures of truth and falſhood, the generality of men make the ſtandards, by which they accuſtom their underſtanding to judge. And thus, they falling into a habit of determining truth, and falſhood, by ſuch wrong meaſures, it is no wonder they ſhould embrace error, for certainty, and be very poſitive in things they have no ground for.

THERE is not any, who pretends to the leaſt reaſon, but, when any of theſe his falſe maxims are brought to the teſt, muſt acknowledge them to be fallible, and ſuch, as he will not allow in thoſe, that differ from him; and yet after he is convinced of this, you ſhall ſee him go on, in the uſe of them, and, the very next occaſion that offers, argue again upon the ſame grounds. Would one not be ready to think that men are willing to impoſe upon themſelves, and miſlead their own underſtandings, who conduct them by ſuch wrong meaſures, even after they ſee they cannot be relied on? But yet they will not appear ſo blameable, as may be thought at firſt ſight; for I think there are a great many, that argue thus in earneſt, and do it not to impoſe on themſelves, or others. They are perſuaded of what they ſay, and think there is weight in it, though in a like caſe they have been convinced there is none; but men would be intolerable to themſelves, and contemptible to others, if they ſhould embrace

opinions

Principles.

opinions without any ground, and hold what they could give no manner of reaſon for. True or falſe, ſolid or ſandy, the mind muſt have ſome foundation to reſt itſelf upon; and, as I have remarked in another place, it no ſooner entertains any propoſition, but it preſently haſtens to ſome hypotheſis to bottom it on, till then it is unquiet and unſettled. So much do our own very tempers diſpoſe us to a right uſe of our underſtandings, if we would follow, as we ſhould, the inclinations of our nature.

IN ſome matters of concernment, eſpecially thoſe of religion, men are not permitted to be always wavering and uncertain, they muſt embrace and profeſs ſome tenets or other: and it would be a ſhame, nay a contradiction too heavy for any one's mind to lye conſtantly under; for him to pretend ſeriouſly to be perſuaded of the truth of any religion, and yet not to be able to give any reaſon of his belief, or to ſay any thing for his preference of this, to any other opinion: and therefore they muſt make uſe of ſome principles, or other, and thoſe can be no other, than ſuch as they have and can manage; and to ſay, they are not in earneſt perſuaded by them, and do not reſt upon thoſe they make uſe of, is contrary to experience, and to alledge that they are not miſled, when we complain they are.

IF this be ſo, it will be urged, why then do they not rather make uſe of ſure and unqueſtionable principles, than reſt on ſuch grounds as may deceive them, and will, as is viſible, ſerve to ſupport error, as well as truth?

To this I anſwer, the reaſon, why they do not make uſe of better and ſurer principles, is becauſe they cannot: But this inability proceeds not from want of natural parts (for thoſe few, whoſe caſe that is, are to be excuſed) but for want of uſe and exerciſe. Few men are, from their youth, accuſtomed to ſtrict reaſoning, and to trace the dependance of any truth, in a long train of conſequences, to its remote principles, and to obſerve its connexion; and he that by frequent practice, has not been uſed to this employment of his underſtanding, it is no more wonder, that he ſhould not, when he is grown into years, be able to bring his mind to it, than that he ſhould not be, on a ſudden, able to grave, or deſign, dance on the ropes, or write a good hand, who has never practiſed either of them.

NAY, the moſt of men are ſo wholly ſtrangers to this, that they do not ſo much as perceive their want of it; they diſpatch the ordinary buſineſs of their callings by rote, as we ſay, as they have learnt it, and if at any time they miſs ſucceſs, they impute it to any thing, rather than want of thought or ſkill; that they conclude (becauſe they know no better) they have in perfection; or, if there be any ſubject that intereſt, or fancy, has recommended to their thoughts, their reaſoning about it is ſtill after their own faſhion, be it better or worſe, it ſerves their turns, and is the beſt they are acquainted with; and, therefore, when they are led by it into miſtakes, and their buſineſs ſucceeds accordingly, they impute it to any croſs accident, or default of others, rather than to their own want of underſtanding; that is, what no body diſcovers, or complains of, in himſelf. Whatſoever made his buſineſs to miſcarry, it was not want of right thought and judgment in himſelf: He ſees no ſuch defect in himſelf, but is ſatisfied that he carries on his deſigns well enough, by his own reaſoning, or at leaſt ſhould have done, had it not been for unlucky traverſes, not in his power. Thus, being content with this ſhort and very imperfect uſe of his underſtanding, he never troubles himſelf to ſeek out methods of improving his mind, and lives all his life without any notion of cloſe reaſoning, in a continued connexion of a long train of conſequences, from ſure foundations, ſuch as is requiſite for the making out, and clearing moſt of the ſpeculative truths, moſt men own to believe, and are moſt concerned in. Not to mention here, what I ſhall have occaſion to inſiſt on, by and by, more fully, viz. that in many caſes it is not one ſeries of conſequences will ſerve the turn, but many different and oppoſite deductions muſt be examined and laid together, before a man can come to make a right judgment of the point in queſtion. What then can be expected from men, that neither ſee the want of any ſuch kind of reaſoning, as this; nor, if they do, know they how to ſet about it, or could

Principles. perform it? You may as well ſet a country-man, who ſcarce knows the figures, and never caſt up a ſum of three particulars, to ſtate a merchant's long account, and find the true balance of it.

WHAT then ſhould be done in the caſe? I anſwer we ſhould always remember what I ſaid above, that the faculties of our ſouls are improved and made uſeful to us, juſt after the ſame manner, as our bodies are. Would you have a man write or paint, dance or fence well, or perform any other manual operation, dexterouſly and with eaſe; let him have ever ſo much vigour and activity, ſuppleneſs and addreſs naturally, yet no body expects this from him, unleſs he has been uſed to it, and has imployed time and pains in faſhioning and forming his hand, or outward parts, to theſe motions. Juſt ſo it is in the mind; would you have a man reaſon well, you muſt uſe him to it betimes, exerciſe his mind in obſerving the connexion of ideas, and following them in train. Nothing does this better than mathematicks; which, therefore, I think ſhould be taught all thoſe, who have the time and opportunity, not ſo much to make them mathematicians, as to make them reaſonable creatures; for though we all call our ſelves ſo, becauſe we are born to it, if we pleaſe; yet we may truly ſay, nature gives us but the ſeeds of it; we are born to be, if we pleaſe, rational creatures, but 'tis uſe and exerciſe only, that makes us ſo, and we are, indeed, ſo no farther than induſtry and application has carried us. And, therefore, in ways of reaſoning, which men have not been uſed to, he, that will obſerve the concluſions they take up, muſt be ſatisfied, they are not all rational.

THIS has been the leſs taken notice of, becauſe every one, in his private affairs, uſes ſome ſort of reaſoning or other, enough to denominate him reaſonable. But the miſtake is, that he, that is found reaſonable in one thing, is concluded to be ſo in all, and to think, or ſay otherwiſe, is thought ſo unjuſt an affront, and ſo ſenſeleſs a cenſure, that no body ventures to do it. It looks like the degradation of a man below the dignity of his nature. It is true, that he, that reaſons well in any one thing, has a mind naturally capable of reaſoning well in others, and to the ſame degree of ſtrength and clearneſs, and poſſibly much greater, had his underſtanding been ſo employed. But 'tis as true that he, who can reaſon well to day, about one ſort of matters, cannot at all reaſon to day about others, tho' perhaps a year hence he may. But wherever a man's rational faculty fails him, and will not ſerve him to reaſon, there we cannot ſay he is rational, how capable ſoever he may be, by time and exerciſe, to become ſo.

TRY in men of low and mean education, who have never elevated their thoughts above the ſpade and the plough, nor looked beyond the ordinary drudgery of a day-labourer. Take the thoughts of ſuch an one, uſed for many years to one track, out of that narrow compaſs he has been, all his life, confined to, you will find him no more capable of reaſoning, than almoſt a perfect natural. Some one or two rules, on which their concluſions immediately depend, you will find in moſt men have governed all their thoughts; theſe, true or falſe, have been the maxims they have been guided by: take theſe from them, and they are perfectly at a loſs, their compaſs and pole-ſtar then are gone, and their underſtanding is perfectly at a nonplus, and, therefore they either immediately return to their old maxims again, as the foundations of all truth to them, notwithſtanding all that can be ſaid to ſhew their weakneſs; or if they give them up to their reaſons, they, with them, give up all truth and farther enquiry, and think there is no ſuch thing as certainty. For if you would enlarge their thoughts, and ſettle them upon more remote and ſurer principles, they either cannot eaſily apprehend them; or, if they can, know not what uſe to make of them; for long deductions, from remote principles, is what they have not been uſed to, and cannot manage.

WHAT then, can grown men never be improved, or enlarged in their underſtandings? I ſay not ſo, but this I think I may ſay, that it will not be done without induſtry and application, which will require more time and pains, than grown men, ſettled in their courſe of life, will allow to it, and therefore very ſeldom is done. And this very capacity of attaining it, by uſe and exerciſe only, brings us back to that, which I laid down before, that it is only practice, that improves

Principles.

our minds as well as bodies, and we muſt expect nothing from our underſtandings, any farther than they are perfected by habits.

The Americans are not all born with worſe underſtandings, than the Europeans, tho' we ſee none of them have ſuch reaches in the arts and ſciences. And, among the children of a poor country-man, the lucky chance of education, and getting into the world, gives one infinitely the ſuperiority in parts, over the reſt, who continuing at home, had continued alſo juſt of the ſame ſize with his brethren.

He that has to do with young ſcholars, eſpecially in mathematicks, may perceive how their minds open by degrees, and how it is exerciſe alone that opens them. Sometimes they will ſtick a long time, at a part of a demonſtration, not for want of will and application, but really for want of perceiving the connexion of two ideas; that, to one whoſe underſtanding is more exerciſed, is as viſible as any thing can be. The ſame would be with a grown man beginning to ſtudy mathematicks, the underſtanding, for want of uſe, often ſticks in very plain way, and he himſelf that is ſo puzzled, when he comes to ſee the connexion, wonders what it was he ſtuck at, in a caſe ſo plain.

Mathematicks.

§ 7. I have mentioned mathematicks, as a way to ſettle in the mind an habit of reaſoning cloſely and in train; not that I think it neceſſary, that all men ſhould be deep mathematicians, but that, having got the way of reaſoning, which that ſtudy neceſſarily brings the mind to, they might be able to transfer it to other parts of knowledge, as they ſhall have occaſion. For, in all ſorts of reaſoning, every ſingle argument ſhould be managed as a mathematical demonſtration, the connexion and dependance of ideas ſhould be followed, till the mind is brought to the ſource, on which it bottoms, and obſerves the coherence all along, tho' in proofs of probability, one ſuch train is not enough to ſettle the judgment, as in demonſtrative knowledge.

Where a truth is made out by one demonſtration, there needs no farther enquiry: but in probabilities, where there wants demonſtration to eſtabliſh the truth beyond doubt, there 'tis not enough to trace one argument to its ſource, and obſerve its ſtrength and weakneſs, but all the arguments, after having been ſo examined on both ſides, muſt be laid in balance, one againſt another, and, upon the whole, the underſtanding determine its aſſent.

This is a way of reaſoning the underſtanding ſhould be accuſtomed to, which is ſo different from what the illiterate are uſed to, that even learned men oftentimes ſeem to have very little, or no notion of it. Nor is it to be wondered, ſince the way of diſputing, in the ſchools, leads them quite away from it, by inſiſting on one topical argument, by the ſucceſs of which the truth, or falſhood, of the queſtion is to be determined, and victory adjudged to the opponent, or defendant; which is all one, as if one ſhould balance an account by one ſum, charged and diſcharged, when there are an hundred others to be taken into conſideration.

This, therefore, it would be well, if men's minds were accuſtomed to, and that early; that they might not erect their opinions upon one ſingle view, when ſo many other are requiſite to make up the account, and muſt come into the reckoning, before a man can form a right judgment. This would enlarge their minds, and give a due freedom to their underſtandings, that they might not be led into error, by preſumption, lazineſs, or precipitancy; for I think no body can approve ſuch a conduct of the underſtanding, as ſhould miſlead it from truth, tho' it be ever ſo much in faſhion, to make uſe of it.

To this perhaps, it will be objected, that to manage the underſtanding as I propoſe, would require every man to be a ſcholar, and to be furniſhed with all the materials of knowledge, and exerciſed in all the ways of reaſoning. To which I anſwer, that it is a ſhame for thoſe, that have time, and the means to attain knowledge, to want any helps, or aſſiſtance, for the improvement of their underſtandings, that are to be got, and to ſuch I would be thought here chiefly to ſpeak. Thoſe methinks, who, by the induſtry and parts of their anceſtors, have been ſet free from a conſtant drudgery to their backs and their bellies, ſhould beſtow ſome of their ſpare time on their heads, and open their minds, by ſome

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trials and eſſays, in all the ſorts and matters of reaſoning. I have before mentioned mathematicks, wherein algebra gives new helps and views to the underſtanding. If I propoſe theſe, it is not, as I ſaid, to make every man a thorow mathematician, or a deep algebraiſt; but yet I think the ſtudy of them is of infinite uſe, even to grown men; firſt, by experimentally convincing them, that to make any one reaſon well, it is not enough to have parts, wherewith he is ſatisfied, and that ſerve him well enough in his ordinary courſe. A man in thoſe ſtudies will ſee, that however good he may think his underſtanding, yet in many things, and thoſe very viſible, it may fail him. This would take off that preſumption that moſt men have of themſelves, in this part; and they would not be ſo apt to think their minds wanted no helps to enlarge them, that there could be nothing added to the acuteneſs and penetration of their underſtandings.

SECONDLY, The ſtudy of mathematicks would ſhew them the neceſſity there is in reaſoning, to ſeparate all the diſtinct ideas, and ſee the habitudes that all thoſe, concerned in the preſent enquiry, have to one another, and to lay by thoſe, which relate not to the propoſition in hand, and wholly to leave them out of the reckoning. This is that, which, in other ſubjects, beſides quantity, is what is abſolutely requiſite to juſt reaſoning, tho' in them it is not ſo eaſily obſerved, nor ſo carefully practiſed. In thoſe parts of knowledge, where 'tis thought demonſtration has nothing to do, men reaſon as it were in the lump; and if, upon a ſummary and confuſed view, or upon a partial conſideration, they can raiſe the appearance of a probability, they uſually reſt content; eſpecially if it be in a diſpute, where every little ſtraw is laid hold on, and every thing, that can but be drawn-in any way, to give colour to the argument, is advanced with oſtentation. But that mind is not in a poſture to find the truth, that does not diſtinctly take all the parts aſunder, and, omitting what is not at all to the point, draw a concluſion from the reſult of all the particulars, which any way influence it. There is another no leſs uſeful habit to be got, by an application to mathematical demonſtrations, and that is, of uſing the mind to a long train of conſequences: but having mentioned that already, I ſhall not again here repeat it.

As to men, whoſe fortunes and time is narrower, what may ſuffice them, is not of that vaſt extent, as may be imagined, and ſo comes not within the objection.

No body is under an obligation to know every thing. Knowledge and ſcience in general, is the buſineſs only of thoſe, who are at eaſe and leiſure. Thoſe who have particular callings, ought to underſtand them; and 'tis no unreaſonable propoſal, nor impoſſible to be compaſſed, that they ſhould think and reaſon right, about what is their daily employment. This one cannot think them uncapable of, without levelling them with the brutes, and charging them with a ſtupidity, below the rank of rational creatures.

Religion.

§ 8. BESIDES his particular calling, for the ſupport of this life, every one has a concern in a future life, which he is bound to look after. This engages his thoughts in religion; and here it mightily lyes upon him to underſtand and reaſon right. Men, therefore, cannot be excuſed from underſtanding the words and framing the general notions, relating to religion, right. The one day of ſeven, beſides other days of reſt, allows in the Chriſtian world time enough for this (had they no other idle hours) if they would but make uſe of theſe vacancies from their daily labour, and apply themſelves to an improvement of knowledge, with as much diligence as they often do, to a great many other things, that are uſeleſs, and had but thoſe, that would enter them according to their ſeveral capacities, in a right way to this knowledge. The original make of their minds is like that of other men, and they would be found not to want underſtanding, fit to receive the knowledge of religion, if they were a little incouraged and helped in it, as they ſhould be. For there are inſtances of very mean people, who have raiſed their minds to a great ſenſe and underſtanding of religion: and tho' theſe have not been ſo frequent, as could be wiſhed; yet they are enough to clear that condition of life, from a neceſſity of groſs ignorance, and to ſhew that more might be brought to be rational creatures and Chriſtians (for they can hardly be thought really to be ſo, who, wearing the

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home, know not ſo much as the very principles of that religion) if due care were taken of them. For, if I miſtake not, the peaſantry lately in France (a rank of people under a much heavier preſſure of want and poverty, than the day-labourers in England) of the reformed religion, underſtood it much better, and could ſay more for it, than thoſe of a higher condition among us.

BUT, if it ſhall be concluded, that the meaner ſort of people muſt give themſelves up to a brutiſh ſtupidity, in the things of their neareſt concernment, which I ſee no reaſon for, this excuſes not thoſe of a freer fortune and education, if they neglect their underſtandings, and take no care to employ them, as they ought, and ſet them right in the knowledge of thoſe things, for which principally they were given them. At leaſt thoſe, whoſe plentiful fortunes allow them the opportunities and helps of improvements, are not ſo few, but that it might be hoped great advancements might be made, in knowledge of all kinds, eſpecially in that of the greateſt concern and largeſt views, if men would make a right uſe of their faculties, and ſtudy their own underſtandings.

Ideas.

§ 9. OUTWARD corporeal objects, that conſtantly importune our ſenſes, and captivate our appetites, fail not to fill our heads with lively and laſting ideas of that kind. Here the mind needs not to be ſet upon getting greater ſtore; they offer themſelves faſt enough, and are uſually entertained in ſuch plenty, and lodged ſo carefully, that the mind wants room, or attention, for others that it has more uſe and need of. To fit the underſtanding, therefore, for ſuch reaſoning as I have been above ſpeaking of, care ſhould be taken to fill it with moral and more abſtract ideas; for theſe not offering themſelves to the ſenſes, but being to be framed to the underſtanding, people are generally ſo neglectful of a faculty, they are apt to think wants nothing; that I fear moſt men's minds are more unfurniſhed with ſuch ideas, than is imagined. They often uſe the words and how can they be ſuſpected to want the ideas? What I have ſaid, in the third book of my eſſay, will excuſe me from any other anſwer to this queſtion. But to convince people of what moment it is, to their underſtandings, to be furniſhed with ſuch abſtract ideas, ſteady and ſettled in them, give me leave to aſk, how any one ſhall be able to know whether he be obliged to be juſt, if he has not eſtabliſhed ideas in his mind, of obligation and of juſtice, ſince knowledge conſiſts in nothing, but the perceived agreement, or diſagreement of thoſe ideas? and ſo, of all others the like, which concern our lives and manners. And, if men do find a difficulty to ſee the agreement, or diſagreement of two angles, which lye before their eyes, unalterable in a diagram, how utterly impoſſible will it be to perceive it in ideas, that have no other ſenſible objects to repreſent them to the mind, but ſounds, with which they have no manner of conformity, and therefore had need to be clearly ſettled in the mind themſelves, if we would make any clear judgment about them? This, therefore, is one of the firſt things the mind ſhould be employed about, in the right conduct of the underſtanding, without which it is impoſſible it ſhould be capable of reaſoning right about thoſe matters. But in theſe, and all other ideas, care muſt be taken, that they harbour no inconſiſtencies, and that they have a real exiſtence, where real exiſtence is ſuppoſed, and are not mere chimeras with a ſuppoſed exiſtence.

Prejudice.

§ 10. EVERY one is forward to complain of the prejudices, that miſlead other men, or parties, as if he were free, and had none of his own. This being objected, on all ſides, 'tis agreed, that it is a fault and an hindrance to knowledge. What now is the cure? no other but this, that every man ſhould let alone others prejudices and examine his own. No body is convinced of his, by the accuſation of another, he recriminates by the ſame rule, and is clear. The only way to remove this great cauſe of ignorance and error, out of the world, is, for every one impartially to examine himſelf. If others will not deal fairly with their own minds, does that make my errors truths, or ought it to make me in love with them, and willing to impoſe on my ſelf? If others love cataracts on their eyes, ſhould that hinder me from couching of mine, as ſoon as I could? Every one declares againſt blindneſs, and yet who almoſt is not fond of that which dims his ſight, and keeps the clear light out of his mind, which ſhould lead him into truth and knowledge? Falſe or doubtful poſitions, relied

Prejudice.

upon, as unqueſtionable maxims, keep thoſe in the dark from truth, who build on them. Such are uſually the prejudices, imbibed from education, party, reverence, faſhion, intereſt, &c. This is the mote which every one ſees in his brother's eye, but never regards the beam in his own. For who is there almoſt, that is ever brought fairly to examine his own principles, and ſee whether they are ſuch as will bear the trial? But yet this ſhould be one of the firſt things, every one ſhould ſet about, and be ſcrupulous in, who would rightly conduct his underſtanding, in the ſearch of truth and knowledge.

To thoſe, who are willing to get rid of this great hindrance of knowledge, (for to ſuch only I write) to thoſe, who would ſhake off this great and dangerous impoſtor, prejudice, who dreſſes up falſhood in the likeneſs of truth, and ſo dextrouſly hoodwinks men's minds, as to keep them in the dark, with a belief that they are more in the light, than any that do not ſee with their eyes; I ſhall offer this one mark, whereby prejudice may be known. He that is ſtrongly of any opinion, muſt ſuppoſe (unleſs he be ſelf-condemned) that his perſuaſion is built upon good grounds; and that his aſſent is no greater, than what the evidence of the truth, he holds, forces him to; and that they are arguments, and not inclination, or fancy, that make him ſo confident and poſitive in his tenets. Now, if after all his profeſſion, he cannot bear any oppoſition to his opinion, if he cannot ſo much as give a patient hearing, much leſs examine and weigh the arguments, on the other ſide, does he not plainly confeſs, 'tis prejudice governs him? and 'tis not the evidence of truth, but ſome lazy anticipation, ſome beloved preſumption, that he deſires to reſt undiſturbed in. For, if what he holds be, as he gives out, well fenced with evidence, and he ſees it to be true, what need he fear to put it to the proof? If his opinion be ſettled upon a firm foundation, if the arguments that ſupport it, and have obtained his aſſent, be clear, good and convincing, why ſhould he be ſhy to have it tried, whether they be proof, or not? He, whoſe aſſent goes beyond his evidence, owes this exceſs of his adherence, only to prejudice, and does in effect own it, when he refuſes to hear what is offered againſt it; declaring thereby, that 'tis not evidence he ſeeks, but the quiet enjoyment of the opinion, he is fond of, with a forward condemnation of all, that may ſtand in oppoſition to it, unheard and unexamined; which, what is it but prejudice? "qui æquum "ſtatuerit, parte inauditâ alterâ, etiamſi æquum ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuerit." He that would acquit himſelf in this caſe as a lover of truth, not giving way to any pre-occupation, or byaſs, that may miſlead him, muſt do two things, that are not very common, nor very eaſy.

Indifferency.

§ 11. FIRST, he muſt not be in love with any opinion, or wiſh it to be true, till he knows it to be ſo, and then he will not need to wiſh it: for nothing, that is falſe, can deſerve our good wiſhes, nor a deſire, that it ſhould have the place and force of truth; and yet nothing is more frequent than this. Men are fond of certain tenets, upon no other evidence, but reſpect and cuſtom, and think they muſt maintain them, or all is gone, tho' they have never examined the ground they ſtand on, nor have ever made them out to themſelves, or can make them out to others: we ſhould contend earneſtly for the truth, but we ſhould firſt be ſure that it is truth, or elſe we fight againſt God, who is the God of truth, and do the work of the devil, who is the father and propagator of lies; and our zeal, tho' never ſo warm, will not excuſe us; for this is plainly prejudice.

Examine.

§ 12. SECONDLY, he muſt do that, which he will find himſelf very averſe to, as judging the thing unneceſſary, or himſelf uncapable of doing it. He muſt try, whether his principles be certainly true, or not, and how far he may ſafely rely upon them. This, whether fewer have the heart, or the ſkill to do, I ſhall not determine; but this I am ſure, this is that, which every one ought to do, who profeſſes to love truth, and would not impoſe upon himſelf; which is a ſurer way to be made a fool of, than by being expoſed to the ſophiſtry of others. The diſpoſition to put any cheat upon ourſelves, works conſtantly, and we are pleaſed with it, but are impatient of being bantered or miſled by others. The inability, I here ſpeak of, is not any natural defect, that makes men unca-

Examine.

pable of examining their own principles. To ſuch, rules of conducting their underſtandings are uſeleſs, and that is the caſe of very few. The great number is of thoſe, whom the ill habit of never exerting their thoughts has diſabled: the powers of their minds are ſtarved by diſuſe, and have loſt that reach and ſtrength, which nature fitted them to receive from exerciſe. Thoſe who are in a condition to learn the firſt rules of plain arithmetick, and could be brought to caſt up an ordinary ſum, are capable of this, if they had but accuſtomed their minds to reaſoning: but they that have wholly neglected the exerciſe of their underſtandings in this way, will be very far, at firſt from being able to do it, and as unfit for it, as one, unpractiſed in figures, to caſt up a ſhop-book; and perhaps, think it as ſtrange to be ſet about it. And yet it muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed to be a wrong uſe of our underſtandings, to build our tenets (in things, where we are concerned to hold the truth) upon principles that may lead us into error. We take our principles at hap-hazard, upon truſt, and without ever having examined them, and then believe a whole ſyſtem, upon a preſumption that they are true and ſolid; and what is all this, but childiſh, ſhameful, ſenſeleſs credulity.

IN theſe two things, viz. an equal indifferency for all truth; I mean the receiving it, in the love of it, as truth, but not loving it for any other reaſon, before we know it to be true; and in the examination of our principles, and not receiving any for ſuch, nor building on them, till we are fully convinced, as rational creatures, of their ſolidity, truth and certainty, conſiſts that freedom of the underſtanding, which is neceſſary to a rational creature, and without which it is not truly an underſtanding. It is conceit, fancy, extravagance, any thing, rather than underſtanding, if it muſt be under the conſtraint of receiving and holding opinions by the authority of any thing but their own, not fanſied, but perceived, evidence. This was rightly called impoſition, and is of all other the worſt and moſt dangerous ſort of it. For we impoſe upon ourſelves, which is the ſtrongeſt impoſition of all others; and we impoſe upon ourſelves, in that part, which ought, with the greateſt care, to be kept free from all impoſition. The world is apt to caſt great blame on thoſe, who have an indifferency for opinions, eſpecially in religion. I fear this is the foundation of great error and worſe conſequences. To be indifferent, which of two opinions is true, is the right temper of the mind, that preſerves it from being impoſed on, and diſpoſes it to examine, with that indifferency, till it has done its beſt to find the truth, and this is the only direct and ſafe way to it. But to be indifferent whether we embrace falſhood, or truth, or no, is the great road to error. Thoſe, who are not indifferent, which opinion is true, are guilty of this, they ſuppoſe, without examining, that what they hold, is true, and then think they ought to be zealous for it. Thoſe, it is plain by their warmth and eagerneſs, are not indifferent for their own opinions, but methinks are very indifferent, whether they be true or falſe; ſince they cannot endure to have any doubts raiſed, or objections made againſt them; and it is viſible, they never have made any themſelves, and ſo never having examined them, know not, nor are concerned, as they ſhould be, to know whether they be true or falſe.

THESE are the common and moſt general miſcarriages, which I think men ſhould avoid, or rectify, in a right conduct of their underſtandings, and ſhould be particularly taken care of, in education. The buſineſs whereof, in reſpect of knowledge, is not, as I think, to perfect a learner in all, or any one of the ſciences, but to give his mind that freedom, that diſpoſition, and thoſe habits, that may enable him to attain any part of knowledge, he ſhall apply himſelf to, or ſtand in need of, in the future courſe of his life.

THIS, and this only, is well principling, and not the inſtilling a reverence and veneration for certain dogmas, under the ſpecious title of principles, which are often ſo remote from that truth and evidence, which belongs to principles, that they ought to be rejected, as falſe and erroneous, and is often the cauſe to men ſo educated, when they come abroad into the world, and find they cannot maintain the principles, ſo taken up and reſted in, to caſt off all principles, and turn perfect ſcepticks, regardleſs of knowledge and virtue.

There are ſeveral weakneſſes and defects in the underſtanding, either from the natural temper of the mind, or ill habits taken up, which hinder it in its progreſs to knowledge. Of theſe, there are as many, poſſibly, to be found, if the mind were thoroughly ſtudied, as there are diſeaſes of the body, each whereof clogs and diſables the underſtanding to ſome degree, and therefore deſerves to be looked after, and cured. I ſhall ſet down ſome few to excite men, eſpecially thoſe, who make knowledge their buſineſs, to look into themſelves, and obſerve whether they do not indulge ſome weakneſs, allow ſome miſcarriages in the management of their intellectual faculty, which is prejudicial to them in the ſearch of truth.

Obſervation. § 13. Particular matters of fact are the undoubted foundations, on which our civil and natural knowledge is built: the benefit the underſtanding makes of them, is to draw from them concluſions, which may be as ſtanding rules of knowledge, and conſequently of practice. The mind often makes not that benefit, it ſhould, of the information it receives from the accounts of civil, or natural hiſtorians, in being too forward, or too ſlow in making obſervations, on the particular facts recorded in them.

There are thoſe, who are very aſſiduous in reading, and yet do not much advance their knowledge by it. They are delighted with the ſtories that are told, and perhaps can tell them again, for they make all they read, nothing but hiſtory to themſelves; but not reflecting on it, not making to themſelves obſervations, from what they read, they are very little improved by all that crowd of particulars, that either paſs through, or lodge themſelves in their underſtandings. They dream on, in a conſtant courſe of reading and cramping themſelves; but, not digeſting any thing, it produces nothing but an heap of crudities.

If their memories retain well, one may ſay, they have the materials of knowledge; but, like thoſe for building, they are of no advantage, if there be no other uſe made of them, but to let them lye heaped up together. Oppoſite to theſe, there are others, who loſe the improvement they ſhould make, of matters of fact, by a quite contrary conduct. They are apt to draw general concluſions, and raiſe axioms from every particular they meet with. Theſe make as little true benefit of hiſtory, as the other; nay being of forward and active ſpirits, receive more harm by it; it being of worſe conſequence to ſteer one's thoughts by a wrong rule, than to have none at all; error doing to buſy men much more harm, than ignorance to the ſlow and ſluggiſh. Between theſe, thoſe ſeem to do beſt, who taking material and uſeful hints, ſometimes from ſingle matters of fact, carry them in their minds, to be judged of, by what they ſhall find in hiſtory, to confirm, or reverſe theſe imperfect obſervations; which may be eſtabliſhed into rules, fit to be relied on, when they are juſtified by a ſufficient and wary induction of particulars. He, that makes no ſuch reflections on what he reads, only loads his mind with a rhapſody of tales, fit, in winter-nights, for the entertainment of others: and he that will improve every matter of fact, into a maxim, will abound in contrary obſervations, that can be of no other uſe, but to perplex and pudder him, if he compares them; or elſe to miſguide him, if he gives himſelf up to the authority of that, which for its novelty, or for ſome other fancy, beſt pleaſes him.

Byaſs. § 13. Next to theſe, we may place thoſe, who ſuffer their own natural tempers and paſſions, they are poſſeſſed with, to influence their judgments, eſpecially of men and things, that may any way relate to their preſent circumſtances and intereſt. Truth is all ſimple, all pure, will bear no mixture of any thing elſe with it. It is rigid and inflexible to any bye intereſts; and ſo ſhould the underſtanding be, whoſe uſe and excellency lyes in conforming it ſelf to it. To think of every thing, juſt as it is in it ſelf, is the proper buſineſs of the underſtanding, though it be not that which men always imploy it to. This all men, at firſt hearing, allow, is the right uſe every one ſhould make of his underſtanding. No body will be at ſuch an open defiance with common ſenſe, as to profeſs that we ſhould not endeavor to know, and think of things, as they are in themſelves, and yet there is nothing more frequent, than to do the contrary; and men are apt to excuſe themſelves, and think they have

reaſon

reaſon to do ſo, if they have but a pretence, that is for God, or a good cauſe; that is, in effect for themſelves, their own perſuaſion, or party: for to thoſe in their turns, the ſeveral ſects of men, eſpecially in matters of religion, entitle God and a good cauſe. But God requires not men to wrong, or miſuſe their faculties for him, nor to lie to others, or themſelves, for his ſake; which they purpoſely do, who will not ſuffer their underſtandings to have right conceptions of the things propoſed to them, and deſignedly reſtrain themſelves from having juſt thoughts of every thing, as far as they are concerned to enquire. And as for a good cauſe, that needs not ſuch ill helps; if it be good, truth will ſupport it, and it has no need of fallacy, or falſhood.

Arguments.

§ 14. VERY much of kin to this, is the hunting after arguments to make good one ſide of a queſtion, and wholly to neglect and refuſe thoſe, which favour the other ſide. What is this but wilfully to miſguide the underſtanding, and is ſo far from giving truth its due value, that it wholly debaſes it: eſpouſe opinions, that beſt comport with their power, profit, or credit, and then ſeek arguments to ſupport them? Truth, light upon this way, is of no more avail to us, than error; for what is ſo taken up by us, may be falſe, as well as true; and he has not done his duty, who has thus ſtumbled upon truth, in his way to preferment.

THERE is another, but more innocent way of collecting arguments, very familiar among bookiſh men, which is to furniſh themſelves with the arguments they meet with, pro and con, in the queſtions they ſtudy. This helps them not to judge right, nor argue ſtrongly, but only to talk copiouſly on either ſide, without being ſteady and ſettled in their own judgments: For ſuch arguments gathered from other men's thoughts, floating only in the memory, are there ready, indeed, to ſupply copious talk, with ſome appearance of reaſon, but are far from helping us to judge right. Such variety of arguments only diſtract the underſtanding, that relies on them, unleſs it has gone farther than ſuch a ſuperficial way of examining; this is to quit truth for appearance, only to ſerve our vanity. The ſure and only way to get true knowledge, is to form in our minds clear ſettled notions of things, with names annexed to thoſe determined ideas. Theſe we are to conſider, and with their ſeveral relations and habitudes, and not amuſe our ſelves with floating names, and words of indetermined ſignification, which we can uſe in ſeveral ſenſes, to ſerve a turn. It is in the perception of the habitudes and reſpects our ideas have, one to another, that real knowledge conſiſts; and when a man once perceives how far they agree, or diſagree, one with another, he will be able to judge of what other people ſay, and will not need to be led by the arguments of others, which are many of them nothing but plauſible ſophiſtry. This will teach him to ſtate the queſtion right, and ſee whereon it turns; and thus he will ſtand upon his own legs, and know by his own underſtanding. Whereas, by collecting and learning arguments by heart, he will be but a retainer to others; and, when any one queſtions the foundations they are built upon, he will be at a nonplus, and be fain to give up his implicicit knowledge.

Haſte.

§ 15. LABOUR for labour-ſake is againſt nature. The underſtanding, as well as all the other faculties, chooſes always the ſhorteſt way to its end, would preſently obtain the knowledge it is about, and then ſet upon ſome new enquiry. But this, whether lazineſs or haſte, often miſleads it, and makes it content it ſelf with improper ways of ſearch, and ſuch as will not ſerve the turn: ſometimes it reſts upon teſtimony, when teſtimony of right has nothing to do, becauſe it is eaſier to believe than to be ſcientifically inſtructed: ſometimes it contents itſelf with one argument, and reſts ſatisfied with that, as it were a demonſtration; whereas the thing under proof is not capable of demonſtration, and therefore muſt be ſubmitted to the trial of probabilities, and all the material arguments pro and con be examined and brought to a balance. In ſome caſes the mind is determined by probable topicks in enquiries, where demonſtration may be had. All theſe and ſeveral others, which lazineſs, impatience, cuſtom, and want of uſe and attention lead men into, are miſapplications of the underſtanding in the ſearch of truth. In every queſtion the nature and

Haſte. manner of the proof, it is capable of, ſhould be conſidered, to make our enquiry, ſuch as it ſhould be. This would ſave a great deal of frequently employed pains, and lead us ſooner to that diſcovery and poſſeſſion of truth, we are capable of. The multiplying variety of arguments, eſpecially frivolous ones, ſuch as are all, that are merely verbal, is not only loſt labour, but cumbers the memory to no purpoſe, and ſerves only to hinder it from ſeizing and holding of the truth, in all thoſe caſes which are capable of demonſtration. In ſuch way of proof the truth and certainty is ſeen, and the mind fully poſſeſſes itſelf of it; when, in the other way of aſſent, it only hovers about it, is amuſed with uncertainties. In this ſuperficial way, indeed, the mind is capable of more variety of plauſible talk, but is not enlarged, as it ſhould be, in its knowledge. It is to this ſame haſte and impatience of the mind alſo, that a not due tracing of the arguments to their true foundation, is owing; men ſee a little, preſume a great deal, and ſo jump to the concluſion. This is a ſhort way to fancy and conceit, and (if firmly embraced) to opinionatry, but is certainly the fartheſt way about to knowledge. For he that will know, muſt by the connexion of the proofs ſee the truth, and the ground it ſtands on; and therefore, if he has for haſte, ſkipt over what he ſhould have examined, he muſt begin, and go over all again, or elſe he will never come to knowledge.

Deſultory. § 16. ANOTHER fault of as ill conſequence, as this which proceeds alſo from lazineſs, with a mixture of vanity, is the ſkipping from one ſort of knowledge to another. Some men's tempers are quickly weary of any one thing. Conſtancy and aſſiduity is what they cannot bear: the ſame ſtudy, long continued in, is as intolerable to them, as the appearing long in the ſame clothes, or faſhion, is to a court-lady.

Smattering. § 17. OTHERS, that they may ſeem univerſally knowing, get a little ſmattering in every thing. Both theſe may fill their heads with ſuperficial notions of things, but are very much out of the way of attaining truth, or knowledge

Univerſality. § 18. I DO not here ſpeak againſt the taking a taſte of every ſort of knowledge; it is certainly very uſeful and neceſſary to form the mind, but then it muſt be done in a different way, and to a different end. Not for talk and vanity, to fill the head with ſhreds of all kinds, that he who is poſſeſſed of ſuch a frippery, may be able to match the diſcourſes of all he ſhall meet with, as if nothing could come amiſs to him; and his head was ſo well ſtored a magazine, that nothing could be propoſed, which he was not maſter of, and was readily furniſhed to entertain any one on. This is an excellency, indeed, and a great one too, to have a real and true knowledge in all, or moſt of the objects of contemplation. But it is what the mind of one and the ſame man can hardly attain unto; and the inſtances are ſo few, of thoſe who have, in any meaſure, approached towards it, that I know not whether they are to be propoſed as examples, in the ordinary conduct of the underſtanding. For a man to underſtand fully the buſineſs of his particular calling in the common-wealth, and of religion, which is his calling, as he is a man in the world, is uſually enough to take up his whole time; and there are few that inform themſelves in theſe, which is every man's proper and peculiar buſineſs, ſo to the bottom, as they ſhould do. But though this be ſo, and there are very few men, that extend their thoughts towards univerſal knowledge; yet I do not doubt, but if the right way were taken, and the methods of enquiry were ordered, as they ſhould be, men of little buſineſs and great leiſure might go a great deal farther in it, than is uſually done. To return to the buſineſs in hand, the end and uſe of a little inſight in thoſe parts of knowledge, which are not a man's proper buſineſs, is to accuſtom our minds to all ſorts of ideas, and the proper ways of examining their habitudes and relations. This gives the mind a freedom, and the exerciſing the underſtanding in the ſeveral ways of enquiry and reaſoning, which the moſt ſkilful have made uſe of, teaches the mind ſagacity and warineſs, and a ſuppleneſs to apply it ſelf more cloſely and dexterouſly to the bents and turns of the matter, in all its reſearches. Beſides, this univerſal taſte of all the ſciences, with an indifferency, before the mind is poſſeſſed with any one in particular, and grown into love and admiration of what is made its darling, will prevent

Univerſality. another evil, very commonly to be obſerved in thoſe, who have from the beginning been ſeaſoned only by one part of knowledge. Let a man be given up to the contemplation of one ſort of knowledge, and that will become every thing. The mind will take ſuch a tincture from a familiarity with that object, that every thing elſe, how remote ſoever, will be brought under the ſame view. A metaphyſician will bring plowing and gardening immediately to abſtract notions, the hiſtory of nature ſhall ſignify nothing to him. An alchymiſt, on the contrary, ſhall reduce divinity to the maxims of his laboratory, explain morality by ſal, ſulphur and mercury, and allegoriſe the ſcripture it ſelf, and the ſacred myſteries thereof, into the philoſopher's ſtone. And I heard once a man, who had a more than ordinary excellency in muſick, ſeriouſly accommodate Moſes's ſeven days of the firſt week to the notes of muſick, as if from thence had been taken the meaſure and method of the creation. It is of no ſmall conſequence to keep the mind from ſuch a poſſeſſion, which I think is beſt done by giving it a fair and equal view of the whole intellectual world, wherein it may ſee the order, rank, and beauty of the whole, and give a juſt allowance to the diſtinct provinces of the ſeveral ſciences in the due order and uſefulneſs of each of them.

If this be that, which old men will not think neceſſary, nor be eaſily brought to; it is fit at leaſt, that it ſhould be practiſed, in the breeding of the young. The buſineſs of education, as I have already obſerved, is not, as I think, to make them perfect in any one of the ſciences, but ſo to open and diſpoſe their minds, as may beſt make them capable of any, when they ſhall apply themſelves to it. If men are, for a long time, accuſtomed only to one ſort, or method of thoughts, their minds grow ſtiff in it, and do not readily turn to another. It is therefore, to give them this freedom, that I think they ſhould be made look into all ſorts of knowledge, and exerciſe their underſtandings in ſo wide a variety and ſtock of knowledge. But I do not propoſe it, as a variety and ſtock of knowledge, but a variety and freedom of thinking, as an increaſe of the powers and activity of the mind, not as an enlargement of its poſſeſſions.

§ 19. This is that, which I think great readers are apt to be miſtaken in. Reading. Thoſe who have read of every thing, are thought to underſtand every thing too; but it is not always ſo. Reading furniſhes the mind only with materials of knowledge, it is thinking makes what we read ours. We are of the ruminating kind, and it is not enough to cram ourſelves with a great load of collections; unleſs we chew them over again, they will not give us ſtrength and nouriſhment. There are, indeed, in ſome writers viſible inſtances of deep thoughts, cloſe and acute reaſoning, and ideas well purſued. The light, theſe would give, would be of great uſe, if their reader would obſerve and imitate them; all the reſt at beſt are but particulars, fit to be turned into knowledge; but that can be done, only by our own meditation, and examining the reach, force and coherence of what is ſaid; and then, as far as we apprehend and ſee the connexion of ideas, ſo far it is ours; without that, it is but ſo much looſe matter, floating in our brain. The memory may be ſtored, but the judgment is little better, and the ſtock of knowledge not increaſed, by being able to repeat what others have ſaid, or produce the arguments we have found in them. Such a knowledge as this, is but knowledge by hear-ſay, and the oſtentation of it, is at beſt but talking by rote, and very often upon weak and wrong principles. For all, that is to be found in books, is not built upon true foundations, nor always rightly deduced from the principles, it is pretended to be built on. Such an examen, as is requiſite to diſcover that, every reader's mind is not forward to make; eſpecially in thoſe, who have given themſelves up to a party, and only hunt for what they can ſcrape together, that may favour and ſupport the tenets of it. Such men wilfully exclude themſelves from truth, and from all true benefit to be received by reading. Others of more indifferency often want attention and induſtry. The mind is backward in it ſelf, to be at the pains, to trace every argument to its original, and to ſee upon what baſis it ſtands, and how firmly; but yet it is this, that gives ſo much the advantage to one man, more than another, in reading. The mind

Reading.

ſhould, by ſevere rules, be tyed down to this, at firſt, uneaſy taſk; uſe and exerciſe will give it facility. So that thoſe, who are accuſtomed to it, readily, as it were with one caſt of the eye, take a view of the argument, and preſently, in moſt caſes, ſee where it bottoms. Thoſe, who have got this faculty, one may ſay, have got the true key of books, and the clue to lead them, through the mizmaze of variety of opinions and authors, to truth and certainty. This young beginners ſhould be entered in, and ſhewed the uſe of, that they might profit by their reading. Thoſe, who are ſtrangers to it, will be apt to think it too great a clog, in the way of men's ſtudies, and they will ſuſpect they ſhall make but ſmall progreſs, if, in the books they read, they muſt ſtand to examine and unravel every argument, and follow it ſtep by ſtep, up to its original.

I ANSWER, this is a good objection, and ought to weigh with thoſe, whoſe reading is deſigned for much talk and little knowledge, and I have nothing to ſay to it. But I am here enquiring into the conduct of the underſtanding, in its progreſs towards knowledge; and to thoſe, who aim at that, I may ſay, that he, who fair and ſoftly goes ſteadily forward, in a courſe that points right, will ſooner be at his journey's end, than he that runs after every one he meets, though he gallop all day full-ſpeed.

To which let me add, that this way of thinking on, and profiting by, what we read, will be a clog and rub to any one, only in the beginning; when cuſtom and exerciſe has made it familiar, it will be diſpatched, in moſt occaſions, without reſting or interruption in the courſe of our reading. The motions and views of a mind, exerciſed that way, are wonderfully quick; and a man, uſed to ſuch ſort of reflections, ſees as much at one glimpſe, as would require a long diſcourſe to lay before another, and make out, in an entire and gradual deduction. Beſides that, when the firſt difficulties are over, the delight and ſenſible advantage it brings, mightily encourages and enlivens the mind in reading, which, without this, is very improperly called ſtudy.

Intermediate principles.

§ 20. As an help to this, I think it may be propoſed, that for the ſaving the long progreſſion of the thoughts to remote and firſt principles, in every caſe, the mind ſhould provide it ſeveral ſtages; that is to ſay, intermediate principles, which it might have recourſe to, in the examining thoſe poſitions, that come in its way. Theſe, though they are not ſelf-evident principles, yet if they have been made out from them, by a wary and unqueſtionable deduction, may be depended on, as certain and infallible truths, and ſerve as unqueſtionable truths, to prove other points, depending on them, by a nearer and ſhorter view than remote and general maxims. Theſe may ſerve as land-marks, to ſhew what lyes in the direct way of truth, or is quite beſides it. And thus mathematicians do, who do not in every new problem run it back to the firſt axioms, through all the whole train of intermediate propoſitions. Certain theorems, that they have ſettled to themſelves, upon ſure demonſtration, ſerve to reſolve to them multitudes of propoſitions, which depend on them, and are as firmly made out from thence, as if the mind went afreſh, over every link of the whole chain, that ties them to firſt ſelf-evident principles. Only, in other ſciences, great care is to be taken, that they eſtabliſh thoſe intermediate principles, with as much caution, exactneſs, and indifferency, as mathematicians uſe, in the ſettling any of their great theorems. When this is not done, but men take up the principles, in this or that ſcience, upon credit, inclination, intereſt, &c. in haſte, without due examination, and moſt unqueſtionable proof, they lay a trap for themſelves, and, as much as in them lyes, captivate their underſtandings to miſtake, falſhood and error.

Partiality.

§ 21. As there is a partiality to opinions, which, as we have already obſerved, is apt to miſlead the underſtanding; ſo there is often a partiality to ſtudies, which is prejudicial alſo to knowledge and improvement. Thoſe ſciences, which men are particularly verſed in they are apt to value and extol, as if that part of knowledge, which every one has acquainted himſelf with, were that alone, which was worth the having, and all the reſt were idle, and empty amuſements, comparatively of no uſe, or importance. This is the effect of ignorance, and not know-

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knowledge, the being vainly puffed up with a flatulency, ariſing from a weak and narrow comprehenſion. It is not amiſs, that every one ſhould reliſh the ſcience, that he has made his peculiar ſtudy; a view of its beauties, and a ſenſe of its uſefulneſs, carries a man on, with the more delight and warmth, in the purſuit and improvement of it. But the contempt of all other knowledge, as if it were nothing, in compariſon of law or phyſick, of aſtronomy or chymiſtry, or perhaps ſome yet meaner part of knowledge, wherein I have got ſome ſmattering, or am ſomewhat advanced, is not only the mark of a vain, or little mind; but does this prejudice, in the conduct of the underſtanding, that it coops it up, within narrow bounds; and hinders it from looking abroad into other provinces of the intellectual world, more beautiful poſſibly, and more fruitful than that, which it had, till then, laboured in; wherein it might find, beſides new knowledge, ways or hints, whereby it might be enabled the better to cultivate its own.

Theology.

§ 22. THERE is, indeed, one ſcience (as they are now diſtinguiſhed) incomparably above all the reſt, where it is not, by corruption, narrowed into a trade, or faction, for mean or ill ends, and ſecular intereſts; I mean theology, which, containing the knowledge of God and his creatures, our duty to him and our fellow creatures, and a view of our preſent and future ſtate, is the comprehenſion of all other knowledge, directed to its true end; i. e. the honour and veneration of the Creator, and the happineſs of mankind. This is that noble ſtudy, which is every man's duty, and every one, that can be called a rational creature, is capable of. The works of nature, and the words of revelation, diſplay it to mankind, in characters ſo large and viſible, that thoſe, who are not quite blind may in them read, and ſee the firſt principles and moſt neceſſary parts of it;, and from thence, as they have time and induſtry, may be enabled to go on, to the more abſtruſe parts of it, and penetrate into thoſe infinite depths, filled with the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge. This is that ſcience, which would truly enlarge men's minds, were it ſtudied, or permitted to be ſtudied, every where, with that freedom, love of truth and charity, which it teaches, and were not made, contrary to its nature, the occaſion of ſtrife, faction, malignity, and narrow impoſitions. I ſhall ſay no more here, of this, but that it is undoubtedly a wrong uſe of my underſtanding, to make it the rule and meaſure of another man's; a uſe, which it is neither fit for, nor capable of.

Partiality.

§ 23. THIS partiality, where it is not permitted an authority, to render all other ſtudies inſignificant, or contemptible, is often indulged ſo far, as to be relied upon, and made uſe of, in other parts of knowledge, to which it does not at all belong, and wherewith it has no manner of affinity. Some men have ſo uſed their heads to mathematical figures; that, giving a preference to the methods of that ſcience, they introduce lines and diagrams into their ſtudy of divinity, or politick enquiries, as if nothing could be known without them; and others, accuſtomed to retired ſpeculations, run natural philoſophy into metaphyſical notions, and the abſtract generalities of logick; and how often may one meet with religion and morality, treated of in the terms of the laboratory, and thought to be improved by the methods and notions of chymiſtry? But he, that will take care of the conduct of his underſtanding, to direct it right to the knowledge of things, muſt avoid thoſe undue mixtures, and not, by a fondneſs for what he has found uſeful and neceſſary in one, transfer it to another ſcience, where it ſerves only to perplex and confound the underſtanding. It is a certain truth, that "res nolunt malè adminiſtrari;" it is no leſs certain "res nolunt "malè intelligi." Things themſelves are to be conſidered, as they are in themſelves, and then they will ſhew us, in what way they are to be underſtood. For, to have right conceptions about them, we muſt bring our underſtandings to the inflexible natures, and unalterable relations of things, and not endeavour to bring things to any preconceived notions of our own.

THERE is another partiality, very commonly obſervable in men of ſtudy, no leſs prejudicial, nor ridiculous, than the former; and that is a fantaſtical and wild attributing all knowledge to the ancients alone, or to the moderns. This raving upon antiquity, in matter of poetry, Horace has wittily deſcribed and expoſed

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poſed in one of his ſatyrs. The ſame ſort of madneſs may be found, in reference to all the other ſciences. Some will not admit an opinion, not authoriſed by men of old, who were then all giants in knowledge. Nothing is to be put into the treaſury of truth, or knowledge, which has not the ſtamp of Greece, or Rome, upon it; and ſince their days, will ſcarce allow, that men have been able to ſee, think or write. Others, with a like extravagancy, contemn all that the ancients have left us, and being taken with the modern inventions and diſcoveries, lay by all, that went before, as if whatever is called old, muſt have the decay of time upon it, and truth, too, were liable to mould and rottenneſs. Men, I think, have been much the ſame for natural endowments, in all times. Faſhion, diſcipline, and education, have put eminent differences, in the ages of ſeveral countries, and made one generation much differ from another, in arts and ſciences: but truth is always the ſame; time alters it not, nor is it the better, or worſe, for being of ancient, or modern tradition. Many were eminent in former ages of the world, for their diſcovery and delivery of it; but, though the knowledge, they have left us, be worth our ſtudy, yet they exhauſted not all its treaſure; they left a great deal for the induſtry and ſagacity of after-ages, and ſo ſhall we. That was once new to them, which any one now receives with veneration for its antiquity, nor was it the worſe, for appearing as a novelty; and that, which is now embraced for its newneſs, will to poſterity be old, but not thereby be leſs true, or leſs genuine. There is no occaſion, on this account, to oppoſe the ancients and the moderns to one another, or to be ſqueamiſh on either ſide. He, that wiſely conducts his mind, in the purſuit of knowledge, will gather what lights, and get what helps he can, from either of them, from whom they are beſt to be had, without adoring the errors, or rejecting the truths, which he may find mingled in them.

Another partiality may be obſerved, in ſome to vulgar, in others, to heterodox tenets: ſome are apt to conclude, that what is the common opinion cannot but be true; ſo many men's eyes they think cannot but ſee right; ſo many men's underſtandings of all ſorts cannot be deceived, and, therefore, will not venture to look beyond the received notions of the place and age, nor have ſo preſumptuous a thought, as to be wiſer than their neighbours. They are content to go with the crowd, and ſo go eaſily, which they think is going right, or at leaſt ſerves them as well. But however "vox populi vox Dei" has prevailed as a maxim; yet I do not remember wherever God delivered his oracles by the multitude, or nature, truths by the herd. On the other ſide, ſome fly all common opinions, as either falſe, or frivolous. The title of many-headed beaſt is a ſufficient reaſon to them to conclude, that no truths of weight, or conſequence can be lodged there. Vulgar opinions are ſuited to vulgar capacities, and adapted to the ends of thoſe that govern. He, that will know the truth of things, muſt leave the common and beaten track, which none but weak and ſervile minds are ſatisfied to trudge along continually in. Such nice palates reliſh nothing, but ſtrange notions, quite out of the way: Whatever is commonly received, has the mark of the beaſt on it; and they think it a leſſening to them, to hearken to it, or receive it; their mind runs only after paradoxes; theſe they ſeek, theſe they embrace, theſe alone they vent, and ſo, as they think, diſtinguiſh themſelves from the vulgar. But common, or uncommon are not the marks to diſtinguiſh truth, or falſhood, and therefore ſhould not be any byaſs to us, in our enquiries. We ſhould not judge of things, by men's opinions, but of opinions, by things. The multitude reaſon but ill, and therefore may be well ſuſpected, and cannot be relied on, nor ſhould be followed, as a ſure guide; but philoſophers, who have quitted the orthodoxy of the community, and the popular doctrines of their countries, have fallen into as extravagant and as abſurd opinions, as ever common reception countenanced. It would be madneſs to refuſe to breathe the common air, or quench one's thirſt with water, becauſe the rabble uſe them, to theſe purpoſes; and if there are conveniences of life, which common uſe reaches not, it is not reaſon to reject them, becauſe they are not grown into the ordinary faſhion of the country, and every villager doth not know them.

Partiality

TRUTH, whether in, or out of faſhion, is the meaſure of knowledge, and the buſineſs of the underſtanding; whatſoever is beſides that, however authorized by conſent, or recommended by rarity, is nothing but ignorance, or ſomething worſe.

ANOTHER ſort of partiality there is, whereby men impoſe upon themſelves, and, by it, make their reading little uſeful to themſelves; I mean the making uſe of the opinions of writers, and laying ſtreſs upon their authorities, wherever they find them to favour their own opinions.

THERE is nothing almoſt has done more harm to men, dedicated to letters, than giving the name of ſtudy to reading, and making a man of great reading to be the ſame with a man of great knowledge, or at leaſt to be a title of honour. All, that can be recorded in writing, are only facts or reaſonings. Facts are of three ſorts;

1. MERELY of natural agents, obſervable in the ordinary operations of bodies one upon another, whether in the viſible courſe of things, left to themſelves, or in experiments made by men, applying agents and patients to one another, after a peculiar and artificial manner.

2. OF voluntary agents, more eſpecially the actions of men in ſociety, which makes civil and moral hiſtory.

3. OF opinions.

IN theſe three conſiſts, as it ſeems to me, that which commonly has the name of learning; to which perhaps ſome may add a diſtinct head of critical writings, which indeed at bottom is nothing but matter of fact, and reſolves itſelf into this, that ſuch a man, or ſet of men, uſed ſuch a word, or phraſe, in ſuch a ſenſe, i. e. that they made ſuch ſounds the marks of ſuch ideas.

UNDER reaſonings I comprehend all the diſcoveries of general truths, made by human reaſon, whether found by intuition, demonſtration, or probable deductions. And this is that, which is, if not alone knowledge, (becauſe the truth, or probability of particular propoſitions may be known too) yet is, as may be ſuppoſed, moſt properly the buſineſs of thoſe, who pretend to improve their underſtandings, and make themſelves knowing by reading.

BOOKS and reading are looked upon to be the great helps of the underſtanding, and inſtruments of knowledge, as it muſt be allowed that they are; and yet I beg leave to queſtion, whether theſe do not prove an hindrance to many, and keep ſeveral bookiſh men from attaining to ſolid and true knowledge. This, I think, I may be permitted to ſay, that there is no part wherein the underſtanding needs a more careful and wary conduct, than in the uſe of books; without which they will prove rather innocent amuſements, than profitable employments of our time, and bring but ſmall additions to our knowledge.

THERE is not ſeldom to be found, even amongſt thoſe who aim at knowledge, who with an unwearied induſtry imploy their whole time in books, who ſcarce allow themſelves time to eat or ſleep, but read, and read, and read on, but yet make no great advances in real knowledge, tho' there be no defect in their intellectual faculties, to which their little progreſs can be imputed. The miſtake here is, that it is uſually ſuppoſed, that by reading, the author's knowledge is transfuſed into the reader's underſtanding; and ſo it is, but not by bare reading, but by reading and underſtanding what he writ. Whereby I mean, not barely comprehending what is affirmed, or denied in each propoſition (tho' that great readers do not always think themſelves concerned preciſely to do) but to ſee and follow the train of his reaſonings, obſerve the ſtrength and clearneſs of their connexion, and examine upon what they bottom. Without this a man may read the diſcourſes of a very rational author, writ in a language, and in propoſitions, that he very well underſtands, and yet acquire not one jot of his knowledge; which conſiſting only in the perceived, certain, or probable connexion of the ideas, made uſe of in his reaſonings, the reader's knowledge is no farther increaſed, than he perceives that; ſo much as he ſees of this connexion, ſo much he knows of the truth, or probability, of that author's opinion.

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ALL that he relies on, without this perception, he takes upon truſt, upon the author's credit, without any knowledge of it at all. This makes me not at all wonder to ſee ſome men ſo abound in citations, and build ſo much upon authorities, it being the ſole foundation, on which they bottom moſt of their own tenets; ſo that, in effect, they have but a ſecond hand, or implicit knowledge, i. e. are in the right, if ſuch a one, from whom they borrowed it, were in the right, in that opinion, which they took from him, which indeed is no knowledge at all. Writers of this, or former, ages may be good witneſſes of matters of fact, which they deliver, which we may do well to take upon their authority; but their credit can go no farther than this, it cannot at all affect the truth and falſhood of opinions, which have no other ſort of trial, but reaſon and proof, which they themſelves made uſe of, to make themſelves knowing, and ſo muſt others too, that will partake in their knowledge. Indeed it is an advantage that they have been at the pains to find out the proofs, and lay them in that order, that may ſhew the truth, or probability of their concluſions; and, for this, we owe them great acknowledgments for ſaving us the pains, in ſearching out thoſe proofs, which they have collected for us, and which, poſſibly, after all our pains, we might not have found, nor been able to have ſet them in ſo good a light, as that which they left them us in. Upon this account we are mightily beholden to judicious writers of all ages, for thoſe diſcoveries and diſcourſes, they have left behind them for our inſtruction, if we know how to make a right uſe of them; which is not to run them over in an haſty peruſal, and perhaps lodge their opinions, or ſome remarkable paſſages in our memories; but to enter into their reaſonings, examine their proofs, and then judge of the truth or falſhood, probability or improbability, of what they advance; not by any opinion we have entertained of the author, but by the evidence he produces, and the conviction he affords us, drawn from things themſelves. Knowing is ſeeing, and if it be ſo, it is madneſs to perſuade ourſelves that we do ſo, by another man's eyes, let him uſe ever ſo many words to tell us, that what he aſſerts is very viſible. Till we our ſelves ſee it, with our own eyes, and perceive it, by our own underſtandings, we are as much in the dark, and as void of knowledge as before, let us believe any learned author, as much as we will.

EUCLID and Archimedes are allowed to be knowing, and to have demonſtrated what they ſay; and yet whoever ſhall read over their writings without perceiving the connexion of their proofs, and ſeeing what they ſhew, though he may underſtand all their words, yet he is not the more knowing: he may believe, indeed, but does not know what they ſay, and ſo is not advanced one jot in mathematical knowledge, by all his reading of thoſe approved mathematicians.

Haſte. § 24. THE eagerneſs and ſtrong bent of the mind after knowledge, if not warily regulated, is often an hindrance to it. It ſtill preſſes into farther diſcoveries and new objects, and catches at the variety of knowledge, and therefore often ſtays not long enough on what is before it, to look into it as it ſhould, for haſte to purſue what is yet out of ſight. He that rides poſt through a country, may be able, from the tranſient view, to tell how in general the parts lye, and may be able to give ſome looſe deſcription of here a mountain, and there a plain, here a moraſs, and there a river; woodland in one part, and ſavanas in another. Such ſuperficial ideas and obſervations as theſe, he may collect in galloping over it: but the more uſeful obſervations of the ſoil, plants, animals and inhabitants, with their ſeveral ſorts and properties, muſt neceſſarily eſcape him; and it is ſeldom men ever diſcover the rich mines, without ſome digging. Nature commonly lodges her treaſure and jewels in rocky ground. If the matter be knotty, and the ſenſe lyes deep, the mind muſt ſtop and buckle to it, and ſtick upon it with labour and thought, and cloſe contemplation, and not leave it, 'till it has maſtered the difficulty, and got poſſeſſion of truth. But here care muſt be taken to avoid the other extreme: A man muſt not ſtick at every uſeleſs nicety, and expect myſteries of ſcience in every trivial queſtion, or ſcruple, that he may raiſe. He that will ſtand to pick up and examine every

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pebble, that comes in his way, is as unlikely to return enriched and loaden with jewels, as the other that travelled full-ſpeed. Truths are not the better nor the worſe for their obviouſneſs, or difficulty, but their value is to be meaſured by their uſefulneſs and tendency. Inſignificant obſervations ſhould not take up any of our minutes, and thoſe that enlarge our view, and give light towards farther and uſeful diſcoveries, ſhould not be neglected, though they ſtop our courſe, and ſpend ſome of our time in a fixed attention.

THERE is another haſte, that does often, and will miſlead the mind, if it be left to itſelf, and its own conduct. The underſtanding is naturally forward, not only to learn its knowledge by variety (which makes it ſkip over one to get ſpeedily to another part of knowledge) but alſo eager to enlarge its views, by running too faſt into general obſervations and concluſions, without a due examination of particulars enough, whereon to found thoſe general axioms. This ſeems to enlarge their ſtock, but it is of fancies, not realities; ſuch theories built upon narrow foundations ſtand but weakly, and, if they fall not of themſelves, are at leaſt very hard to be ſupported againſt the aſſaults of oppoſition. And thus men being too haſty to erect to themſelves general notions and ill-grounded theories, find themſelves deceived in their ſtock of knowledge, when they come to examine their haſtily aſſumed maxims themſelves, or to have them attacked by others. General obſervations drawn from particulars, are the jewels of knowledge, comprehending great ſtore in a little room; but they are therefore to be made with the greater care and caution, leſt if we take counterfeit for true, our loſs and ſhame be the greater, when our ſtock comes to a ſevere ſcrutiny. One or two particulars may ſuggeſt hints of enquiry, and they do well to take thoſe hints; but, if they turn them into concluſions, and make them preſently general rules, they are forward indeed, but it is only to impoſe on themſelves, by propoſitions aſſumed for truths, without ſufficient warrant. To make ſuch obſervations, is, as has been already remarked, to make the head a magazine of materials, which can hardly be called knowledge, or at leaſt it is but like a collection of lumber, not reduced to uſe, or order: and he, that makes every thing an obſervation, has the ſame uſeleſs plenty and much more falſhood mixed with it. The extremes, on both ſides, are to be avoided, and he will be able to give the beſt account of his ſtudies, who keeps his underſtanding in the right mean between them.

Anticipation.

§ 25. WHETHER it be a love of that, which brings the firſt light and information to their minds, and want of vigour and induſtry to enquire, or elſe that men content themſelves with any appearance of knowledge, right or wrong; which, when they have once got, they will hold faſt: This is viſible, that many men give themſelves up to the firſt anticipations of their minds, and are very tenacious of the opinions that firſt poſſeſs them; they are often as fond of their firſt conceptions as of their firſt-born, and will by no means recede from the judgment, they have once made, or any conjecture or conceit, which they have once entertained. This is a fault in the conduct of the underſtanding, ſince this firmneſs, or rather ſtiffneſs of the mind, is not from an adherence to truth, but a ſubmiſſion to prejudice. 'Tis an unreaſonable homage paid to prepoſſeſſion, whereby we ſhew a reverence not to (what we pretend to ſeek) truth; but what by haphazard we chance to light on, be it what it will. This is viſibly a prepoſterous uſe of our faculties, and is a downright proſtituting of the mind to reſign it thus, and put it under the power of the firſt comer. This can never be allowed, or ought to be followed, as a right way to knowledge, till the underſtanding (whoſe buſineſs it is to conform itſelf to what it finds on the objects without) can, by its own opiniatrey, change that, and make the unalterable nature of things comply with its own haſty determinations, which will never be. Whatever we fanſy, things keep their courſe; and their habitudes, correſpondencies and relations, keep the ſame to one another.

Reſignation.

§ 26. CONTRARY to theſe, but by a like dangerous exceſs, on the other ſide, are thoſe, who always reſign their judgment to the laſt man they heard, or read. Truth never ſinks into theſe men's minds, nor gives any tincture to them, but cameleon-like, they take the colour of what is laid before them, and as ſoon

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loſe and reſign it, to the next that happens to come in their way. The order wherein opinions are propoſed, or received by us, is no rule of their rectitude, nor ought to be a cauſe of their preference. Firſt or laſt in this caſe, is the effect of chance, and not the meaſure of truth, or falſhood. This every one muſt confeſs, and therefore ſhould in the purſuit of truth, keep his mind free from the influence, of any ſuch accidents. A man may as reaſonably draw cuts for his tenets, regulate his perſuaſion by the caſt of a die, as take it up for its novelty, or retain it, becauſe it had his firſt aſſent, and he was never of another mind. Well-weighed reaſons are to determine the judgment; thoſe the mind ſhould be always ready to hearken and ſubmit to, and by their teſtimony and ſuffrage, entertain or reject any tenet indifferently, whether it be a perfect ſtranger, or an old acquaintance.

Practice.

§ 27. THOUGH the faculties of the mind are improved by exerciſe, yet they muſt not be put to a ſtreſs beyond their ſtrength. "Quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recuſent," muſt be made the meaſure of every one's underſtanding, who has a deſire not only to perform well, but to keep up the vigour of his faculties, and not to baulk his underſtanding by what is too hard for it. The mind, by being engaged in a taſk beyond its ſtrength, like the body, ſtrained by lifting at a weight too heavy, has often its force broken, and thereby gets an unaptneſs, or an averſion, to any vigorous attempt ever after. A ſinew cracked ſeldom recovers its former ſtrength, or at leaſt the tenderneſs of the ſprain remains a good while after, and the memory of it longer, and leaves a laſting caution in the man, not to put the part quickly again to any robuſt employment. So it fares in the mind once jaded by an attempt above its power, it either is diſabled for the future, or elſe checks at any vigorous undertaking ever after, at leaſt is very hardly brought to exert its force again, on any ſubject that requires thought and meditation. The underſtanding ſhould be brought to the difficult and knotty parts of knowledge, that try the ſtrength of thought, and a full bent of the mind, by inſenſible degrees; and in ſuch a gradual proceeding nothing is too hard for it. Nor let it be objected, that ſuch a ſlow progreſs will never reach the extent of ſome ſciences. It is not to be imagined how far conſtancy will carry a man; however it is better walking ſlowly in a rugged way, than to break a leg and be a cripple. He that begins with the calf may carry the ox; but he that will at firſt go to take up an ox; may ſo diſable himſelf, as not to be able to lift a calf after that. When the mind, by inſenſible degrees, has brought itſelf to attention and cloſe thinking, it will be able to cope with difficulties, and maſter them without any prejudice to itſelf, and then it may go on roundly. Every obſtruſe problem, every intricate queſtion will not baffle, diſcourage or break it. But, tho' putting the mind unprepared upon an unuſual ſtreſs, that may diſcourage or damp it for the future, ought to be avoided; yet this muſt not run it, by an over-great ſhyneſs of difficulties, into a lazy ſauntring about ordinary and obvious things, that demand no thought or application. This debaſes and enervates the underſtanding, makes it weak and unfit for labour. This is a ſort of hovering about the ſurface of things, without any inſight into them or penetration; and when the mind has been once habituated to this lazy recumbency and ſatisfaction, on the obvious ſurface of things, it is in danger to reſt ſatisfied there, and go no deeper, ſince it cannot do it without pains and digging. He, that has for ſome time accuſtomed himſelf to take up with what eaſily offers itſelf at firſt view, has reaſon to fear he ſhall never reconcile himſelf to the fatigue of turning and tumbling things in his mind, to diſcover their more retired and more valuable ſecrets.

'TIS not ſtrange that methods of learning, which ſcholars have been accuſtomed to, in their beginning and entrance upon the ſciences, ſhould influence them all their lives, and be ſettled in their minds by an over-ruling reverence, eſpecially if they be ſuch as univerſal uſe has eſtabliſhed. Learners muſt at firſt be believers, and their maſter's rules having been once made axioms to them, it is no wonder they ſhould keep that dignity, and by the authority they have once got, miſlead thoſe who think it ſufficient to excuſe them, if they go out of their way in a well-beaten track.

Words.

§ 28. I HAVE copiouſly enough ſpoken of the abuſe of words, in another place, and therefore ſhall, upon this reflection that the ſciences are full of them, warn thoſe that would conduct their underſtandings right, not to take any term, howſoever authoriſed by the language of the ſchools, to ſtand for any thing, till they have an idea of it. A word may be of frequent uſe, and great credit, with ſeveral authors, and be by them made uſe of as if it ſtood for ſome real being; but yet, if he that reads cannot frame any diſtinct idea of that being, it is certainly to him a mere empty ſound, without a meaning, and he learns no more by all that is ſaid of it, or attributed to it, than if it were affirmed only of that bare empty ſound. They, who would advance in knowledge, and not deceive and ſwell themſelves with a little articulated air, ſhould lay down this as a fundamental rule, not to take words for things, nor ſuppoſe that names in books ſignify real entities in nature, till they can frame clear and diſtinct ideas of thoſe entities. It will not perhaps be allowed, if I ſhould ſet down "ſubſtantial forms" and "intentional ſpecies," as ſuch, that may juſtly be ſuſpected to be of this kind of inſignificant terms. But this I am ſure, to one that can form no determined ideas of what they ſtand for, they ſignify nothing at all; and all that, he thinks, he knows about them, is to him ſo much knowledge about nothing, and amounts at moſt but to a learned ignorance. 'Tis not without all reaſon ſuppoſed, that there are many ſuch empty terms to be found in ſome learned writers, to which they had recourſe to etch out their ſyſtems, where their underſtandings could not furniſh them with conceptions from things. But yet I believe the ſuppoſing of ſome realities in nature, anſwering thoſe and the like words, have much perplexed ſome, and quite miſled others in the ſtudy of nature. That which in any diſcourſe ſignifies, "I know not what," ſhould be conſidered "I know not when." Where men have any conceptions, they can, if they are ever ſo abſtruſe or abſtracted, explain them, and the terms they uſe for them. For our conceptions being nothing but ideas, which are all made up of ſimple ones: If they cannot give us the ideas their words ſtand for, it is plain they have none. To what purpoſe can it be, to hunt after his conceptions, who has none, or none diſtinct? He that knew not what he himſelf meant, by a learned term, cannot make us know any thing, by his uſe of it, let us beat our heads about it ever ſo long. Whether we are able to comprehend all the operations of nature, and the manners of them, it matters not to enquire; but this is certain, that we can comprehend no more of them, than we can diſtinctly conceive; and therefore to obtrude terms, where we have no diſtinct conceptions, as if they did contain, or rather conceal ſomething, is but an artifice of learned vanity to cover a defect in an hypotheſis, or our underſtandings. Words are not made to conceal, but to declare and ſhew ſomething; where they are, by thoſe, who pretend to inſtruct, otherwiſe uſed, they conceal indeed ſomething; but that which they conceal, is nothing but the ignorance, error, or ſophiſtry of the talker, for there is, in truth, nothing elſe under them.

Wandring.

§ 29. THAT there is a conſtant ſucceſſion and flux of ideas in our minds, I have obſerved in the former part of this eſſay, and every one may take notice of it in himſelf. This, I ſuppoſe, may deſerve ſome part of our care, in the conduct of our underſtandings; and I think it may be of great advantage, if we can, by uſe, get that power over our minds, as to be able to direct that train of ideas, that ſo, ſince there will no new ones perpetually come into our thoughts by a conſtant ſucceſſion, we may be able, by choice, ſo to direct them, that none may come in view, but ſuch as are pertinent to our preſent enquiry, and in ſuch order, as may be moſt uſeful to the diſcovery we are upon; or at leaſt, if ſome foreign and unſought ideas will offer themſelves, that yet we might be able to reject them, and keep them from taking off our minds from its preſent purſuit, and hinder them, from running away with our thoughts, quite from the ſubject in hand. This is not, I ſuſpect, ſo eaſy to be done, as perhaps may be imagined; and yet, for aught I know, this may be, if not the chief, yet one of the great differences that carry ſome men in their reaſoning, ſo far beyond others, where they ſeem to be naturally of equal parts. A

Wandring. proper and effectual remedy for this wandring of thoughts, I would be glad to find. He, that ſhall propoſe ſuch an one, would do great ſervice to the ſtudious and contemplative part of mankind, and perhaps help unthinking men to become thinking. I muſt acknowledge that hitherto I have diſcovered no other way to keep our thoughts cloſe to their buſineſs, but the endeavouring, as much as we can, and by frequent attention and application getting the habit of attention and application. He that will obſerve children, will find, that, even when they endeavour their utmoſt, they cannot keep their minds from ſtraggling. The way to cure it, I am ſatisfied, is not angry chiding, or beating, for that preſently fills their heads with all the ideas that fear, dread, or confuſion can offer to them. To bring back gently their wandring thoughts, by leading them into the path, and going before them in the train, they ſhould purſue, without any rebuke, or ſo much as taking notice (where it can be avoided) of their roving, I ſuppoſe would ſooner reconcile and inure them to attention, than all thoſe rougher methods, which more diſtract their thought, and, hindering the application they would promote, introduce a contrary habit.

Diſtinction. § 30. DISTINCTION and diviſion are (if I miſtake not the import of the words) very different things; the one being the perception of a difference, that nature has placed in things: the other our making a diviſion, where there is yet none; at leaſt, if I may be permitted to conſider them in this ſenſe, I think I may ſay of them, that one of them is the moſt neceſſary and conducive to true knowledge that can be; the other when too much made uſe of, ſerves only to puzzle and confound the underſtanding. To obſerve every the leaſt difference, that is in things, argues a quick and clear ſight, and this keeps the underſtanding ſteady, and right in its way to knowledge. But though it be uſeful to diſcern every variety, that is to be found in nature, yet it is not convenient to conſider every difference that is in things, and divide them into diſtinct claſſes, under every ſuch difference. This will run us, if followed, into particulars, (for every individual has ſomething that differences it from another) and we ſhall be able to eſtabliſh no general truths, or elſe, at leaſt, ſhall be apt to perplex the mind about them. The collection of ſeveral things into ſeveral claſſes, gives the mind more general and larger views; but we muſt take care to unite them only in that, and ſo far as they do agree; for ſo far they may be united under the conſideration. For entity itſelf, that comprehends all things, as general as it is, may afford us clear and rational conceptions. If we would weigh and keep in our minds, what it is we are conſidering, that would beſt inſtruct us when we ſhould, or ſhould not branch into farther diſtinctions, which are to be taken only from a due contemplation of things: to which there is nothing more oppoſite than the art of verbal diſtinctions, made at pleaſure, in learned and arbitrarily invented terms, to be applied at a venture, without comprehending or conveying any diſtinct notions, and ſo altogether fitted to artificial talk, or empty noiſe in diſpute, without any clearing of difficulties, or advance in knowledge. Whatſoever ſubject we examine and would get knowledge in, we ſhould, I think, make as general and as large as it will bear; nor can there be any danger of this, if the idea of it be ſettled and determined: for if that be ſo, we ſhall eaſily diſtinguiſh it from any other idea, though comprehended under the ſame name. For it is to fence againſt the intanglements of equivocal words, and the great art of ſophiſtry, which lyes in them, that diſtinctions have been multiplied, and their uſe thought neceſſary. But had every diſtinct, abſtract idea, a diſtinct, known name, there would be little need of theſe multiplied ſcholaſtick diſtinctions, though there would be nevertheleſs as much need ſtill of the mind's obſerving the differences that are in things, and diſcriminating them thereby one from another. 'Tis not, therefore, the right way to knowledge, to hunt after, and fill the head with abundance of artificial and ſcholaſtick diſtinctions, wherewith learned men's writings are often filled; we ſometimes find what they treat of ſo divided and ſubdivided that the mind of the moſt attentive reader loſes the ſight of it, as it is more than probable, the writer himſelf did; for in things crumbled into duſt, it is in vain to affect or pretend order, or expect

Diſtinction.

clearneſs. To avoid confuſion by too few or too many diviſions, is a great ſkill in thinking, as well as writing, which is but the copying our thoughts; but what are the boundaries of the mean between the two vitious exceſſes on both hands, I think, is hard to ſet down in words: clear and diſtinct ideas is all that I yet know able to regulate it. But as to verbal diſtinctions received and applyed to common terms, i. e. equivocal words, they are more properly I think, the buſineſs of criticiſm and dictionaries, than of real knowledge and philoſophy, ſince they, for the moſt part, explain the meaning of words, and give us their ſeveral ſignifications. The dextrous management of terms, and being able to fend and prove with them, I know has and does paſs in the world for a great part of learning; but it is learning, diſtinct from knowledge; for knowledge conſiſts only in perceiving the habitudes and relations of ideas, one to another, which is done without words; the intervention of a ſound helps nothing to it. And hence we ſee, that there is leaſt uſe of diſtinctions, where there is moſt knowledge; I mean in mathematicks, where men have determined ideas, with known names to them: and ſo, there being no room for equivocations, there is no need of diſtinctions. In arguing, the opponent uſes as comprehenſive and equivocal terms, as he can, to involve his adverſary in the doubtfulneſs of his expreſſions: This is expected, and therefore the anſwerer, on his ſide, makes it his play to diſtinguiſh as much as he can, and thinks he can never do it too much, nor can he, indeed, in that way, wherein victory may be had without truth and without knowledge. This ſeems to me to be the art of diſputing; Uſe your words as captiouſly as you can in your arguing on one ſide, and apply diſtinctions as much as you can, on the other ſide, to every term, to nonplus your opponent: ſo that in this ſort of ſcholarſhip, there being no bounds ſet to diſtinguiſhing, ſome men have thought all acuteneſs to have lain in it; and therefore, in all they have read, or thought on, their great buſineſs has been to amuſe themſelves with diſtinctions, and multiply to themſelves diviſions, at leaſt, more than the nature of the thing required. There ſeems to me, as I ſaid, to be no other rule for this, but a due and right conſideration of things, as they are in themſelves. He that has ſettled in his mind determined ideas, with names affixed to them, will be able both to diſcern their differences, one from another, which is really diſtinguiſhing; and, where the penury of words affords not terms, anſwering every diſtinct idea, will be able to apply proper diſtinguiſhing terms, to the comprehenſive and equivocal names, he is forced to make uſe of. This is all the need, I know of diſtinguiſhing terms; and in ſuch verbal diſtinctions, each term of the diſtinction, joined to that, whoſe ſignification it diſtinguiſhes, is but a diſtinct name for a diſtinct idea. Where they are ſo, and men have clear and diſtinct conceptions, that anſwer their verbal diſtinctions, they are right, and are pertinent, as far as they ſerve to clear any thing in the ſubject under conſideration. And this is that, which ſeems to me the proper and only meaſure of diſtinctions and diviſions; which he that will conduct his underſtanding right, muſt not look for, in the acuteneſs of invention, nor the authority of writers, but will find only, in the conſideration of things themſelves, whether they are led into it, by their own meditations, or the information of books.

An aptneſs to jumble things together, wherein can be found any likeneſs, is a fault in the underſtanding, on the other ſide, which will not fail to miſlead it; and, by thus lumping of things, hinder the mind from diſtinct and accurate conceptions of them.

Similies.

§ 31. To which let me here add another, near of kin to this, at leaſt in name, and that is letting the mind, upon the ſuggeſtion of any new notion, run immediately after ſimilies, to make it the clearer to itſelf; which though it may be a good way, and uſeful in the explaining our thoughts to others; yet it is by no means a right method, to ſettle true notions of any thing in our ſelves; becauſe ſimilies always fail in ſome part, and come ſhort of that exactneſs, which our conceptions ſhould have to things, if we would think aright. This indeed makes men plauſible talkers; for thoſe are always moſt acceptable in diſcourſe, who have the way to let their thoughts into other men's minds, with the greateſt

Similies. eaſe and facility; whether thoſe thoughts are well formed and correſpond with things, matters not; few men care to be inſtructed, but at an eaſy rate. They, who in their diſcourſe ſtrike the fancy, and take the hearers conceptions along with them, as faſt as their words flow, are the applauded talkers, and go for the only men of clear thoughts. Nothing contributes ſo much to this as ſimilies, whereby men think they themſelves underſtand better, becauſe they are better underſtood. But it is one thing to think right, and another thing to know the right way to lay our thoughts before others, with advantage and clearneſs, be they right or wrong. Well choſen ſimilies, metaphors and allegories, with method and order, do this the beſt of any thing, becauſe, being taken from objects already known, and familiar to the underſtanding, they are conceived, as faſt as ſpoken; and the correſpondence being concluded, the thing, they are brought to explain and elucidate, is thought to be underſtood too. Thus fancy paſſes for knowledge, and what is prettily ſaid is miſtaken for ſolid. I ſay not this to decry metaphor, or with deſign to take away that ornament of ſpeech; my buſineſs here is not with rhetoricians and orators, but with philoſophers and lovers of truth; to whom I would beg leave to give this one rule whereby to try, whether, in the application of their thoughts to any thing, for the improvement of their knowledge, they do in truth comprehend the matter before them, really ſuch as it is in itſelf. The way to diſcover this is to obſerve, whether in the laying it before themſelves or others, they make uſe only of borrowed repreſentations, and ideas foreign to the things, which are applied to it by way of accommodation, as bearing ſome proportion, or imagined likeneſs, to the ſubject under conſideration. Figured and metaphorical expreſſions do well to illuſtrate more abſtruſe and unfamiliar ideas, which the mind is not yet thorowly accuſtomed to; but then, they muſt be made uſe of, to illuſtrate ideas, that we already have, not to paint to us thoſe, which we yet have not. Such borrowed and alluſive ideas may follow real and ſolid truth, to ſet it off, when found, but muſt by no means be ſet in its place, and taken for it. If all our ſearch has yet reached no farther, than ſimilie and metaphor, we may aſſure our ſelves, we rather fanſy than know, and are not yet penetrated into the inſide and reality of the thing, be it what it will, but content our ſelves with what our imaginations, not things themſelves, furniſh us with.

Aſſent. § 32. In the whole conduct of the underſtanding, there is nothing of more moment than to know, when and where, and how far to give aſſent; and poſſibly there is nothing harder. It is very eaſily ſaid, and no body queſtions it, that giving and with-holding our aſſent, and the degrees of it, ſhould be regulated by the evidence, which things carry with them; and yet, we ſee men are not the better for this rule; ſome firmly embrace doctrines upon ſlight grounds, ſome upon no grounds, and ſome contrary to appearance: ſome admit of certainty, and are not to be moved in what they hold: others waver in every thing, and there want not thoſe, that reject all as uncertain. What then ſhall a novice, an enquirer, a ſtranger do in the caſe? I anſwer, Uſe his eyes. There is a correſpondence in things, and agreement and diſagreement in ideas, diſcernible in very different degrees, and there are eyes in men, to ſee them, if they pleaſe, only their eyes may be dimmed or dazzled, and the diſcerning ſight in them impaired or loſt. Intereſt and paſſion dazzle; the cuſtom of arguing on any ſide, even againſt our perſuaſions, dims the underſtanding, and makes it, by degrees, loſe the faculty of diſcerning clearly between truth and falſhood, and ſo of adhering to the right ſide. It is not ſafe to play with error, and dreſs it up to our ſelves, or others, in the ſhape of truth. The mind, by degrees, loſes its natural reliſh of real ſolid truth, is reconciled inſenſibly to any thing, that can but be dreſſed up into any feint appearance of it; and if the fancy be allowed the place of judgment, at firſt, in ſport, it afterwards comes by uſe to uſurp it, and what is recommended by this flatterer (that ſtudies but to pleaſe) is received for good. There are ſo many ways of fallacy, ſuch arts of giving colours, appearances and reſemblances, by this court-dreſſer, the fancy, that he, who is not wary to admit nothing but truth itſelf, very careful

Aſſent.

ful not to make his mind ſubſervient to any thing elſe, cannot but be caught. He, that has a mind to believe, has half aſſented already; and he, that by often arguing againſt his own ſenſe, impoſes falſhoods on others, is not far from believing himſelf. This takes away the great diſtance there is betwixt truth and falſhood; it brings them almoſt together, and makes it no great odds, in things that approach ſo near, which you take; and when things are brought to that paſs, paſſion or intereſt, &c. eaſily, and without being perceived, determine which ſhall be the right.

Indifferency.

§ 33. I have ſaid above, that we ſhould keep a perfect indifferency for all opinions, not wiſh any of them true, or try to make them appear ſo; but being indifferent, receive and embrace them, according as evidence, and that alone, gives the atteſtation of truth. They that do thus, i. e. keep their minds indifferent to opinions, to be determined only by evidence, will always find the underſtanding has perception enough, to diſtinguiſh between evidence or no evidence, betwixt plain and doubtful; and if they neither give, nor refuſe, their aſſent, but by that meaſure, they will be ſafe in the opinions they have. Which being perhaps but few, this caution will have alſo this good in it, that it will put them upon conſidering, and teach them the neceſſity of examining, more than they do; without which, the mind is but a receptacle of inconſiſtencies, not the ſtore-houſe of truths. They, that do not keep up this indifferency in themſelves, for all but truth, not ſuppoſed, but evidenced, in themſelves, put coloured ſpectacles before their eyes, and look on things through falſe glaſſes, and then think themſelves excuſed in following the falſe appearances, which they themſelves put upon them. I do not expect that, by this way, the aſſent ſhould, in every one, be proportioned to the grounds and clearneſs, wherewith every truth is capable to be made out, or that men ſhould be perfectly kept from error: that is more than human nature can, by any means, be advanced to; I aim at no ſuch unattainable privilege; I am only ſpeaking of what they ſhould do, who would deal fairly with their own minds, and make a right uſe of their faculties, in the purſuit of truth; we fail them a great deal more than they fail us. It is miſmanagement, more than want of abilities, that men have reaſon to complain of, and which they actually do complain of in thoſe that differ from them. He, that by an indifferency for all but truth, ſuffers not his aſſent to go faſter than his evidence, nor beyond it, will learn to examine, and examine fairly, inſtead of preſuming; and no body will be at a loſs, or in danger, for want of embracing thoſe truths, which are neceſſary in his ſtation and circumſtances. In any other way, but this, all the world are born to orthodoxy; they imbibe at firſt the allowed opinions of their country and party, and ſo never queſtioning their truth, not one of an hundred ever examines. They are applauded for preſuming they are in the right. He that conſiders, is a foe to orthodoxy, becauſe poſſibly he may deviate from ſome of the received doctrines there. And thus men, without any induſtry, or acquiſition of their own, inherit local truths (for it is not the ſame every where) and are inured to aſſent, without evidence. This influences farther than is thought; for what one of a hundred, of the zealous bigots in all parties, ever examined the tenets, he is ſo ſtiff in, or ever thought it his buſineſs, or duty, ſo to do? It is ſuſpected of lukewarmneſs to ſuppoſe it neceſſary, and a tendency to apoſtacy to go about it. And if a man can bring his mind once to be poſitive and fierce for poſitions, whoſe evidence he has never once examined, and that in matters of greateſt concernment to him, what ſhall keep him from this ſhort and eaſy way of being in the right, in caſes of leſs moment? Thus we are taught to clothe our minds, as we do our bodies, after the faſhion in vogue, and it is accounted fantaſticalneſs, or ſomething worſe, not to do ſo. This cuſtom (which who dares oppoſe) makes the ſhort-ſighted bigots, and the warier ſcepticks, as far as it prevails. And thoſe, that break from it, are in danger of hereſy; for taking the whole world, how much of it doth truth and orthodoxy poſſeſs together? Though it is by the laſt alone (which has the good luck to be every where) that error and hereſy are judged of; for argument and evidence ſignify nothing in the caſe, and excuſe no where, but are ſure to be borne down, in all ſocieties, by the infallible orthodoxy of the

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place. Whether this be the way to truth and right aſſent, let the opinions, that take place and preſcribe, in the ſeveral habitable parts of the earth, declare. I never ſaw any reaſon yet, why truth might not be truſted to its own evidence: I am ſure, if that be not able to ſupport it, there is no fence againſt error; and then truth and falſhood are but names, that ſtand for the ſame things. Evidence, therefore, is that, by which alone every man is (and ſhould be) taught to regulate his aſſent, who is then, and then only, in the right way, when he follows it.

Men, deficient in knowledge, are uſually in one of theſe three ſtates; either wholly ignorant; or as doubting of ſome propoſition, they have either embraced formerly, or at preſent are inclined to: or laſtly, they do with aſſurance hold and profeſs, without ever having examined, and being convinced by well-grounded arguments.

The firſt of theſe are in the beſt ſtate of the three, by having their minds yet in their perfect freedom and indifferency, the likelier to purſue truth the better, having no biaſs yet clapped on, to miſlead them.

§ 34. For ignorance, with an indifferency for truth, is nearer to it, than opinion, with ungrounded inclination, which is the great ſource of error; and they are more in danger to go out of the way, who are marching under the conduct of a guide, that it is an hundred to one will miſlead them, than he, that has not yet taken a ſtep, and is likelier to be prevailed on to enquire after the right way. The laſt of the three ſorts are in the worſt condition of all: for, if a man can be perſuaded, and fully aſſured of any thing for a truth, without having examined, what is there that he may not embrace for truth; and, if he has given himſelf up to believe a lie, what means is there left to recover one, who can be aſſured, without examining? To the other two, this I crave leave to ſay, that, as he that is ignorant, is in the beſt ſtate of the two, ſo he ſhould purſue truth, in a method ſuitable to that ſtate, i. e. by enquiring directly into the nature of the thing it ſelf, without minding the opinions of others, or troubling himſelf with their queſtions, or diſputes, about it; but to ſee what he himſelf can, ſincerely ſearching after truth, find out. He that proceeds upon other principles, in his enquiry into any ſciences, though he be reſolved to examine them, and judge of them freely, does yet at leaſt put himſelf, on that ſide, and poſt himſelf in a party, which he will not quit, till he be beaten out; by which the mind is inſenſibly engaged to make what defence it can, and ſo is unawares byaſſed. I do not ſay but a man ſhould embrace ſome opinion, when he has examined, elſe he examines to no purpoſe; but the ſureſt and ſafeſt way is to have no opinion at all, till he has examined, and that without any the leaſt regard to the opinions, or ſyſtems, of other men about it. For example, were it my buſineſs to underſtand phyſick, would not the ſafer and readier way be to conſult nature her ſelf, and inform my ſelf in the hiſtory of diſeaſes and their cures, than eſpouſing the principles of the dogmatiſts, methodiſts, or chymiſts, engage in all the diſputes, concerning either of thoſe ſyſtems, and ſuppoſe it to be true, till I have tried what they can ſay to beat me out of it? Or, ſuppoſing that Hippocrates, or any other book, infallibly contains the whole art of phyſick, would not the direct way be to ſtudy, read, and conſider that book, weigh and compare the parts of it, to find the truth, rather than eſpouſe the doctrines of any party; who, though they acknowledge his authority, have already interpreted and wire-drawn all his text, to their own ſenſe; the tincture whereof, when I have imbibed, I am more in danger to miſunderſtand his true meaning, than if I had come to him, with a mind unprepoſſeſſed by doctors and commentators of my ſect, whoſe reaſonings, interpretation and language, which I have been uſed to, will of courſe make all chime that way, and make another, and perhaps the genuine meaning of the author ſeem harſh, ſtrained and uncouth to me? For words, having naturally none of their own, carry that ſignification to the hearer, that he is uſed to put upon them, whatever be the ſenſe of him that uſes them. This, I think, is viſibly ſo; and if it be, he that begins to have any doubt of any of his tenets, which he received without examination, ought, as much as he

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can, to put himſelf wholly into this ſtate of ignorance, in reference to that queſtion, and throwing wholly by all his former notions, and the opinions of others, examine, with a perfect indifferency, the queſtion in its ſource, without any inclination to either ſide, or any regard to his, or others, unexamined opinions. This I own is no eaſy thing to do, but I am not enquiring the eaſy way to opinion, but the right way to truth; which they muſt follow, who will deal fairly with their own underſtandings and their own ſouls.

Queſtion.

§ 35. THE indifferency that I here propoſe, will alſo enable them to ſtate the queſtion right, which they are in doubt about, without which they can never come to a fair and clear deciſion of it.

Perſeverance.

§ 36. ANOTHER fruit from this indifferency, and the conſidering things in themſelves, abſtract from our own opinions and other men's notions, and diſcourſes on them, will be, that each man will purſue his thoughts in that method, which will be moſt agreeable to the nature of the thing, and to his apprehenſion of what it ſuggeſts to him; in which he ought to proceed with regularity and conſtancy, until he come to a well-grounded reſolution, wherein he may acquieſce. If it be objected, that this will require every man to be a ſcholar, and quit all his other buſineſs, and betake himſelf wholly to ſtudy; I anſwer, I propoſe no more to any one, than he has time for. Some men's ſtate and condition requires no great extent of knowledge; the neceſſary proviſion for life ſwallows the greateſt part of their time. But one man's want of leiſure is no excuſe for the oſcitancy and ignorance of thoſe, who have time to ſpare; and every one has enough to get as much knowledge as is required and expected of him; and he that does not that, is in love with ignorance, and is accountable for it.

Preſumption.

§ 37. THE variety of diſtempers in men's minds is as great, as of thoſe in their bodies; ſome are epidemick, few eſcape them, and every one too, if he would look into himſelf, would find ſome defect of his particular genius. There is ſcarce any one without ſome idioſyncraſy, that he ſuffers by. This man preſumes upon his parts, that they will not fail him at time of need, and ſo thinks it ſuperfluous labour to make any proviſion before-hand. His underſtanding is to him, like Fortunatus's purſe, which is always to furniſh him, without ever putting any thing into it before-hand; and ſo he ſits ſtill ſatisfied, without endeavouring to ſtore his underſtanding with knowledge. It is the ſpontaneous product of the country, and what need of labour in tillage? Such men may ſpread their native riches before the ignorant; but they were beſt not come to ſtreſs and trial with the ſkilful. We are born ignorant of every thing. The ſuperficies of things, that ſurround them, make impreſſions on the negligent; but no body penetrates into the inſide without labour, attention and induſtry. Stones and timber grow of themſelves, but yet there is no uniform pile with ſymmetry and convenience to lodge in, without toil and pains. God has made the intellectual world harmonious and beautiful without us; but it will never come into our heads all at once, we muſt bring it home piece-meal, and there ſet it up, by our own induſtry, or elſe we ſhall have nothing but darkneſs and a chaos within, whatever order and light there be in things without us.

Deſpondency.

§ 38. ON the other ſide, there are others that depreſs their own minds, deſpond at the firſt difficulty, and conclude that the getting an inſight in any of the ſciences, or making any progreſs in knowledge, farther than ſerves their ordinary buſineſs, is above their capacities. Theſe ſit ſtill, becauſe they think they have not legs to go, as the others, I laſt mentioned, do, becauſe they think they have wings to fly, and can ſoar on high, when they pleaſe. To theſe latter one may for anſwer apply the proverb, "Uſe legs and have legs." No body knows what ſtrength of parts he has, till he has tried them. And of the underſtanding, one may moſt truly ſay, that its force is greater generally than it thinks, till it is put to it. "Vireſque acquirit eundo."

AND, therefore, the proper remedy here, is but to ſet the mind to work, and apply the thoughts vigorouſly to the buſineſs; for it holds in the ſtruggles of the mind, as in thoſe of war, "Dum putant ſe vincere, vicere;" a perſuaſion that we ſhall overcome any difficulties, that we meet with in the ſciences, Deſpondency.

ſeldom fails to carry us through them. No body knows the ſtrength of his mind, and the force of ſteady and regular application, till he has tried. This is certain, he that ſets out upon weak legs, will not only go farther, but grow ſtronger too than one, who, with a vigorous conſtitution and firm limbs, only ſits ſtill.

SOMETHING of kin to this, men may obſerve in themſelves, when the mind frights itſelf (as it often does) with any thing reflected on, in groſs, and tranſiently viewed, confuſedly, and at a diſtance. Things thus offered to the mind, carry the ſhew of nothing but difficulty in them, and are thought to be wrapped up in impenetrable obſcurity. But the truth is, theſe are nothing but ſpectres, that the underſtanding raiſes to itſelf, to flatter its own lazineſs. It ſees nothing diſtinctly in things remote, and in a huddle; and therefore concludes too faintly, that there is nothing more clear to be diſcovered in them. It is but to approach nearer, and that miſt of our own raiſing, that inveloped them, will remove; and thoſe that in that miſt appeared hideous giants, not to be grappled with, will be found to be of the ordinary and natural ſize and ſhape. Things, that in a remote and confuſed view ſeem very obſcure, muſt be approached by gentle and regular ſteps; and what is moſt viſible, eaſy and obvious in them, firſt conſidered. Reduce them into their diſtinct parts; and then, in their due order, bring all that ſhould be known concerning every one of thoſe parts, into plain and ſimple queſtions; and then, what was thought obſcure, perplexed, and too hard for our weak parts, will lay itſelf open to the underſtanding, in a fair view, and let the mind into that, which before it was awed with, and kept at a diſtance from, as wholly myſterious. I appeal to my reader's experience, whether this has never happened to him, eſpecially when, buſy on one thing, he has occaſionally reflected on another. I aſk him, whether he has never thus been ſcared with a ſudden opinion of mighty difficulties, which yet have vaniſhed, when he has ſeriouſly and methodically applied himſelf to the conſideration of this ſeeming, terrible ſubject; and there has been no other matter of aſtoniſhment left, but that he amuſed himſelf with ſo diſcouraging a proſpect, of his own raiſing, about a matter, which in the handling was found to have nothing in it more ſtrange, nor incricate, than ſeveral other things, which he had long ſince, and with eaſe maſtered. This experience would teach us, how to deal with ſuch bug-bears another time, which ſhould rather ſerve to excite our vigour, than enervate our induſtry. The ſureſt way for a learner, in this, as in all other caſes, is not to advance by jumps and large ſtrides; let that, which he ſets himſelf to learn next, be indeed the next, i. e. as nearly conjoined with what he knows already, as is poſſible; let it be diſtinct, but not remote from it: let it be new, and what he did not know before, that the underſtanding may advance; but let it be as little at once as may be, that its advances may be clear and ſure. All the ground, that it gets this way, it will hold. This diſtinct, gradual growth in knowledge is firm and ſure, it carries its own light with it, in every ſtep of its progreſſion, in an eaſy and orderly train, than which there is nothing of more uſe to the underſtanding. And, though this perhaps may ſeem a very ſlow and lingering way to knowledge; yet I dare confidently affirm, that whoever will try it in himſelf, or any one he will teach, ſhall find the advances greater, in this method, than they would, in the ſame ſpace of time have been, in any other he could have taken. The greateſt part of true knowledge lies in a diſtinct perception of things in themſelves diſtinct. And ſome men give more clear light and knowledge, by the bare, diſtinct ſtating of a queſtion, than others by taking of it in groſs, whole hours together. In this, they, who ſo ſtate a queſtion, do no more, but ſeparate and diſintangle the parts of it, one from another, and lay them, when ſo diſintangled, in their due order. This often, without any more ado, reſolves the doubt, and ſhews the mind where the truth lies. The agreement, or diſagreement, of the ideas in queſtion, when they are once ſeparated and diſtinctly conſidered, is, in many caſes, preſently perceived, and thereby clear and laſting knowledge gained; whereas things in groſs, taken up together, and ſo lying together in confuſion, can produce in the mind, but a confuſed, which in effect is no knowledge; or at leaſt,

when

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when it comes to be examined, and made uſe of, will prove little better than none. I, therefore, take the liberty to repeat here again, what I have ſaid elſewhere, that, in learning any thing, as little ſhould be propoſed to the mind at once, as is poſſible; and, that being underſtood and fully maſtered, to proceed to the next adjoining part, yet unknown, ſimple, unperplexed propoſition, belonging to the matter in hand, and tending to the clearing what is principally deſigned.

Analogy.

§ 39. ANALOGY is of great uſe to the mind, in many caſes, eſpecially in natural philoſophy; and that part of it chiefly which conſiſts in happy and ſucceſsful experiments. But here, we muſt take care, that we keep our ſelves within that, wherein the analogy conſiſts. For example, the acid oil of vitriol is found to be good in ſuch a caſe, therefore the ſpirit of nitre, or vinegar, may be uſed in the like caſe. If the good effect of it be owing wholly to the acidity of it, the trial may be juſtified; but if there be ſomething elſe, beſides the acidity, in the oil of vitriol, which produces the good we deſire in the caſe, we miſtake that for analogy, which is not, and ſuffer our underſtanding to be miſguided, by a wrong ſuppoſition of analogy, where there is none.

Aſſociation.

§ 40. THOUGH I have, in the ſecond book of my eſſay concerning human underſtanding, treated of the aſſociation of ideas; yet having done it there hiſtorically, as giving a view of the underſtanding in this, as well as its ſeveral other ways of operating, rather than deſigning there, to enquire into the remedies, that ought to be applied to it; it will, under this latter conſideration, afford other matter of thought to thoſe who have a mind to inſtruct themſelves, thoroughly, in the right way of conducting their underſtandings; and that the rather, becauſe this, if I miſtake not, is as frequent a cauſe of miſtake and error in us, as perhaps any thing elſe, that can be named; and is a diſeaſe of the mind, as hard to be cured as any; it being a very hard thing to convince any one, that things are not ſo, and naturally ſo, as they conſtantly appear to him.

BY this one eaſy and unheeded miſcarriage of the underſtanding, ſandy and looſe foundations become infallible principles, and will not ſuffer themſelves to be touched or queſtioned: ſuch unnatural connexions become, by cuſtom, as natural to the mind as ſun and light: fire and warmth go together, and ſo ſeem to carry with them as natural an evidence, as ſelf-evident truths themſelves. And where then, ſhall one, with hopes of ſucceſs, begin the cure? Many men firmly embrace falſhood for truth; not only, becauſe they never thought otherwiſe, but alſo becauſe thus blinded, as they have been, from the beginning, they never could think otherwiſe; at leaſt without a vigour of mind, able to conteſt the empire of habit, and look into its own principles; a freedom, which few men have the notion of in themſelves, and fewer are allowed the practice of by others; it being the great art and buſineſs of the teachers and guides, in moſt ſects, to ſuppreſs, as much as they can, this fundamental duty, which every man owes himſelf, and is the firſt ſteady ſtep towards right and truth, in the whole train of his actions and opinions. This would give one reaſon to ſuſpect that ſuch teachers are conſcious to themſelves of the falſhood, or weakneſs, of the tenets they profeſs, ſince they will not ſuffer the grounds, whereon they are built, to be examined; whereas thoſe, who ſeek truth only, and deſire to own and propagate nothing elſe, freely expoſe their principles to the teſt, are pleaſed to have them examined, give men leave to reject them, if they can; and, if there be any thing weak and unſound in them, are willing to have it detected, that they themſelves, as well as others, may not lay any ſtreſs upon any received propoſition, beyond what the evidence of its truth will warrant and allow.

THERE is, I know, a great fault, among all ſorts of people, of principling their children and ſcholars; which at laſt, when looked into, amounts to no more, but making them imbibe their teachers notions and tenets, by an implicit faith, and firmly to adhere to them, whether true or falſe. What colours may be given to this, or of what uſe it may be, when practiſed upon the vulgar, deſtined to labour, and given up to the ſervice of their bellies, I will not

Aſſociation. here enquire. But as to the ingenuous part of mankind, whoſe condition allows them leiſure, and letters, and enquiry after truth; I can ſee no other right way of principling them, but to take heed, as much as may be, that in their tender years, ideas, that have no natural coheſion, come not to be united in their heads, and that this rule be often inculcated to them, to be their guide in the whole courſe of their lives and ſtudies, *viz.* That they never ſuffer any ideas to be joined in their underſtandings, in any other, or ſtronger, combination, than what their own nature and correſpondence give them; and that they often examine thoſe, that they find linked together in their minds, whether this aſſociation of ideas be from the viſible agreement, that is in the ideas themſelves, or from the habitual and prevailing cuſtom of the mind, joining them thus together in thinking.

THIS is for caution againſt this evil, before it be thoroughly riveted by cuſtom in the underſtanding; but he, that would cure it when habit has eſtabliſhed it, muſt nicely obſerve the very quick and almoſt imperceptible motions of the mind, in its habitual actions. What I have ſaid, in another place, about the change of the ideas of ſenſe into thoſe of judgment, may be proof of this. Let any one, not ſkilled in painting, be told when he ſees bottles and tobacco-pipes, and other things ſo painted, as they are in ſome places ſhewn, that he does not ſee protuberances, and you will not convince him, but by the touch: he will not believe that, by an inſtantaneous Legerdemain of his own thoughts, one idea is ſubſtituted for the other. How frequent inſtances may one meet with of this, in the arguings of the learned, who not ſeldom, in two ideas that they have been accuſtomed to join in their minds, ſubſtitute one for the other; and, I am apt to think, often, without perceiving it themſelves? This, whilſt they are under the deceit of it, makes them uncapable of conviction; and they applaud themſelves, as zealous champions for truth, when indeed they are contending for error. And the confuſion of two different ideas, which a cuſtomary connexion of them in their minds hath made to them almoſt one, fills their head with falſe views, and their reaſonings with falſe conſequences.

Fallacies. § 41. RIGHT underſtanding conſiſts in the diſcovery and adherence to truth, and that in the perception of the viſible, or probable, agreement or diſagreement of ideas, as they are affirmed and denied one of another. From whence it is evident, that the right uſe and conduct of the underſtanding, whoſe buſineſs is purely truth and nothing elſe, is, that the mind ſhould be kept in a perfect indifferency, not inclining to either ſide, any farther than evidence ſettles it by knowledge, or the over-balance of probability gives it the turn of aſſent and belief; but yet it is very hard to meet with any diſcourſe, wherein one may not perceive the author not only maintain (for that is reaſonable and fit) but inclined and biaſſed to one ſide of the queſtion, with marks of a deſire that that ſhould be true. If it be aſked me, how authors, who have ſuch a biaſs, and lean to it, may be diſcovered? I anſwer, by obſerving how, in their writings, or arguings, they are often led by their inclinations, to change the ideas of the queſtion, either by changing the terms, or by adding and joining others to them, whereby the ideas under conſideration are ſo varied, as to be more ſerviceable to their purpoſe, and to be thereby brought to an eaſier and nearer agreement, or more viſible and remoter diſagreement, one with another. This is plain and direct ſophiſtry; but I am far from thinking, that wherever it is found, it is made uſe of, with deſign to deceive and miſlead the readers. It is viſible that men's prejudices and inclinations, by this way, impoſe often upon themſelves; and their affection for truth, under their prepoſſeſſion in favour of one ſide, is the very thing, that leads them from it. Inclination ſuggeſts and ſlides into their diſcourſe favourable terms, which introduce favourable ideas; till at laſt by this means, that is concluded clear and evident, thus dreſſed up, which, taken in its native ſtate, by making uſe of none but the preciſe determined ideas, would find no admittance at all. The putting theſe gloſſes on what they affirm, theſe, as they are thought, handſome, eaſy and graceful explications of what they are diſcourſing on, is ſo much the character of what is called and eſteemed writing well, that it is very hard to

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think that authors will ever be perſuaded to leave what ſerves ſo well to propagate their opinions, and procure themſelves credit in the world, for a more jejune and dry way of writing, by keeping to the ſame terms, preciſely annexed to the ſame ideas; a ſour and blunt ſtiffneſs, tolerable in mathematicians only, who force their way, and make truth prevail, by irreſiſtible demonſtration!

BUT yet, if authors cannot be prevailed with, to quit the looſer, though more inſinuating ways of writing, if they will not think fit to keep cloſe to truth and inſtruction, by unvaried terms, and plain, unſophiſticated arguments; yet it concerns readers not to be impoſed on, by fallacies, and the prevailing ways of inſinuation. To do this, the ſureſt and moſt effectual remedy, is to fix in the mind the clear and diſtinct ideas of the queſtion, ſtripped of words; and ſo likewiſe, in the train of argumentation, to take up the author's ideas, neglecting his words, obſerving how they connect, or ſeparate, thoſe in the queſtion. He that does this will be able to caſt off all that is ſuperfluous; he will ſee what is pertinent, what coherent, what is direct to, what ſlides by, the queſtion. This will readily ſhew him all the foreign ideas in the diſcourſe, and where they were brought in; and though they perhaps dazzled the writer, yet he will perceive that they give no light, nor ſtrength, to his reaſonings.

THIS, though it be the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt way of reading books with profit, and keeping one's ſelf from being miſled by great names, or plauſible diſcourſes; yet it being hard and tedious to thoſe, who have not accuſtomed themſelves to it; it is not to be expected, that every one (amongſt thoſe few, who really purſue truth) ſhould this way guard his underſtanding from being impoſed on, by the wilful, or at leaſt undeſigned ſophiſtry, which creeps into moſt of the books of argument. They, that write againſt their conviction, or that next to them, are reſolved to maintain the tenets of a party they are engaged in, cannot be ſuppoſed to reject any arms, that may help to defend their cauſe, and, therefore, ſuch ſhould be read with the greateſt caution. And they, who write for opinions, they are ſincerely perſuaded of, and believe to be true, think they may ſo far allow themſelves to indulge their laudable affection to truth, as to permit their eſteem of it to give it the beſt colours, and ſet it off with the beſt expreſſions and dreſs they can, thereby to gain it the eaſieſt entrance into the minds of their readers, and fix it deepeſt there.

ONE of thoſe being the ſtate of mind, we may juſtly ſuppoſe moſt writers to be in, it is fit their readers, who apply to them for inſtruction, ſhould not lay by that caution, which becomes a ſincere purſuit of truth, and ſhould make them always watchful againſt whatever might conceal or miſrepreſent it. If they have not the ſkill of repreſenting to themſelves the author's ſenſe, by pure ideas, ſeparated from ſounds, and thereby diveſted of the falſe lights and deceitful ornaments of ſpeech; this yet they ſhould do, they ſhould keep the preciſe queſtion ſteadily in their minds, carry it along with them through the whole diſcourſe, and ſuffer not the leaſt alteration in the terms, either by addition, ſubſtraction, or ſubſtituting any other. This every one can do, who has a mind to it; and he that has not a mind to it, it is plain makes his underſtanding only the ware-houſe of other men's lumber; I mean falſe and unconcluding reaſonings, rather than a repoſitory of truth for his own uſe, which will prove ſubſtantial, and ſtand him in ſtead, when he has occaſion for it. And whether ſuch an one deals fairly by his own mind, and conducts his own underſtanding right, I leave to his own underſtanding to judge.

Fundamental verities.

§42. THE mind of man being very narrow, and ſo ſlow in making acquaintance with things, and taking in new truths, that no one man is capable, in a much longer life than ours, to know all truths; it becomes our prudence, in our ſearch after knowledge, to employ our thoughts about fundamental and material queſtions, carefully avoiding thoſe, that are trifling, and not ſuffering our ſelves to be diverted from our main, even purpoſe, by thoſe that are merely incidental. How much of many young men's time is thrown away, in purely logical enquiries, I need not mention. This is no better than if a man, who was to be a painter, ſhould ſpend all his time in examining the threads of the ſeveral cloths he is to paint upon, and counting the hairs of each pencil and

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bruſh he intends to uſe, in the laying on of his colours. Nay, it is much worſe than for a young painter to ſpend his apprenticeſhip in ſuch uſeleſs niceties; for he, at the end of all his pains to no purpoſe, finds that it is not painting, nor any help to it, and ſo is really to no purpoſe: whereas men, deſigned for ſcholars, have often their heads ſo filled and warmed with diſputes on logical queſtions, that they take thoſe airy uſeleſs notions, for real and ſubſtantial knowledge, and think their underſtandings ſo well furniſhed with ſcience, that they need not look any farther into the nature of things, or deſcend to the mechanical drudgery of experiment and enquiry. This is ſo obvious a miſmanagement of the underſtanding, and that in the profeſſed way to knowledge, that it could not be paſſed by; to which might be joined abundance of queſtions, and the way of handling them in the ſchools. What faults in particular of this kind, every man is, or may be guilty of, would be infinite to enumerate; it ſuffices to have ſhewn, that ſuperficial and ſlight diſcoveries and obſervations, that contain nothing of moment in themſelves, nor ſerve as clues to lead us into farther knowledge, ſhould not be thought worth our ſearching after.

THERE are fundamental truths that lie at the bottom, the baſis upon which a great many others reſt, and in which they have their conſiſtency. Theſe are teeming truths, rich in ſtore, with which they furniſh the mind, and like the lights of heaven, are not only beautiful and entertaining in themſelves, but give light and evidence to other things, that, without them, could not be ſeen, or known. Such is that admirable diſcovery of Mr. Newton, that all bodies gravitate to one another, which may be counted as the baſis of natural philoſophy; which, of what uſe it is, to the underſtanding of the great frame of our ſolar ſyſtem, he has, to the aſtoniſhment of the learned world, ſhewn, and how much farther it would guide us, in other things, if rightly purſued, is not yet known. Our Saviour's great rule, that "we ſhould love our neighbour as our ſelves," is ſuch a fundamental truth, for the regulating human ſociety, that, I think, by that alone, one might, without difficulty, determine all the caſes and doubts, in ſocial morality. Theſe, and ſuch as theſe are the truths, we ſhould endeavour to find out, and ſtore our minds with. Which leads me to another thing, in the conduct of the underſtanding, that is no leſs neceſſary, viz.

Bottoming.

§ 43. TO accuſtom our ſelves, in any queſtion propoſed, to examine and find out, upon what it bottoms. Moſt of the difficulties, that come in our way, when well conſidered and traced, lead us to ſome propoſition, which known to be true, clears the doubt, and gives an eaſy ſolution of the queſtion, whilſt topical and ſuperficial arguments, of which there is ſtore to be found, on both ſides, filling the head with variety of thoughts, and the mouth with copious diſcourſe, ſerve only to amuſe the underſtanding, and entertain company, without coming to the bottom of the queſtion, the only place of reſt and ſtability for an inquiſitive mind, whoſe tendency, is only to truth and knowledge.

FOR example, if it be demanded, whether the Grand Seignor can lawfully take what he will from any of his people? This queſtion cannot be reſolved without coming to a certainty, whether all men are naturally equal? for upon that it turns, and that truth, well ſettled in the underſtanding, and carried in the mind, thro' the various debates, concerning the various rights of men in ſociety, will go a great way, in putting an end to them, and ſhewing on which ſide the truth is.

Transferring of thoughts.

§ 44. THERE is ſcarce any thing more, for the improvement of knowledge, for the eaſe of life, and the diſpatch of buſineſs, than for a man to be able to diſpoſe of his own thoughts; and there is ſcarce any thing harder, in the whole conduct of the underſtanding, than to get a full maſtery over it. The mind, in a walking man, has always ſome object, that it applies itſelf to; which when we are lazy or unconcerned, we can eaſily change, and at pleaſure transfer our thoughts to another, and from thence to a third, which has no relation to either of the former. Hence men forwardly conclude, and frequently ſay, "nothing is ſo free as thought;" and it were well it were ſo: but the contrary will

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be found true in ſeveral inſtances; and there are many caſes, wherein there is nothing more reſty and ungovernable than our thoughts: they will not be directed what objects to purſue, nor be taken off from thoſe, they have once fixed on; but run away with a man, in purſuit of thoſe ideas they have in view, let him do what he can.

Transferring of thoughts.

I WILL not here mention again, what I have above taken notice of, how hard it is to get the mind, narrowed, by a cuſtom of thirty or forty years ſtanding to a ſcanty collection of obvious and common ideas, to enlarge itſelf to a more copious ſtock, and grow into an acquaintance with thoſe, that would afford more abundant matter of uſeful contemplation; 'tis not of this I am here ſpeaking. The inconveniency I would here repreſent and find a remedy for, is the difficulty there is ſometimes to transfer our minds from one ſubject to another, in caſes where the ideas are equally familiar to us.

MATTERS, that are recommended to our thoughts, by any of our paſſions, take poſſeſſion of our minds with a kind of authority, and will not be kept out or diſlodged; but as if the paſſion that rules, were for the time, the ſheriff of the place, and came with all the poſſe, the underſtanding is ſeized, and taken with the object it introduces, as if it had a legal right to be alone conſidered there. There is ſcarce any body, I think, of ſo calm a temper, who hath not ſometime found this tyranny on his underſtanding, and ſuffered under the inconvenience of it. Who is there almoſt, whoſe mind, at ſome time or other, love or anger, fear or grief has not ſo faſtened to ſome clog, that it could not turn itſelf to any other object? I call it a clog, for it hangs upon the mind ſo, as to hinder its vigour and activity, in the purſuit of other contemplations, and advances itſelf little, or not at all, in the knowledge of the thing, which it ſo cloſely hugs, and conſtantly pores on. Men thus poſſeſſed, are ſometimes, as if they were ſo in the worſt ſenſe, and lay under the power of an inchantment. They ſee not what paſſes before their eyes; hear not the audible diſcourſe of the company; and when, by any ſtrong application to them, they are rouſed a little, they are like men brought to themſelves from ſome remote region; whereas, in truth, they come no farther, than their ſecret cabinet within, where they have been wholly taken up with the puppet, which is for that time appointed for their entertainment. The ſhame, that ſuch dumps cauſe to well-bred people, when it carries them away from the company, where they ſhould bear a part in the converſation, is a ſufficient argument, that it is a fault in the conduct of our underſtanding, not to have that power over it, as to make uſe of it to thoſe purpoſes, and on thoſe occaſions, wherein we have need of its aſſiſtance. The mind ſhould be always free and ready to turn itſelf to the variety of objects that occur, and allow them as much conſideration as ſhall, for that time, be thought fit. To be ingroſſed ſo by one object, as not to be prevailed on to leave it for another, that we judge fitter for our contemplation, is to make it of no uſe to us. Did this ſtate of mind remain always ſo, every one would, without ſcruple, give it the name of perfect madneſs; and whilſt it does laſt, at whatever intervals it returns, ſuch a rotation of thoughts, about the ſame object, no more carries us forwards towards the attainment of knowledge, than getting upon a mill-horſe whilſt he jogs on, in his circular track, would carry a man a journey.

I GRANT ſomething muſt be allowed to legitimate paſſions, and to natural inclinations. Every man, beſides occaſional affections, has beloved ſtudies, and thoſe the mind will more cloſely ſtick to; but yet it is beſt, that it ſhould be always at liberty, and under the free diſpoſal of the man, to act how, and upon what he directs. This we ſhould endeavour to obtain, unleſs we would be content with ſuch a flaw in our underſtandings, that ſometimes we ſhould be, as it were, without it; for it is very little better than ſo, in caſes where we cannot make uſe of it to thoſe purpoſes we would, and which ſtand in preſent need of it.

BUT, before fit remedies can be thought on for this diſeaſe, we muſt know the ſeveral cauſes of it, and thereby regulate the cure, if we will hope to labour with ſucceſs.

Transferring of thoughts.

ONE we have already inſtanced in, whereof all men, that reflect, have ſo general a knowledge, and ſo often an experience in themſelves, that no body doubts of it. A prevailing paſſion ſo pins down our thoughts to the object and concern of it, that a man paſſionately in love, cannot bring himſelf to think of his ordinary affairs, or a kind mother drooping under the loſs of a child, is not able to bear a part, as ſhe was wont, in the diſcourſe of the company, or converſation of her friends.

BUT, tho' paſſion be the moſt obvious and general, yet it is not the only cauſe, that binds up the underſtanding, and confines it, for the time, to one object, from which it will not be taken off.

BESIDES this, we may often find that the underſtanding, when it has a while employed itſelf upon a ſubject, which either chance, or ſome ſlight accident offered to it, without the intereſt, or recommendation of any paſſion, works itſelf into a warmth, and by degrees gets into a career, wherein, like a bowl down a hill, it increaſes its motion by going, and will not be ſtopped or diverted, though, when the heat is over, it ſees all this earneſt application was about a trifle, not worth a thought, and all the pains employed about it, loſt labour.

THERE is a third ſort, if I miſtake not, yet lower than this; it is a ſort of childiſhneſs, if I may ſo ſay, of the underſtanding, wherein, during the fit, it plays with, and dandles ſome inſignificant puppet to no end, nor with any deſign at all, and yet cannot eaſily be got off from it. Thus ſome trivial ſentence, or a ſcrap of poetry will ſometimes get into men's heads, and make ſuch a chiming there, that there is no ſtilling of it; no peace to be obtained, nor attention to any thing elſe, but this impertinent gueſt will take up the mind and poſſeſs the thoughts, in ſpight of all endeavours to get rid of it. Whether every one hath experimented in themſelves this troubleſome intruſion, of ſome friſking ideas, which thus importune the underſtanding, and hinder it from being better employed, I know not: but perſons of very good parts, and thoſe more than one, I have heard ſpeak and complain of it, themſelves. The reaſon I have to make this doubt, is from what I have known in a caſe, ſomething of kin to this, tho' much odder, and that is of a ſort of viſions, that ſome people have lying quiet, but perfectly awake in the dark, or with their eyes ſhut. It is a great variety of faces, moſt commonly very odd ones, that appear to them in a train, one after another; ſo that having had juſt the ſight of the one, it immediately paſſes away to give place to another, that the ſame inſtant ſucceeds, and has as quick an exit as its leader, and ſo they march on, in a conſtant ſucceſſion; nor can any one of them, by any endeavour, be ſtopped or retained beyond the inſtant of its appearance, but is thruſt out by its follower, which will have its turn. Concerning this fantaſtical phænomenon, I have talked with ſeveral people, whereof ſome have been perfectly acquainted with it, and others have been ſo wholly ſtrangers to it, that they could hardly be brought to conceive, or believe it. I knew a lady of excellent parts, who had got paſt thirty, without having ever had the leaſt notice of any ſuch thing; ſhe was ſo great a ſtranger to it, that when ſhe heard me and another a talking of it, could ſcarce forbear thinking we bantered her; but ſome time after, drinking a large doſe of dilute tea (as ſhe was ordered by a phyſician) going to bed, ſhe told us, at next meeting, that ſhe had now experimented what our diſcourſe had much ado to perſuade her of. She had ſeen a great variety of faces in a long train ſucceeding one another, as we had deſcribed; they were all ſtrangers and intruders, ſuch as ſhe had no acquaintance with before, nor ſought after then, and, as they came of themſelves, they went too; none of them ſtayed a moment, nor could be detained by all the endeavours ſhe could uſe, but went on, in their ſolemn proceſſion, juſt appeared and then vaniſhed. This odd phænomenon ſeems to have a mechanical cauſe, and to depend upon the matter and motion of the blood, or animal ſpirits.

WHEN the fancy is bound by paſſion, I know no way to ſet the mind free, and at liberty, to proſecute what thoughts the man would make choice of, but to allay the preſent paſſion, or counter-balance it with another, which is an art to be got by ſtudy, and acquaintance with the paſſions.

Transferring of thoughts.

THOSE, who find themſelves apt to be carried away with the ſpontaneous current of their own thoughts, not excited by any paſſion, or intereſt, muſt be very wary and careful in all the inſtances of it to ſtop it, and never humour their minds in being thus triflingly buſy. Men know the value of their corporal liberty; and therefore, ſuffer not willingly fetters and chains to be put upon them. To have the mind captivated, is, for the time, certainly the greater evil of the two, and deſerves our utmoſt care and endeavours to preſerve the freedom of our better part. In this caſe our pains will not be loſt; ſtriving and ſtruggling will prevail, if we conſtantly, in all ſuch occaſions, make uſe of it. We muſt never indulge theſe trivial attentions of thought; as ſoon as we find the mind makes itſelf a buſineſs of nothing, we ſhould immediately diſturb and check it, introduce new and more ſerious conſiderations, and not leave, 'till we have beaten it off from the purſuit it was upon. This, at firſt, if we have let the contrary practice grow to an habit, will perhaps be difficult: but conſtant endeavours will by degrees prevail, and at laſt make it eaſy. And when a man is pretty well advanced and can command his mind off at pleaſure from incidental and undeſigned purſuits, it may not be amiſs for him to go on farther, and make attempts upon meditations of greater moment, that at the laſt he may have a full power over his own mind, and be ſo fully maſter of his own thoughts, as to be able to transfer them from one ſubject to another, with the ſame eaſe, that he can lay by any thing he has in hand, and take ſomething elſe that he has a mind to, in the room of it. This liberty of mind is of great uſe, both in buſineſs and ſtudy, and he, that has got it, will have no ſmall advantage of eaſe and diſpatch, in all that is the choſen and uſeful employment of his underſtanding.

THE third and laſt way, which I mentioned the mind to be ſometimes taken up with, I mean the chiming of ſome particular words, or ſentence, in the memory, and, as it were, making a noiſe in the head, and the like, ſeldom happens, but when the mind is lazy, or very looſely and negligently employed. It were better, indeed, be without ſuch impertinent and uſeleſs repetitions. Any obvious idea, when it is roving cauſleſly at a venture, being of more uſe, and apter to ſuggeſt ſomething worth conſideration, than the inſignificant buzz of purely empty ſounds. But ſince the rouſing of the mind, and ſetting the underſtanding on work, with ſome degrees of vigour, does for the moſt part preſently ſet it free from theſe idle companions; it may not be amiſs, whenever we find our ſelves troubled with them, to make uſe of ſo profitable a remedy, that is always at hand.

AN
EXAMINATION
OF
P. MALEBRANCHE's
OPINION
OF
Seeing all things in GOD.

1. THE acute and ingenious author of the Recherche de la Verité, among a great many very fine thoughts, judicious reaſonings, and uncommon reflections, has, in that treatiſe, ſtarted the notion of ſeeing all things in God, as the beſt way to explain the nature and manner of the ideas in our underſtanding. The deſire I had to have my unaffected ignorance removed, has made it neceſſary for me to ſee, whether this hypotheſis, when examined, and the parts of it put together, can be thought to cure our ignorance, or is intelligible and ſatisfactory to one, who would not deceive himſelf, take words for things, and think he knows what he knows not.

Recherche de la Verité, l. 3. p. 2. c. 1.

2. THIS I obſerve at the entrance, that P. Malebranche, having enumerated, and in the following chapters ſhewed, the difficulties of the other ways, whereby he thinks human underſtanding may be attempted to be explained, and how unſufficient they are to give a ſatisfactory account of the ideas we have, erects this "of ſeeing all things in God," upon their ruin, as the true, becauſe it is impoſſible to find a better. Which argument, ſo far being only "Argumentum ad "Ignorantiam," loſes all its force, as ſoon as we conſider the weakneſs of our minds, and the narrowneſs of our capacities, and have but humility enough to allow, that there may be many things, which we cannot fully comprehend, and that God is not bound, in all he does, to ſubject his ways of operation to the ſcrutiny of our thoughts, and confine himſelf to do nothing, but what we muſt comprehend. And it will very little help to cure my ignorance, that this is the beſt of four, or five hypotheſes propoſed, which are all defective; if this too has in it, what is inconſiſtent with itſelf, or unintelligible to me.

3. THE P. Malebranche's Recherche de la Verité, l. 3. c. 1. p. 2. tells us, that whatever the mind perceives "muſt be actually preſent and intimately uni-"ted to it." That the things, that the mind perceives, are its own ſenſations, imaginations, or notions; which being in the ſoul, the modifications of it need no ideas to repreſent them. But all things exterior to the ſoul we cannot perceive, but by the intervention of ideas; ſuppoſing that the things themſelves cannot be intimately united to the ſoul. But, becauſe ſpiritual things may poſſibly be united to the ſoul, therefore he thinks it probable, that they can diſcover them-

themſelves immediately without ideas; though of this he doubts, becauſe he believes not there is any ſubſtance purely intelligible, but that of God; and that though ſpirits can poſſibly unite themſelves to our minds; yet at preſent we cannot entirely know them. But he ſpeaks here principally of material things, which he ſays certainly cannot unite themſelves to our ſouls in ſuch a manner, as is neceſſary that it ſhould perceive them: becauſe being extended, the ſoul not being ſo, there is no proportion between them.

4. THIS is the ſum of his doctrine contained in the firſt chapter of the 2d part of the 3d book, as far as I can comprehend it. Wherein, I confeſs, there are many expreſſions, which carrying with them, to my mind, no clear ideas, are like to remove but little of my ignorance by their ſounds, v. g. "What it is "to be intimately united to the ſoul." What it is for two ſouls, or ſpirits, to be intimately united; for intimate union being an idea taken from bodies, when the parts of one get within the ſurface of the other, and touch their inward parts: what is the idea of intimate union, I muſt have, between two beings that have neither of them any extenſion, or ſurface? And if it be not ſo explained, as to give me a clear idea of that union, it will make me underſtand very little more of the nature of the ideas in my mind, when it is ſaid, I ſee them in God, who being intimately united to the ſoul exhibits them to it; than when it is only ſaid they are, by the appointment of God, produced in the mind, by certain motions of our bodies, to which our minds are united. Which, however imperfect a way of explaining this matter, will ſtill be as good as any other, that does not, by clear ideas, remove my ignorance of the manner of my perception.

5. BUT he ſays that "certainly material things cannot unite themſelves to "our ſouls." Our bodies are united to our ſouls, yes; but, ſays he, not after "a "manner which is neceſſary that the ſoul may perceive them." Explain this manner of union, and ſhew wherein the difference conſiſts betwixt the union neceſſary and not neceſſary to perception, and then I ſhall confeſs this difficulty removed.

THE reaſon that he gives, why "material things cannot be united to our "ſouls after a manner," that is neceſſary to the ſoul's perceiving them, is this, viz. That "material things being extended, and the ſoul not, there is no pro-"portion between them." This, if it ſhews any thing, ſhews only that a ſoul and a body cannot be united, becauſe one has ſurface to be united by, and the other none. But it ſhews not, why a ſoul united to a body, as ours is, cannot, by that body, have the idea of a triangle excited in it, as well as by being united to God (between whom and the ſoul there is as little proportion, as between any creature, immaterial or material, and the ſoul) ſee in God the idea of a triangle, that is in him, ſince we cannot conceive a triangle, whether ſeen in matter, or in God, to be without extenſion.

6. HE ſays, "there is no ſubſtance purely intelligible but that of God." Here again I muſt confeſs myſelf in the dark, having no notion at all of the ſubſtance of God; nor being able to conceive how his is more intelligible than any other ſubſtance.

7. ONE thing more there is, which, I confeſs, ſtumbles me, in the very foundation of this hypotheſis, which ſtands thus; we cannot perceive any thing but what is intimately united to the ſoul. The reaſon why ſome things (viz. material) cannot be "intimately united to the ſoul, is, becauſe there is no pro-"portion between the ſoul and them." If this be a good reaſon, it follows, that the greater the proportion there is between the ſoul and any other being, the better, and more intimately they can be united. Now then I aſk, whether there be a greater proportion between God, an infinite being, and the ſoul, or between finite created ſpirits and the ſoul? And yet the author ſays, that he "believes, that there is no ſubſtance purely intelligible, but that of God," and that "we cannot entirely know created ſpirits at preſent." Make this out, upon your principles of intimate union and proportion, and then they will be of ſome uſe to the clearing of your hypotheſis; otherwiſe intimate union and proportion are only ſounds ſerving to amuſe, not inſtruct us.

8. In the cloſe of this chapter he enumerates the ſeveral ways, whereby he thinks we come by ideas, and compares them ſeverally with his own way. Which how much more intelligible it is, than either of thoſe, the following chapters will ſhew; to which I ſhall proceed, when I have obſerved that it ſeems a bold determination, when he ſays, that it muſt be one of theſe ways, and we can ſee objects no other. Which aſſertion muſt be built on this good opinion of our capacities; that God cannot make the creatures operate, but in ways conceivable to us. That we cannot diſcourſe and reaſon about them farther than we conceive, is a great truth: and it would be well, if we would not, but would ingenuouſly own the ſhortneſs of our ſight, where we do not ſee. To ſay there can be no other, becauſe we conceive no other, does not, I confeſs, much inſtruct. And if I ſhould ſay, that it is poſſible God has made our ſouls ſo, and ſo united them to our bodies, that, upon certain motions made in our bodies by external objects, the ſoul ſhould have ſuch or ſuch perceptions or ideas, though in a way inconceivable to us; this perhaps would appear as true and as inſtructive a propoſition, as what is ſo poſitively laid down.

Recherche de la Verité, l. 3. Pt. 2. c. 2.

9. Though the peripatetick doctrine of the ſpecies does not at all ſatisfy me, yet I think it were not hard to ſhew, that it is as eaſy to account for the difficulties he charges on it, as for thoſe his own hypotheſis is laden with. But it being not my buſineſs to defend what I do not underſtand, nor to prefer the learned gibberiſh of the ſchools, to what is yet unintelligible to me in P. M. I ſhall only take notice of ſo much of his objections, as concerns what I gueſs to be the truth. Though I do not think any material ſpecies, carrying the reſemblance of things, by a continual flux from the body we perceive, bring the perception of them to our ſenſes; yet I think the perception we have of bodies, at a diſtance from ours, may be accounted for, as far as we are capable of underſtanding it, by the motion of particles of matter coming from them and ſtriking on our organs. In feeling and taſting there is immediate contact. Sound is not unintelligibly explained by a vibrating motion communicated to the medium; and the Effluviums of odorous bodies will, without any great difficulties, account for ſmells. And therefore P. M. makes his objections only againſt viſible ſpecies, as the moſt difficult to be explained by material cauſes, as indeed they are. But he that ſhall allow extreme ſmalneſs in the particles of light, and exceeding ſwiftneſs in their motion; and the great poroſity that muſt be granted in bodies, (if we compare gold, which wants them not, with air, the medium wherein the rays of light come to our eyes, and that of a million of rays that rebound from any viſible area of any body, perhaps the $\frac{1}{1000}$ or $\frac{1}{10000}$ part coming to the eye, is enough to move the retina ſufficiently to cauſe a ſenſation in the mind) will not find any great difficulty in the objections which are brought from the impenetrability of matter; and theſe rays ruffling and breaking one another in the medium, which is full of them. As to what is ſaid, that from one point we can ſee a great number of objects, that is no objection againſt the ſpecies, or viſible appearances of bodies, being brought into the eye, by the rays of light; for the bottom of the eye, or retina, which, in regard of theſe rays, is the place of viſion, is far from being a point. Nor is it true, that, though the eye be in any one place; yet that the ſight is performed in one point; i. e. That the rays, that bring thoſe viſible ſpecies, do all meet in a point; for they cauſe their diſtinct ſenſations, by ſtriking on diſtinct parts of the retina, as is plain in opticks; and the figure they paint there, muſt be of ſome conſiderable bigneſs, ſince it takes up on the retina an area, whoſe diameter is at leaſt thirty ſeconds of a circle, whereof the circumference is in the retina, and the centre ſomewhere in the cryſtalline; as a little ſkill in opticks will manifeſt to any one that conſiders, that few eyes can perceive an object leſs than thirty minutes of a circle, whereof the eye is the centre. And, he that will but reflect on that ſeeming odd experiment of ſeeing only the two outward ones of three bits of paper ſtuck up againſt a wall, at about half a foot, or a foot one from another, without ſeeing the middle one at all, whilſt his eye remains fixed in the ſame poſture, muſt confeſs that viſion is not made in a point, when it is plain, that looking with one eye there is always one part

between the extremes of the area that we ſee, which is not ſeen at the ſame time that we perceive the extremes of it; though the looking with two eyes, or the quick turning of the axis of the eye to the part we would diſtinctly view, when we look but with one, does not let us take notice of it.

10. WHAT I have here ſaid I think ſufficient to make intelligible, how by material rays of light viſible ſpecies may be brought into the eye, notwithſtanding any of P. M.'s objections againſt ſo much of material cauſes, as my hypotheſis is concerned in. But when by this means an image is made on the retina, how we ſee it, I conceive no more, than when I am told we ſee it in God. How we ſee it, is, I confeſs, what I underſtand not, in the one or in the other; only it appears to me more difficult to conceive a diſtinct, viſible image, in the uniform, invariable eſſence of God, than in variouſly modifiable matter; but the manner how I ſee either, ſtill eſcapes my comprehenſion. Impreſſions made on the retina, by rays of light, I think, I underſtand; and motions from thence continued to the brain may be conceived, and that theſe produce ideas in our minds, I am perſuaded, but in a manner to me incomprehenſible. This I can reſolve only into the good pleaſure of God, whoſe ways are paſt finding out. And, I think, I know it as well, when I am told, theſe are ideas that the motion of the animal ſpirits, by a law eſtabliſhed by God, produces in me, as when I am told, they are ideas I ſee in God. The ideas it is certain I have, and God both ways is the original cauſe of my having them; but the manner how I come by them, how it is that I perceive, I confeſs I underſtand not; though it be plain, motion has to do in the producing of them: and motion ſo modified is appointed to be the cauſe of our having of them; as appears by the curious and artificial ſtructure of the eye, accommodated to all the rules of refraction and dioptricks, that ſo viſible objects might be exactly and regularly painted on the bottom of the eye.

11. THE change of bigneſs in the ideas of viſible objects, by diſtance and optick-glaſſes, which is the next argument he uſes, againſt viſible ſpecies, is a good argument againſt them, as ſuppoſed by the peripateticks, but when conſidered, would perſuade one that we ſee the figures and magnitudes of things rather in the bottom of our eyes than in God; the idea we have of them and their grandeur being ſtill proportioned to the bigneſs of the area, on the bottom of our eyes, that is affected by the rays, which paint the image there, and we may be ſaid to ſee the picture in the retina, as when it is pricked, we are truly ſaid to feel the pain in our finger.

12. IN the next place where he ſays, that when we look on a cube "we ſee "all its ſides equal." This, I think, is a miſtake; and I have in another place ſhewn, how the idea we have from a regular ſolid, is not the true idea of that ſolid, but ſuch an one as by cuſtom (as the name of it does) ſerves to excite our judgment to form ſuch an one.

13. WHAT he ſays of ſeeing an object ſeveral millions of leagues, the very ſame inſtant that it is uncovered, I think may be ſhewn to be a miſtake in matter of fact. For by obſervations made on the ſatellites of Jupiter, it is diſcovered that light is ſucceſſively propagated, and is about ten minutes coming from the ſun to us.

14. BY what I have ſaid, I think it may be underſtood, how we may conceive, that from remote objects material cauſes may reach our ſenſes, and therein produce ſeveral motions that may be the cauſes of ideas in us; notwithſtanding what P. M. has ſaid in this ſecond chapter againſt material ſpecies. I confeſs his arguments are good againſt thoſe ſpecies, as uſually underſtood by the peripateticks: But, ſince my principles have been ſaid to be conformable to the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, I have endeavoured to remove the difficulties it is charged with, as far as my opinion is concerned in them.

15. HIS third chapter is to confute "the opinion of thoſe, who think our "minds have a power to produce the ideas of things, on which they would "think, and that, they are excited to produce them, by the impreſſions which "objects make on the body." One who thinks ideas are nothing, but perceptions of the mind, annexed to certain motions of the body, by the will of God,

who hath ordered ſuch perceptions always to accompany ſuch motions, though we know not how they are produced, does in effect conceive thoſe ideas, or perceptions, to be only paſſions of the mind, when produced in it, whether we will or no, by external objects. But he conceives them to be a mixture of action and paſſion, when the mind attends to them, or revives them in the memory. Whether the ſoul has ſuch a power as this, we ſhall perhaps have occaſion to conſider hereafter; and this power our author does not deny, ſince, in this very chapter, he ſays, "when we conceive a ſquare by pure under-"ſtanding, we can yet imagine it, i. e. perceive it in our ſelves, by tracing an "image of it on the brain." Here then he allows the ſoul power to trace images on the brain, and perceive them. This, to me, is matter of new perplexity in this hypotheſis; for if the ſoul be ſo united to the brain as to trace images on it, and perceive them, I do not ſee how this conſiſts with what he ſays a little before, in the firſt chapter, viz. "that certainly material things can-"not be united to our ſouls, after a manner neceſſary to its perceiving them."

16. THAT which is ſaid about objects exciting ideas in us by motion, and our reviving the ideas we have once got in our memories, does not, I confeſs, fully explain the manner how it is done. In this I frankly avow my ignorance, and ſhould be glad to find in him any thing, that would clear it to me; but in his explications I find theſe difficulties, which I cannot get over.

17. THE mind cannot produce ideas, ſays he, becauſe they are "real ſpiri-"tual beings," i. e. ſubſtances; for ſo is the concluſion of that paragraph, where he mentions it as an abſurdity to think, they are "annihilated when they are "not preſent to the mind." And the whole force of this argument would perſuade one to underſtand him ſo; tho' I do not remember, that he any where ſpeaks it out, or in direct terms calls them ſubſtances.

8. I SHALL here only take notice how inconceivable it is to me, that a ſpiritual, i. e. an unextended ſubſtance ſhould repreſent to the mind an extended figure, v. g. a triangle of unequal ſides, or two triangles of different magnitudes. Next ſuppoſing I could conceive an unextended ſubſtance to repreſent a figure, or be the idea of a figure, the difficulty ſtill remains to conceive how it is my ſoul ſees it. Let this ſubſtantial being be ever ſo ſure, and the picture ever ſo clear; yet how we ſee it, is to me inconceivable. Intimate union, were it as intelligible of two unextended ſubſtances, as of two bodies, would not yet reach perception, which is ſomething beyond union. But yet a little lower he agrees, that an idea "is not a ſubſtance," but yet affirms, "it is a ſpiritual "thing:" this "ſpiritual thing," therefore, muſt either be a "ſpiritual ſub-"ſtance," or a mode of a ſpiritual ſubſtance, or a relation; for beſides theſe I have no conception of any thing. And if any ſhall tell me it is a mode, it muſt be a mode of the ſubſtance of God: which beſides that it will be ſtrange to mention any modes in the ſimple eſſence of God, whoſoever ſhall propoſe any ſuch modes, as a way to explain the nature of our ideas, propoſes to me ſomething inconceivable, as a means to conceive what I do not yet know; and ſo, bating a new phraſe, teaches me nothing, but leaves me as much in the dark, as one can be where he conceives nothing. So that ſuppoſing ideas real ſpiritual things never ſo much, if they are neither ſubſtances nor modes, let them be what they will, I am no more inſtructed in their nature, than when I am told they are perceptions, ſuch as I find them. And I appeal to my reader, whether that hypotheſis be to be preferred, for its eaſineſs to be underſtood, which is explained by real beings, that are neither ſubſtances nor modes.

19. IN the fourth chapter he proves, that we do not ſee objects by ideas, that are created with us; becauſe the ideas we have, even of one very ſimple figure, v. g. a triangle, are not infinite, tho' there may be infinite triangles. What this proves I will not here examine; but the reaſon he gives, being built on his hypotheſis, I cannot get over, and that is, that "it is not for want of "ideas, or that infinite is not preſent to us, but it is only for want of capacity "and extenſion of our ſouls; becauſe the extenſion of our ſpirits is very nar-"row and limited." To have a limited extenſion, is to have ſome extenſion, which agrees but ill with what is before ſaid of our ſouls, that they "have no "extenſion."

"extenſion." By what he ſays, here and in other places, one would think he were to be underſtood, as if the ſoul, being but a ſmall extenſion, could not at once receive all the ideas conceivable in infinite ſpace, becauſe but a little part of that infinite ſpace can be applied to the ſoul at once. To conceive thus of the ſoul's intimate union with an infinite being, and by that union receiving of ideas, leads one as naturally into as groſs thoughts, as a country-maid would have of an infinite butter-print, in which were ingraven figures of all ſorts and ſizes, the ſeveral parts whereof being, as there was occaſion, applied to her lump of butter, left on it the figure, or idea, there was preſent need of. But whether any one would thus explain our ideas, I will not ſay, only I know not well how to underſtand what he ſays here, with what he ſays before of union, in a better ſenſe.

20. HE farther ſays, that had we a magazine of all ideas, that are neceſſary for ſeeing things, they would be of no uſe, ſince the mind could not know which to chooſe, and ſet before itſelf to ſee the ſun. What he here means by the ſun, is hard to conceive, and according to his hypotheſis of "ſeeing all "things in God," how can he know that there is any ſuch real being in the world as the ſun? Did he ever ſee the ſun? no, but on occaſion of the preſence of the ſun to his eyes, he has ſeen the idea of the ſun in God, which God has exhibited to him; but the ſun, becauſe it cannot be united to his ſoul, he cannot ſee. How then does he know that there is a ſun, which he never ſaw? and ſince God does all things, by the moſt compendious ways, what need is there that God ſhould make a ſun, that we might ſee its idea in him, when he pleaſed to exhibit it, when this might as well be done without any real ſun at all?

21. HE farther ſays, that God does not actually produce in us as many new ideas, as we every moment perceive different things. Whether he has proved this or no, I will not examine.

22. BUT he ſays, that "we have at all times actually in our ſelves the ideas "of all things." Then we have always actually in our ſelves the ideas of all triangles, which was but now denied, "but we have them confuſedly." If we ſee them in God, and they are not in him confuſedly, I do not underſtand how we can ſee them in God confuſedly.

23. IN the fifth chapter he tells us "all things are in God," even the moſt corporeal and earthly, but "after a manner altogether ſpiritual, and which "we cannot comprehend." Here therefore he and I are alike ignorant of theſe good words: "material things are in God after a ſpiritual manner," ſignify nothing to either of us: and ſpiritual manner ſignifies no more but this, that material things are in God immaterially. This and the like are ways of ſpeaking, which our vanity has found out to cover, not remove our ignorance. But "material things are in God, becauſe their ideas are in God, and thoſe "ideas, which God had of them, before the world was created, are not at "all different from himſelf." This ſeems to me to come very near ſaying, not only that there is variety in God, ſince we ſee variety in what "is not dif-"ferent from himſelf;" but that material things are God, or a part of him; which, though I do not think to be what our author deſigns; yet thus I fear he muſt be forced to talk, who thinks he knows God's underſtanding ſo much better than his own, that he will make uſe of the divine intellect to explain the human.

24. IN the ſixth chapter he comes more particularly to explain his own doctrine, where he firſt ſays, 'the ideas of all beings are in God.' Let it be ſo, God has the idea of a triangle, of a horſe, of a river, juſt as we have; for hitherto this ſignifies no more, for we ſee them as they are in him; and ſo the ideas that are in him, are the ideas we perceive. Thus far I then underſtand God hath the ſame ideas we have. This tells us, indeed, that there are ideas, which was agreed before, and I think no body denies; but tells me not yet what they are.

25. HAVING ſaid that they are in God, the next thing he tells us, is, that we "can ſee them in God." His proof, that "our ſouls can ſee them in God, is

“ becauſe God is moſt ſtraitly united to our ſouls, by his preſence, inſomuch “ that one may ſay, God is the place of Spirits, as ſpaces are the places of “ bodies;” in which there is not, I confeſs, one word that I can underſtand. For, firſt, in what ſenſe can he ſay, that “ ſpaces are the places of bodies;” when he makes body and ſpace, or extenſion, to be the ſame thing? ſo that I do no more underſtand what he means, when he ſays, “ ſpaces are the places of “ bodies;” than if he had ſaid, bodies are the places of bodies. But when this ſimile is applied to God and ſpirits, it makes this ſaying, that “ God is the “ place of ſpirits,” either to be merely metaphorical, and ſo ſignifies literally nothing; or elſe being literal, makes us conceive that ſpirits move up and down, and have their diſtances and intervals in God, as bodies have in ſpace. When I am told, in which of theſe ſenſes he is to be underſtood, I ſhall be able to ſee how far it helps us to underſtand the nature of ideas. But is not God as ſtraitly united to bodies, as to ſpirits; for he is alſo preſent, even where they are, but yet they ſee not theſe ideas in him. He therefore adds, “ that the ſoul can ſee “ in God the works of God, ſuppoſing God would diſcover to it, what there is “ in him to repreſent them,” viz. the ideas that are in him. Union therefore is not the cauſe of this ſeeing; for the ſoul may be united to God, and yet not ſee the ideas that are in him, till he diſcover them to it; ſo that, after all, I am but where I was. I have ideas, that I know, but I would know what they are; and to that I am yet only told, that, “ I ſee them in God.” I aſk how “ I ſee “ them in God?” and it is anſwered, by my “ intimate union” with God, for he is every where preſent. I anſwer if that were enough, bodies are alſo intimately united with God, for he is every where preſent; beſides, if that were enough, I ſhould ſee all the ideas that are in God. No, but only thoſe that he pleaſes to diſcover. Tell me wherein this diſcovery lies, beſides barely making me ſee them, and you explain the manner of my having ideas: otherwiſe, all that has been ſaid amounts to no more but this, that I have thoſe ideas that it pleaſes God I ſhould have, but by ways that I know not; and of this mind I was before, and am not got one jot farther.

26. In the next paragraph he calls them “ beings, repreſentative beings.” But whether theſe beings are ſubſtances, modes, or relations, I am not told; and ſo by being told they are ſpiritual beings, I know no more but that they are ſomething, I know not what, and that I knew before.

27. To explain this matter a little farther, he adds, “ It muſt be obſerved, “ that it cannot be concluded, that ſouls ſee the eſſence of God, in that they “ ſee all things in God; becauſe what they ſee is very imperfect, and God is “ very perfect. They ſee matter diviſible, figured, &c. and in God there is “ nothing diviſible and figured: for God is all being, becauſe he is infinite, “ and comprehends all things; but he is not any being in particular; whereas “ what we ſee is but ſome one, or more beings in particular; and we do not “ at all comprehend that perfect ſimplicity of God, which contains all beings. “ Moreover, one may ſay, that we do not ſo much ſee the ideas of things, as “ the things themſelves, which the ideas repreſent. For when, for example, “ one ſees a ſquare, one ſays not that one ſees the idea of a ſquare, which is “ united to the ſoul, but only the ſquare that is without.” I do not pretend not to be ſhort-ſighted; but if I am not duller than ordinary, this paragraph ſhews, that P. M. himſelf is at a ſtand in this matter, and comprehends not what it is we ſee in God, or how. C. 4. he ſays, in expreſs words, that “ it “ is neceſſary that at all times we ſhould have actually, in our ſelves, the ideas “ of all things.” And in this very chapter, a little lower, he ſays, that “ all “ beings are preſent to our minds,” and that we have “ general ideas antecedent to particular.” And, C. 8. that we are never without the “ general “ idea of being;” and yet here he ſays, “ that which we ſee is but one or “ more beings in particular.” And after having taken a great deal of pains to prove, that “ we cannot poſſibly ſee things themſelves, but only ideas:” here he tells us, “ we do not ſo much ſee the ideas of things as the things themſelves.” In this uncertainty of the author, what it is we ſee, I am to be excuſed, if my eyes ſee not more clearly in his hypotheſis, than he himſelf does.

28. He farther tells us, in this ſixth chapter, that “ we ſee all beings, be- “ cauſe God wills that that, which is in him, that repreſents them, ſhould be “ diſcovered to us.” This tells us only, that there are ideas of things in God, and that we ſee them, when he pleaſes to diſcover them; but what does this ſhew us more of the nature of thoſe ideas, or of the diſcovery of them, wherein that conſiſts, than he that ſays, without pretending to know what they are, or how they are made, that ideas are in our minds when God pleaſes to produce them there, by ſuch motions as he has appointed to do it? The next argument, for “ our ſeeing all things in God,” is in theſe words; “ but the “ ſtrongeſt of all the reaſons is the manner, in which the mind perceives all “ things: it is evident, and all the world knows it by experience, that when “ we would think of any thing in particular, we at firſt caſt our view upon “ all beings, and afterwards we apply ourſelves to the conſideration of the object “ which we deſire to think on.” This argument has no other effect on me, but to make me doubt the more of the truth of this doctrine. Firſt, becauſe this, which he calls the “ ſtrongeſt reaſon of all,” is built upon matter of fact, which I cannot find to be ſo in myſelf. I do not obſerve, that when I would think of a triangle, I firſt think of all beings; whether theſe words, all beings, are to be taken here in their proper ſenſe, or very improperly for being in general. Nor do I think my country neighbours do ſo, when they firſt wake in the morning, who, I imagine, do not find it impoſſible to think of a lame horſe they have, or their blighted corn, till they have run over in their minds all beings that are, and then pitch on dapple; or elſe begin to think of being in general, which is being abſtracted from all its inferior ſpecies, before they come to think of the fly in their ſheep, or the tares in their corn. For I am apt to think that the greateſt part of mankind very ſeldom, if ever at all, think of being in general, i. e. abſtracted from all its inferior ſpecies and individuals. But taking it to be ſo, that a carrier, when he would think of a remedy for his galled horſe, or a foot-boy, for an excuſe for ſome fault he has committed, begins with caſting his eye upon all things; how does this make out the concluſion? therefore “ we can deſire to ſee all objects, whence it fol- “ lows, that all beings are preſent to our minds.” Which preſence ſignifies that we ſee them, or elſe it ſignifies nothing at all. They are all actually always ſeen by us; which how true, let every one judge.

29. The words wherein he purſues this argument ſtand thus, “ now it is “ indubitable, that we cannot deſire to ſee any particular object, without ſeeing “ it already, altho' confuſedly, and in general. So that being able to deſire to “ ſee all beings, ſometimes one, ſometimes another, it is certain that all beings “ are preſent to our ſpirits; and it ſeems all beings could not be preſent to our “ ſpirits, but becauſe God is preſent to them, i. e. he that contains all things “ in the ſimplicity of his being,” I muſt leave it to others to judge how far it is blameable in me; but ſo it is, that I cannot make to my ſelf the links of this chain to hang together; and methinks, if a man would have ſtudied obſcurity, he could not have writ more unintelligible than this. “ We can deſire to ſee “ all beings, ſometimes one, ſometimes another; therefore we do already “ ſee all things, becauſe we cannot deſire to ſee any particular object, but what “ we ſee already, confuſedly, and in general.” The diſcourſe here is about ideas, which he ſays are real things, and we ſee in God. In taking this along with me, to make it prove any thing to his purpoſe, the argument muſt, as it ſeems to me, ſtand thus: we can deſire to have all ideas, ſometimes one, ſometimes another; therefore we have already all ideas, becauſe we cannot deſire to have any particular idea, but what we have already confuſedly, and in general. What can be meant here by having any particular idea confuſedly and in general, I confeſs I cannot conceive, unleſs it be a capacity in us to have them, and in that ſenſe the whole argument amounts to no more but this: we have all ideas, becauſe we are capable of having all ideas, and ſo proves not at all, that we actually have them by being united to God, who “ contains them all in “ the ſimplicity of his being.” That any thing elſe is, or can be meant by it, I do not ſee; for that which we deſire to ſee, being nothing but what we ſee

already (for if it can be any elſe, the argument falls and proves nothing) and that which we deſire to ſee, being, as we are told here, ſomething particular, "ſometimes one thing, ſometimes another;" that which we do ſee, muſt be particular too; but how to ſee a particular thing in general, is paſt my comprehenſion. I cannot conceive how a blind man has a particular idea of ſcarlet confuſedly, or in general, when he has it not at all; and yet that he might deſire to have it, I cannot doubt, no more than I doubt that I can deſire to perceive, or to have the ideas of thoſe things, that God has prepared for thoſe that love him, though they be ſuch as eye hath not ſeen, ear hath not heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, ſuch as I have yet no idea of. He who deſires to know what creatures are in Jupiter, or what God hath prepared for them that love him, hath, it is true, a ſuppoſition that there is ſomething in Jupiter, or in the place of the bleſſed; but if that be to have the particular ideas of things there, enough to ſay, that we ſee them already, no body can be ignorant of any thing. He that has ſeen one thing hath ſeen all things; for he has got the general idea of ſomething. But this is not, I confeſs, ſufficient to convince me, that thereby we ſee all things "in the ſimplicity of God's "being, which comprehends all things." For if the ideas I ſee, are all, as our author tells us, real beings in him; it is plain they muſt be ſo many real, diſtinct beings in him; and if we ſee them in him, we muſt ſee them as they are, diſtinct particular things, and ſo ſhall not ſee them confuſedly and in general. And what it is to ſee any idea (to which I do not give a name) confuſedly, is what I do not well underſtand. What I ſee I ſee, and the idea I ſee is diſtinct from all others, that are not the ſame with it: beſides, I ſee them as they are in God, and as he ſhews them me. Are they in God confuſedly? Or does he ſhew them me confuſedly?

30. SECONDLY, This, "ſeeing of all things, becauſe we can deſire to ſee all "things," he makes a proof that they are preſent to our minds; and if they "be "preſent, they can no ways be preſent, but by the preſence of God, who con"tains them all in the ſimplicity of his being." This reaſoning ſeems to be founded on this, that the reaſon of ſeeing all things, is their being preſent to our minds; becauſe God, in whom they are, is preſent. This, though the foundation he ſeems to build on, is liable to a very natural objection, which is, that when we ſhould actually always ſee all things, becauſe in God, who is preſent, they are all actually preſent to the mind. This he has endeavoured to obviate, by ſaying we ſee all the ideas in God, which he is pleaſed to diſcover to us; which indeed is an anſwer to this objection; but ſuch an one as overturns his whole hypotheſis, and renders it uſeleſs, and as unintelligible as any of thoſe he has for that reaſon laid aſide. He pretends to explain to us how we come to perceive any thing, and that is by having the ideas of them preſent in our minds; for the ſoul cannot perceive things at a diſtance, or remote from it. And thoſe ideas are preſent to the mind, only becauſe God, in whom they are, is preſent to the mind. This ſo far hangs together, and is of a piece. But when, after this, I am told, that their preſence is not enough to make them be ſeen, but God muſt do ſomething farther to diſcover them to me, I am as much in the dark as I was at firſt; and all this talk, of their preſence in my mind, explains nothing of the way, wherein I perceive them; nor ever will, 'till he alſo makes me underſtand, what God does more than make them preſent to my mind, when he diſcovers them to me. For I think no body denies, I am ſure I affirm, that the ideas we have, are in our minds by the will and power of God, though in a way that we conceive not, nor are able to comprehend. God, ſays our author, is ſtrictly united to the ſoul, and ſo the ideas of things too. But yet that preſence, or union, of theirs is not enough to make them ſeen, but God muſt ſhew or exhibit them; and what does God do more than Make them preſent to the mind, when he ſhews them? Of that there is nothing ſaid to help me over this difficulty, but that when God ſhews them, we ſee them; which in ſhort ſeems to me to ſay only thus much, that when we have theſe ideas we have them, and we owe the having of them to our Maker, which is to ſay no more than I do with my ignorance. We have the

ideas of figures and colours by the operation of exterior objects on our ſenſes, when the ſun ſhews them us; but how the ſun ſhews them us, or how the light of the ſun produces them in us; what, and how the alteration is made in our ſouls, I know not; nor does it appear, by any thing our author ſays, that he knows any more what God does, when he ſhews them us, or what it is that is done upon our minds, ſince the preſence of them to our minds, he confeſſes, does it not.

31. THIRDLY, one thing more is incomprehenſible to me in this matter, and that is, how the ſimplicity of God's being ſhould contain in it a variety of real beings, ſo that the ſoul can diſcern them in him diſtinctly one from another; it being ſaid C. 5. That the ideas in God "are not different from God himſelf." This ſeems to me to expreſs a ſimplicity made up of variety, a thing I cannot underſtand. God I believe to be a ſimple being, that by his wiſdom knows all things, and by his power can do all things; but how he does it, I think my ſelf leſs able to comprehend, than to contain the ocean in my hand, or graſp the univerſe with my ſpan. "Ideas are real beings," you ſay; if ſo, it is evident they muſt be diſtinct, real beings; for there is nothing more certain, than that there are diſtinct ideas; and they are in God, in whom we ſee them. There they are then actually diſtinct, or elſe we could not ſee them diſtinct in him. Now theſe diſtinct real beings, that are in God, are they either parts, or modifications of the Deity, or comprehended in him as things in a place? For beſides theſe three, I think we can ſcarce think of another way, wherein we can conceive them to be in him, ſo that we can ſee them. For to ſay they are in him eminenter, is to ſay they are not in him actually and really to be ſeen; but only if they are in him eminenter, and we ſee them only in him, we can be ſaid to ſee them only eminenter too. So that though it cannot be denied, that God ſees and knows all things; yet when we ſay we ſee all things in him, it is but a metaphorical expreſſion to cover our ignorance, in a way that pretends to explain our knowledge; ſeeing things in God ſignifying no more, than that we perceive them, we know not how.

32. HE farther adds, that he "does not believe, that one can well give an " account of the manner, wherein the mind knows many abſtract and general " truths, but by the preſence of him, who can enlighten the mind, after a " thouſand different faſhions." It is not to be denied, that God can enlighten our minds, after a thouſand different faſhions; and it cannot alſo be denied, that thoſe thouſand different faſhions may be ſuch, as we comprehend not one of them. The queſtion is, whether this talk of ſeeing all things in God does make us clearly, or at all, comprehend one of them; if it did ſo to me, I ſhould gratefully acknowledge, that then I was ignorant of nine hundred ninety nine of the thouſand, whereas I muſt yet confeſs my ſelf ignorant of them all.

33. THE next paragraph, if it proves any thing, ſeems to me to prove that the idea we have of God, is God himſelf, it being ſomething as he ſays uncreated. The ideas, that men have of God, are ſo very different, that it would be very hard to ſay, it was God himſelf. Nor does it avail to ſay they would all have the ſame, if they would apply their minds to the contemplation of him; for this being brought here to prove that God is preſent in all men's minds, and that therefore they ſee him, it muſt alſo, in my apprehenſion, prove that he being immutably the ſame, and they ſeeing him, muſt needs ſee him all alike.

34. IN the next ſection we are told that we have "not only the idea of in" finite, but before that of finite." This being a thing of experience, every one muſt examine himſelf, and it being my misfortune to find it otherwiſe in my ſelf, this argument, of courſe, is like to have the leſs effect on me, who therefore cannot ſo eaſily admit the inference, viz. "Thus the mind perceives " not one thing, but in the idea it has of infinite." And I cannot but believe many a child can tell twenty, have the idea of a ſquare trencher, or a round plate, and have the diſtinct clear ideas of two and three, long before he has any idea of infinite at all.

35. The laſt argument, which he tells us is a demonſtration that we ſee all things in God, is this: “ God has made all things for himſelf; but if God made “ a ſpirit, or mind, and gave it the ſun for its idea, or the immediate object “ of its knowledge, God would have made that ſpirit, or mind, for the ſun, “ and not for himſelf.” The natural inference from this argument ſeems to me to be this, Therefore God has given himſelf for the idea, or immediate object of the knowledge of all human minds. But experince too manifeſtly contradicting this, our author hath made another concluſion, and ſays thus, “ It is neceſſary then “ that the light, which he gives the mind, ſhould make us know ſomething that “ is in him,” v. g. Becauſe “ all things, that came from God, cannot be but “ for God.” Therefore a covetous man ſees in God the money, and a Perſian the ſun, that he worſhips; and thus God is the immediate object of the minds, both of the one and the other. I confeſs this demonſtration is loſt on me, and I cannot ſee the force of it. All things, it is true, are made for God, i. e. for his glory; and he will be glorified, even by thoſe rational beings, who would not apply their faculties to the knowledge of him.

36. But the next paragraph explains this. “ God could not then make a “ ſoul for to know his works, were it not that that ſoul ſees God, after a faſhion, “ in ſeeing his works,” juſt “ after ſuch a faſhion,” that if he never ſaw more of him, he would never know any thing of a God, nor believe there was any ſuch being. A child, as ſoon as he is born, ſees a candle, or before he can ſpeak, the ball he plays with; theſe he ſees in God, whom he has yet no notion of. Whether this be enough to make us ſay, that the mind is made for God, and this be the proof of it, other people muſt judge for themſelves. I muſt own that, if this were the knowledge of God, which intelligent beings were made for, I do not ſee but they might be made for the knowledge of God, without knowing any thing of him; and thoſe that deny him, were made for the knowledge of him. Therefore I am not convinced of the truth of what follows, that “ we do not ſee any one thing, but by the natural knowledge, “ which we have of God.” Which ſeems to me a quite contrary way of arguing to what the Apoſtle uſes, where he ſays, that “ the inviſible things of “ God are ſeen by the viſible things that he has made.” For it ſeems to me a quite contrary way of arguing, to ſay we ſee the Creator in, or by the creatures, and we ſee the creatures in the Creator. The Apoſtle begins our knowledge in the creatures, which leads us to the knowledge of God, if we will make uſe of our reaſon: our author begins our knowledge in God, and by that leads us to the creatures.

37. But to confirm his argument, he ſays “ all the particular ideas, we “ have of the creatures, are but limitations of the idea of the Creator.” As for example, I have the idea of the ſolidity of matter, and of the motion of body, what is the idea of God, that either of theſe limits? And when I think of the number ten, I do not ſee how that any way concerns, or limits, the idea of God.

38. The diſtinction he makes a little lower between ſentiment and idea, does not at all clear to me, but cloud his doctrine. His words are, “ It muſt be obſerved, that I do not ſay that we have the ſentiment of material things in God, “ but that it is from God, that acts in us; for God knows ſenſible things, but “ feels them not. When we perceive any ſenſible thing, there is in our per- “ ception ſentiment and pure idea.” If by ſentiment, which is the word he uſes in French, he means the act of ſenſation, or the operation of the ſoul in perceiving; and by pure idea, the immediate object of that perception, which is the definition of ideas he gives us here, in the firſt chapter, there is ſome foundation for it, taking ideas for real beings, or ſubſtances. But taken thus, I cannot ſee how it can be avoided, but that we muſt be ſaid to ſmell a roſe in God, as well as to ſee a roſe in God; and the ſcent of the roſe that we ſmell, as well as the colour and figure of the roſe that we ſee, muſt be in God; which ſeems not to be his ſenſe here, and does not well agree with what he ſays, concerning the ideas we ſee in God, which I ſhall conſider in its due place. If by ſentiment here, he means ſomething, that is neither the act of perception, nor the

idea perceived, I confeſs I know not what it is, nor have any conception at all of it. When we ſee and ſmell a violet, we perceive the figure, colour and ſcent of that flower. Here I cannot but aſk, whether all theſe three are pure ideas, or all ſentiments? If they are all ideas; then, according to his doctrine, they are all in God; and then it will follow, that as I ſee the figure of the violet in God, ſo alſo I ſee the colour of it, and ſmell the ſcent of it in God, which way of ſpeaking he does not allow, nor can I blame him. For it ſhews a little too plainly the abſurdity of that doctrine, if he ſhould ſay we ſmell a violet, taſte wormwood, or feel cold in God; and yet I can find no reaſon, why the action of one of our ſenſes is applied only to God, when we uſe them all, as well as our eyes, in receiving ideas. If the figure, colour and ſmell are all of them ſentiments, then they are none of them in God, and ſo this whole buſineſs of ſeeing in God is out of doors. If (as by what he ſays in his eclairciſſements, it appears to me to be his meaning) the figure of the violet be to be taken for an idea, but its colour and ſmell for ſentiments: I confeſs it puzzles me to know, by what rule it is, that in a violet, the purple colour whereof, whilſt I write this, I ſeem to have as clear an idea in my mind, as of its figure, is not as much an idea as the figure of it; eſpecially, ſince he tells me, in the firſt chapter here, which is concerning the nature of ideas, that "by this word idea he underſtands here nothing elſe, but what is the immediate, or neareſt object, of the mind, when it perceives any thing."

39. THE ſentiment, ſays he, in the next words, is a modification of our ſoul. This word modification here, that comes in for explication, ſeems to me to ſignify nothing more than the word to be explained by it; v. g. I ſee the purple colour of a violet, this, ſays he, is ſentiment: I deſire to know what ſentiment is? That, ſays he, is a modification of the ſoul. I take the word, and deſire to ſee what I can conceive by it concerning my ſoul; and here, I confeſs, I can conceive nothing more, but that I have the idea of purple in my mind, which I had not before, without being able to apprehend any thing, the mind does, or ſuffers in this, beſides barely having the idea of purple; and ſo the good word, modification, ſignifies nothing to me more than I knew before; v. g. That I have now the idea of purple in it, which I had not ſome minutes ſince. So that, though they ſay ſenſations are modifications of the mind, yet having no manner of idea what that modification of the mind is, diſtinct from that very ſenſation, v. g. the ſenſation of a red colour, or a bitter taſte; it is plain this explication amounts to no more than that a ſenſation is a ſenſation, and the ſenſation of red, or bitter, is the ſenſation of red or bitter; for, if I have no other idea, when I ſay it is a modification of the mind, than when I ſay it is the ſenſation of red or bitter, it is plain ſenſation and modification ſtand both for the ſame idea, and ſo are but two names of one and the ſame thing. But to examine their doctrine of modification a little farther. Different ſentiments are different modifications of the mind. The mind, or ſoul, that perceives, is one immaterial, indiviſible ſubſtance. Now I ſee the white and black on this paper, I hear one ſinging in the next room, I feel the warmth of the fire I ſit by, and I taſte an apple I am eating, and all this at the ſame time. Now I aſk, take modification for what you pleaſe, can the ſame unextended, indiviſible ſubſtance have different, nay inconſiſtent and oppoſite (as theſe of white and black muſt be) modifications at the ſame time? Or muſt we ſuppoſe diſtinct parts in an indiviſible ſubſtance, one for black, another for white, and another for red ideas, and ſo of the reſt of thoſe infinite ſenſations, which we have in ſorts and degrees; all which we can diſtinctly perceive, and ſo are diſtinct ideas, ſome whereof are oppoſite, as heat and cold, which yet a man may feel at the ſame time? I was ignorant before, how ſenſation was performed in us: this they call an explanation of it! Muſt I ſay now I underſtand it better? If this be to cure one's ignorance, it is a very ſlight diſeaſe, and the charm of two or three inſignificant words will at any time remove it; probatum eſt. But let it ſignify what it will, when I recollect the figure of one of the leaves of a violet, is not that a new modification of my ſoul, as well as when I think of its purple colour? Does my mind do, or ſuffer, nothing anew, when I ſee that figure in God?

40. The idea of that figure, you ſay is in God? let it be ſo, but it may be there, and I not ſee it, that's allowed; when I come to ſee it, which I did not before, is there no new modification, as you call it, of my mind? If there be, then ſeeing of figure in God, as well as having the idea of purple, is a modification of the mind, and this diſtinction ſignifies nothing. If ſeeing that figure in God now, which a minute or two ſince I did not ſee at all, be no new modification, or alteration in my mind, no different action, or paſſion from what was before, there is no difference made in my apprehenſion between ſeeing and not ſeeing. The ideas of figures, our author ſays, are in God, and are real beings in God; and God being united to the mind, theſe are alſo united to it. This all ſeems to me to have ſomething very obſcure and inconceivable in it, when I come to examine particulars; but let it be granted to be as clear as any one would ſuppoſe it; yet it reaches not the main difficulty, which is in ſeeing. How after all do I ſee? The ideas are in God, they are real things, they are intimately united to my mind, becauſe God is ſo, but yet I do not ſee them. How at laſt, after all this preparation, which hitherto is ineffectual, do I come to ſee them? And to that I am told, "when God is pleaſed to diſcover them to "me." This in good earneſt ſeems to me to be nothing, but going a great way about, to come to the ſame place, and this learned circuit thus ſet out, brings me at laſt no farther than this, that I ſee or perceive, or have ideas, when it pleaſes God I ſhould, but in a way I cannot comprehend; and this I thought without all this ado.

41. This ſentiment he tells us in the next words, "it is God cauſes in us, "and he can cauſe it in us although he has it not, becauſe he ſees in the idea "that he has of our ſoul, that it is capable of them." This I take to be ſaid to ſhew the difference between ſentiments and ideas in us, v. g. Figures and numbers are ideas, and they are in God. Colours and ſmells, &c. are ſentiments in us, and not ideas in God. Firſt, as to our ſelves I aſk, why, when I recollect in my memory a violet, the purple colour as well as figure is not an idea in me? The making, then, the picture of any viſible thing in my mind, as of a landſkape I have ſeen, compoſed of figure and colour, the colour is not an idea, but the figure is an idea, and the colour a ſentiment. Every one, I allow, may uſe his words as he pleaſes, but, if it be to inſtruct others, he muſt, when he uſes two words, where others uſe but one, ſhew ſome ground of the diſtinction. And I do not find, but the colour of the marigold I now think of, is as much "the immediate object of my mind," as its figure; and ſo according to his definition is an idea. Next as to God, I aſk whether before the creation of the world, the idea of the whole marigold colour, as well as figure, was not in God? "God, ſays he, can cauſe thoſe ſentiments in us, becauſe he ſees in the idea, "that he has of our ſoul, that it is capable of them." God, before he created any ſoul, knew all that he would make it capable of. He reſolved to make it capable of having the perception of the colour, as well as figure, of a marigold; he had then the idea of that colour, that he reſolved to make it capable of, or elſe he made it capable (with reverence let it be ſpoken) of he knew not what: and if he knew what it ſhould be capable of, he had the idea of what he knew; for, before the creation, there was nothing but God, and the ideas he had. It is true the colour of that flower is not actually in God, no more is its figure actually in God; but we that can conſider no other underſtanding, but in analogy to our own, cannot conceive otherwiſe, but as the ideas of the figure, colour and ſituation of the leaves of a marigold is in our minds, when we think of that flower, in the night when we ſee it not; ſo it was in the thoughts of God, before he made that flower. And thus we conceive him to have the idea of the ſmell of a violet, of the taſte of ſugar, the ſound of a lute or trumpet, and of the pain and pleaſure, that accompanies any of theſe, or other ſenſations, which he deſigned we ſhould feel, though he never felt any of them; as we have the ideas of the taſte of a cherry in winter, or the pain of a burn, when it is over. This is what I think we conceive of the ideas in God, which we muſt allow to have diſtinctly repreſented to him, all that was to be in time, and conſequently the colours, odours, and other ideas, they were to produce in us. I cannot be ſo

bold as to pretend to ſay, what thoſe ideas are in God, or to determine that they are real beings; but this I think, I may ſay, that the idea of the colour of a marigold, or the motion of a ſtone, are as much real beings in God, as the idea of the figure, or number, of its leaves.

42. The reader muſt not blame me for making uſe here, all along, of the word ſentiment, which is our author's own, and I underſtand it ſo little, that I knew not how to tranſlate it into any other. He concludes, “ that he believes, “ there is no appearance of truth in any other ways of explaining theſe things, “ and that this, of ſeeing all things in God, is more than probable.” I have conſidered, with as much indifferency and attention as is poſſible; and I muſt own it appears to me as little, or leſs intelligible, than any of the reſt; and the ſummary of his doctrine, which he here ſubjoins, is to me wholly incomprehenſible. His words are “ thus our ſouls depend on God all manner of ways: “ for as it is he, which makes them feel pleaſure and pain, and all other ſenſations, by the natural union, which he has made, between them and our bodies, which is nothing elſe, but his decree and general will: ſo it is he, who “ by the natural union which he has made, betwixt the will of man, and the “ repreſentation of ideas, which the immenſity of the divine being contains, “ makes them know all that they know; and this natural union is alſo nothing “ but his general will.” This phraſe of the union of our wills to the ideas contained in God's immenſity, ſeems to me a very ſtrange one, and what light it gives to his doctrine I truly cannot find. It ſeemed ſo unintelligible to me, that I gueſſed it an error in the print of the edition I uſed, which was the 4to. printed at Paris, 78, and therefore conſulted the 8vo. printed alſo at Paris, and found “ will it,” in both of them. Here again the immenſity of the divine being is mentioned, as that which contains in it the ideas, to which our wills are united; which ideas being only thoſe of quantity, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter, ſeems to me to carry with it a very groſs notion of this matter, as we have above remarked. But that which I take notice of principally, here, is, that this union of our wills to the ideas contained in God's immenſity, does not at all explain our ſeeing of them. This union of our wills to the ideas, or, as in other places, of our ſouls to God, is, ſays he, nothing but the will of God. And after this union, our ſeeing them is only, when God diſcovers them, i. e. our having them in our minds, is nothing but the will of God; all which is brought about in a way we comprehend not. And what then does this explain more than when one ſays, our ſouls are united to our bodies, by the will of God, and by the motion of ſome parts of our bodies? v. g. the nerves, or animal ſpirits, have ideas, or perceptions produced in them, and this is the will of God. Why is not this as intelligible and as clear as the other? Here is, by the will of God, given union and perception, in both caſes; but how that perception is made, in both ways, ſeems to me equally incomprehenſible. In one, God diſcovers ideas in himſelf to the ſoul united to him, when he pleaſes; and in the other, he diſcovers ideas to the ſoul, or produces perception in the ſoul united to the body by motion, according to laws eſtabliſhed by the good pleaſure of his will; but how it is done in the one, or the other, I confeſs my incapacity to comprehend. So that I agree perfectly with him in his conluſion, that “ there “ is nothing but God that can enlighten us;” but a clear comprehenſion of the manner how he does it, I doubt I ſhall not have, till I know a great deal more of him and my ſelf, than in this ſtate of darkneſs and ignorance our ſouls are capable of.

43. In the next, chap. 7. he tells us, “ there are four ways of knowing; “ the firſt is to know things by themſelves,” and thus, he ſays, “ we know God “ alone;” and the reaſon he gives of it is this, becauſe “ at preſent, he alone “ penetrates the mind, and diſcovers himſelf to it.”

First, I would know what it is to penetrate a thing that is unextended? theſe are ways of ſpeaking, which taken from body, when they are applied to ſpirit, ſignify nothing, nor ſhew us any thing but our ignorance. To God's penetrating our ſpirits, he joins his diſcovering himſelf; as if one were the cauſe of the other, and explained it: But I not conceiving any thing of the penetration of an unextended thing, it is loſt upon me. But next God penetrates our ſouls, and therefore "we ſee him by a direct and immediate view," as he ſays in the following words. The ideas of all things, which are in God, he elſewhere tells us, are not at all different from God himſelf; and if God's penetrating our minds be the cauſe of our direct and immediate ſeeing God, we have a direct and immediate view of all that we ſee; for we ſee nothing but God and ideas; and it is impoſſible for us to know, that there is any thing elſe in the univerſe; for ſince we ſee, and can ſee nothing but God and ideas; how can we know, there is any thing elſe, which we neither do, nor can ſee? But if there be any thing to be underſtood by this penetration of our ſouls, and we have a direct view of God by this penetration, why have we not alſo a "direct and immediate view" of other ſeparate ſpirits beſides God? To this he ſays, that there is none but God alone, who at preſent penetrates our ſpirits. This he ſays, but I do not ſee for what reaſon, but becauſe it ſuits with his hypotheſis: but he proves it not, nor goes about to do it, unleſs the "direct and immediate view," he ſays, we have of God, be to be taken as a proof of it. But what "is that direct and "immediate view" we have of God, that we have not of a cherub? The ideas of being, power, knowledge, goodneſs, duration, make up the complex idea we have of one and of the other; but only that, in the one, we join the idea of infinite, to each ſimple idea, that makes our complex one, but to the other, that of finite. But how have we a more "direct, or immediate view" of the idea of power, knowledge or duration, when we conſider them in God, than when we conſider them in an Angel? The view of theſe ideas ſeem to be the ſame. Indeed we have a clearer proof of the exiſtence of God than of a cherub, but the idea of either, when we have it in our minds, ſeems to me to be thereby an equally direct and immediate view. And it is about the ideas, which are in our minds, that I think our author's enquiry here is, and not about the real exiſtence of thoſe things, whereof we have ideas, which are two very remote things.

44. "Perhaps it is God alone, ſays our author, who can enlighten our "minds by his ſubſtance." When I know what the ſubſtance of God is, and what it is to be enlightened by that ſubſtance, I ſhall know what I alſo ſhall think of it; but at preſent I confeſs my ſelf in the dark, as to this matter; nor do theſe good words, of ſubſtance and enlightening, in the way they are here uſed, help me one jot out of it.

45. He goes on, "one cannot conceive, ſays he, that any thing created can "repreſent what is infinite." And I cannot conceive that there is any poſitive comprehenſive idea, in any finite mind, that does repreſent it fully and clearly as it is. I do not find that the mind of man has infinity, poſitively and fully repreſented to it, or comprehended by it; which muſt be, if his argument were true, that therefore God enlightens our minds, by his proper ſubſtance; becauſe no created thing is big enough to repreſent what is infinite; and therefore what makes us conceive his infinity, is the preſence of his own infinite ſubſtance in our minds: Which to me manifeſtly ſuppoſes that we comprehend, in our minds, God's infinite ſubſtance, which is preſent to our minds; for if this be not the force of his argument, where he ſays, "nothing created can repreſent what "is infinite; the being that is without bounds, the being immenſe, the being "univerſal, cannot be perceived by an idea, i. e. by a particular being, by a "being different from the univerſal infinite being itſelf;" it ſeems to me that this argument is founded on a ſuppoſition of our comprehending the infinite ſubſtance of God in our minds, or elſe I ſee not any force in it, as I have already ſaid. I ſhall take notice of one or two things in it, that confound me, and that is, that he calls God here the univerſal being; which muſt either ſignify that being, which contains, and is made up as one comprehenſive aggregate of all the reſt, in which ſenſe the univerſe may be called the univerſal being, or elſe it muſt mean being in general, which is nothing but the idea of being, abſtracted from all inferior diviſions of that general notion, and from all particular exiſtence. But in neither of theſe ſenſes, can I conceive God to be the univerſal being, ſince I cannot think the creatures either to be a part, or a ſpecies of him. Next he

calls the ideas, that are in God, particular beings. I grant whatever exiſts, is particular, it cannot be otherwiſe; but that which is particular in exiſtence, may be univerſal in repreſentation, which I take to be all the univerſal beings we know, or can conceive to be. But let univerſal or particular beings be what they will, I do not ſee how our author can ſay, that God is an univerſal being, and the ideas we ſee in him particular beings; ſince he, in another place, tells us that the ideas we ſee in God are not at all different from God. “ But, ſays he, as to particular beings, it is not hard to conceive, that they can be repreſented by the infinite being, which contains them, and contains them after a very ſpiritual manner, and conſequently very intelligible.” It ſeems as impoſſible to me, that an infinite ſimple being, in whom there is no variety, nor ſhadow of variety, ſhould repreſent a finite thing, as that a finite thing ſhould repreſent an infinite; nor do I ſee how its “ containing all things in it, after a very ſpiritual manner, makes it ſo very intelligible;” ſince I underſtand not what it is to contain a material thing ſpiritually, nor the manner, how God contains any thing in himſelf, but either as an aggregate contains all things, which it is made up of; and, ſo indeed, that part of him may be ſeen, which comes within the reach of our view. But this way of containing all things can, by no means, belong to God, and to make things thus viſible in him, is to make the material world a part of him, or elſe as having a power to produce all things; and in this way, it is true God contains all things in himſelf, but in a way not proper to make the being of God a repreſentative of thoſe things to us; for then his Being, being the repreſentative of the effects of that power, it muſt repreſent to us all, that he is capable of producing, which I do not find in myſelf that it does.

“ SECONDLY, the ſecond way of knowing things, he tells us, is by ideas, that is, by ſomething that is different from them; and thus we know things, when they are not intelligible by themſelves, either becauſe they are corporeal, or becauſe they cannot penetrate the mind, or diſcover themſelves to it; and this is the way we know corporeal things.” This reaſoning I do not underſtand: firſt, becauſe I do not underſtand why a line, or a triangle, is not as intelligible as any thing that can be named; for we muſt ſtill carry along with us, that the diſcourſe here is about our perception, or what we have any idea, or conception of, in our own minds. Secondly, becauſe I do not underſtand what is meant by the penetrating a ſpirit; and till I can comprehend theſe, upon which this reaſoning is built, this reaſoning cannot work on me. But from theſe reaſons he concludes, “ thus it is in God, and by their ideas that we ſee bodies and their properties; and it is for this reaſon that the knowledge, we have of them, is moſt perfect.” Whether others will think that what we ſee of bodies, is ſeen in God, by ſeeing the ideas of them, that are in God, muſt be left to them. Why I cannot think ſo, I have ſhewn; but the inference he makes here from it, I think, few will aſſent to, that we know bodies and their properties moſt perfectly. For who is there that can ſay, he knows the properties, either of body in general, or of any one particular body perfectly? One property of body in general, is to have parts cohering and united together, for where-ever there is body, there is coheſion of parts; but who is there that perfectly underſtands, that coheſion? And as for particular bodies, who can ſay that he perfectly underſtands gold, or a load-ſtone, and all its properties? But to explain himſelf, he ſays, “ that the idea, we have of extenſion, ſuffices to make us know all the properties, whereof extenſion is capable, and that we cannot deſire to have an idea more diſtinct, and more fruitful of extenſion, of figures and of motions, than that which God has given us of them.” This ſeems to me a ſtrange proof that we ſee “ bodies and their properties in God, and know them perfectly,” becauſe God has given us diſtinct and fruitful ideas of extenſion, figure and motion; for this had been the ſame, whether God had given theſe ideas, by ſhewing them in himſelf, or by any other way; and his ſaying, that God has given us as diſtinct and fruitful ideas of them, as we can deſire, ſeems as if our author himſelf had ſome other thoughts of them. If he thought we ſee them in God, he muſt think we ſee them, as they are in themſelves, and there would be no

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room for ſaying, God had given them us as diſtinct, as we could deſire; the calling them fruitful, ſhews this yet more; for one that thinks he ſees the ideas of figures in God, and can ſee no idea of a figure but in God, with what thought can he call any one of them ſeconde, which is ſaid only of ſuch things as produce others? Which expreſſion of his ſeems to proceed only from this thought in him, that when I have once got the idea of extenſion, I can frame the ideas of what figures, and of what bigneſs I pleaſe. And in this I agree with him, as appears in what I have ſaid L. 2. C. 13. But then this can by no means proceed from a ſuppoſition, that I ſee theſe figures only in God; for there they do not produce one another, but are there, as it were, in their firſt pattern to be ſeen, juſt ſuch, and ſo many as God is pleaſed to ſhew them to us. But it will be ſaid, our deſire to ſee them is the occaſional cauſe of God's ſhewing them us, and ſo we ſee whatever figure we deſire. Let it be ſo, this does not make any idea ſeconde, for here is no production of one out of another; but, as to the occaſional cauſe, can any one ſay that it is ſo? I, or our author, deſire to ſee an angle next in greatneſs to a right angle; did upon this God ever ſhew him, or me ſuch an angle? That God knows, or has in himſelf, the idea of ſuch an angle, I think will not be denied; but that he ever ſhewed it to any man, how much ſoever he deſired it, I think may be doubted. But after all, how comes it, by this means, that we have a "perfect knowledge of bodies and their properties," when ſeveral men in the world have not the ſame idea of body, and this very author and I differ in it? He thinks bare extenſion to be body; and I think extenſion alone makes not body, but extenſion and ſolidity; thus either he, or I, one of us, has a wrong and imperfect knowledge of bodies and their properties. For if bodies be extenſion alone and nothing elſe, I cannot conceive how they can move, and hit one againſt another, or what can make diſtinct ſurfaces, in an uniform, ſimple extenſion. A ſolid extended thing I can conceive moveable; but then, if I have a clear view of bodies and their properties in God, I muſt ſee the idea of ſolidity in God, which yet I think, by what our author has ſaid in his eclairciſſements, he does not allow that we do. He ſays farther, "that, whereas the ideas of things, that are in God, contain all their properties, "he that ſees their ideas, may ſee ſucceſſively all their properties." This ſeems to me not to concern our ideas more, whether we ſee them in God, or have them otherwiſe. Any idea that we have, whenceſoever we have it, contains in it all the properties it has, which are nothing but the relations it has to other ideas, which are always the ſame. What he ſays concerning the properties that we may ſucceſſively know them, is equally true, whether we ſee them in God, or have them by any other means. They that apply them, as they ought, to the conſideration of their ideas, may ſucceſſively come to the knowledge of ſome of their properties; but that they may know all their properties, is more than I think the reaſon proves, which he ſubjoins in theſe words, "for when "one ſees the things as they are in God, one ſees them always in a moſt perfect "manner." We ſee, for example, in God, the idea of a triangle, or a circle; does it hence follow, that we can know all the properties of either of them? He adds, that the manner of ſeeing them "would be infinitely perfect, if the "mind, which ſees them in God, was infinite." I confeſs myſelf here not well to comprehend his diſtinction, between ſeeing after a manner "[tres-parfait] moſt perfect and infinitely perfect; he adds, that which is wanting to the "knowledge, that we have of extenſion, figures and motion, is not a defect of "the idea, which repreſents it, but of our mind which conſiders it." If, by ideas, be meant here the real objects of our knowledge, I eaſily agree, that the want of knowledge in us is a defect in our minds, and not in the things to be known. But if, by ideas, be here meant the perception, or repreſentation of things in the mind, that I cannot but obſerve in myſelf to be very imperfect and defective, as, when I deſire to perceive what is the ſubſtance of body or ſpirit, the idea thereof fails me. To conclude, I ſee not what there is in this paragraph that makes any thing for the doctrine of ſeeing all things in God.

46. "THE third way of knowing is by conſciouſneſs, or interior ſentiments; "and thus, he ſays, we know our ſouls, and it is for this reaſon that the

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“ knowledge, we have of them, is imperfect, we know nothing of our ſouls, “ but what we feel within our ſelves.” This confeſſion of our author brings me back, do what I can, to that original of all our ideas, which my thoughts led me to, when I writ my book, viz. Senſation and Reflection; and therefore I am forced to aſk any one, who is of our author's principles, whether God had not the idea of mine, or of an human ſoul, before he created it? Next, whether that idea of an human ſoul be not as much a real being in God, as the idea of a triangle? If ſo, why does not my ſoul, being intimately united to God, as well ſee the idea of my ſoul which is in him, as the idea of a triangle which is in him? And what reaſon can there be given, why God ſhews the idea of a triangle to us, and not the idea of our ſouls, but this, that God has given us external ſenſation to perceive the one, and none to perceive the other, but only internal ſenſation to perceive the operation of the latter? He that pleaſes may read what our author ſays in the remainder of this, and the two or three next paragraphs, and ſee whether it carries him beyond where my ignorance ſtopped; I muſt own that me it does not.

47. “ This, [i. e. the ignorance we are in, of our own ſouls,] ſays he, may “ ſerve to prove that the ideas, that repreſent any thing to us that is without “ us, are not modifications of our ſouls; for if the ſoul ſaw all things, by con- “ ſidering its own proper modifications, it ſhould know more clearly its own “ eſſence, or its own nature, than that of bodies, and all the ſenſations, or “ modifications, whereof it is capable, than the figures, or modifications, of “ which bodies are capable. In the mean time it knows not, that it is capable “ of any ſuch ſenſation by ſight, as it has of itſelf, but only by experience; “ inſtead that it knows that extenſion is capable of an infinite number of figures, “ by the idea that it has of extenſion. There are, moreover, certain ſenſa- “ tions, as colours and ſounds, which the greateſt part of men cannot diſcover, “ whether they are modifications of the ſoul; and there are figures, which all “ men do not diſcover, by the idea of extenſion, to be modifications of bodies.” This paragraph is, as he tells us, to prove, “ that the ideas, that repreſent to “ us ſomething without us, are not modifications of the ſoul;” but, inſtead of that, it ſeems to prove, that figure is the modification of ſpace, and not of our ſouls. For if this argument had tended to prove, “ that the ideas that repre- “ ſent any thing without us, were not modifications of the ſoul;” he ſhould not have put the mind's not knowing what modifications itſelf was capable of, and knowing what figures ſpace was capable of, in oppoſition one to another; but the antitheſis muſt have lain in this, that the mind knew it was capable of the perception of figure, or motion, without any modification of itſelf, but was not capable of the perception of ſound, or colour, without a modification of itſelf. For the queſtion, here, is not whether ſpace be capable of figure, and the ſoul not; but whether the ſoul be capable of perceiving, or having the idea of figure, without a modification of itſelf, and not capable of having the idea of colour, without a modification of itſelf. I think now of the figure, colour, and hardneſs of a diamond, that I ſaw ſome time ſince: in this caſe I deſire to be informed, how my mind knows that the thinking on, or the idea of the figure, is not a modification of the mind; but the thinking on, or having an idea of the colour, or hardneſs, is a modification of the mind? It is certain, there is ſome alteration in my mind, when I think of a figure, which I did not think of before, as well as when I think of a colour, that I did not think of before. But one I am told is ſeeing it in God, and the other a modification of my mind. But ſuppoſing one is ſeeing in God, is there no alteration in my mind, between ſeeing and not ſeeing? And is that to be called a modification, or no? For when he ſays ſeeing a colour, and hearing a ſound, is a modification of the mind, what does it ſignify but an alteration of the mind, from not perceiving to perceiving that ſound, or colour? And ſo when the mind ſees a triangle, which it did not ſee before, what is this, but an alteration of the mind from not ſeeing to ſeeing, whether that figure be ſeen in God, or no? And why is not this alteration of the mind to be called a modification, as well as the other? Or, indeed, what ſervice does that word do us in the

one caſe, or the other, when it is only a new ſound, brought in, without any new conception at all? For my mind, when it ſees a colour, or figure, is altered, I know, from the not having ſuch or ſuch a perception, to the having it; but when, to explain this, I am told that either of theſe perceptions is a modification of the mind, what do I conceive more, than that from not having ſuch a perception my mind is come to have ſuch a perception? Which is what I as well knew before the word, "modification," was made uſe of, which by its uſe has made me conceive nothing more, than what I conceived before.

48. ONE thing I cannot but take notice of here, by the bye, that he ſays, that "the ſoul knows that extenſion is capable of an infinite number of figures, by "the idea it has of extenſion," which is true. And afterwards he ſays, that "there are no figures, which all men do not diſcover, by the idea they have "of extenſion to be modifications of body." One would wonder, why he did not ſay modifications of extenſion, rather than as he does, the modifications of body, they being diſcovered by the idea of extenſion; but the truth would not bear ſuch an expreſſion. For it is certain that in pure ſpace, or extenſion, which is not terminated, there is truly no diſtinction of figures, but in diſtinct bodies, that are terminated, there are diſtinct figures, becauſe ſimple ſpace or extenſion, being in itſelf uniform, inſeparable, immoveable, has in it no ſuch modification, or diſtinction of figures. But it is capable, as he ſays, but of what? of bodies of all ſorts of figures and magnitudes, without which there is no diſtinction of figures in ſpace. Bodies that are ſolid, ſeparable, terminated and moveable, have all ſorts of figures, and they are bodies alone that have them: And ſo figures are properly modifications of bodies, for pure ſpace is not any where terminated, nor can be, whether there be, or be not body in it, it is uniformly continued. This, that he plainly ſaid here, to me plainly ſhews that body and extenſion are two things, though much of our author's doctrine be built upon their being one and the ſame.

42. THE next paragraph is to ſhew us the difference between ideas and ſentiments in this, that "ſentiments are not tied to words; ſo that he, that never "had ſeen a colour, or felt heat, could never be made to have thoſe ſenſations, "by all the definitions one could give him of them." This is true of what he calls ſentiments; and as true alſo, of what he calls ideas. Shew me one, who has not got by experience, i. e. by ſeeing or feeling the idea of ſpace or motion and I will as ſoon by words make one, who never felt what heat is, have a conception of heat, as he, that has not by his ſenſes perceived what ſpace or motion is, can by words be made to conceive either of them. The reaſon why we are apt to think theſe ideas belonging to extenſion, got another way than other ideas, is becauſe our bodies being extended, we cannot avoid the diſtinction of parts in our ſelves; and all that is for the ſupport of our lives, being by motion applied to us, it is impoſſible to find any one, who has not by experience got thoſe ideas; and ſo, by the uſe of language, learnt what words ſtand for them, which by cuſtom came to excite them in his mind, as the names of heat and pleaſure do excite in the mind of thoſe, who have by experience got them, the ideas they are by uſe annexed to. Not that words, or definitions, can teach or bring into the mind one more than another of thoſe I call ſimple ideas; but can by uſe excite them in thoſe, who having got them by experience, know certain ſounds to be by uſe annexed to them as the ſigns of them.

50. "FOURTHLY, the fourth way of knowing, he tells us, is by conjecture, "and thus only we know the ſouls of other men, and pure intelligences," i. e. we know them not at all; but we probably think there are ſuch beings really exiſting in rerum naturâ. But this looks to me beſides our author's buſineſs here, which ſeems to be to examine, what ideas we have, and how we came by them. So that the thing here conſidered, ſhould in my opinion be, not whether there were any ſouls of men, or pure intelligences, any where exiſting, but what ideas we have of them, and how we came by them. For when he ſays, we know not Angels, either "in themſelves, or by their ideas, or by "conſciouſneſs," what in that place does, angels, ſignify? What idea in him does it ſtand for? Or, is it the ſign of no idea at all, and ſo a bare ſound without

out ſignification? He that reads this ſeventh chapter of his with attention, will find that we have ſimple ideas, as far as our experience reaches, and no farther. And beyond that we know nothing at all, no not even what thoſe ideas are, that are in us, but only that they are perceptions in the mind, but how made we cannot comprehend.

51. IN his Eclairciſſements on the nature of ideas, p. 435. of the quarto edition, he ſays, that "he is certain, that the ideas of things are unchangeable." This I cannot comprehend, for how can I know that the picture of any thing is like that thing, when I never ſee that which it repreſents? For if theſe words do not mean that ideas are true unchangeable repreſentations of things, I know not to what purpoſe they are. And, if that be not their meaning, then they can only ſignify, that the idea, I have once had, will be unchangeably the ſame, as long as it recurs the ſame in my memory; but when another different from that comes into my mind, it will not be that. Thus the idea of an horſe, and the idea of a centaur, will, as often as they recur in my mind, be unchangeably the ſame; which is no more than this, the ſame idea will be always the ſame idea; but whether the one, or the other, be the true repreſentation of any thing that exiſts, that, upon his principles, neither our author, nor any body elſe can know.

52. WHAT he ſays here of univerſal reaſon, which enlightens every one, whereof all men partake, ſeems to me nothing elſe but the power men have to conſider the ideas they have, one with another; and, by thus comparing them, find out the relations that are between them; and therefore, if an intelligent being, at one end of the world, and another at the other end of the world, will conſider twice two and four together, he cannot but find them to be equal, i. e. to be the ſame number. Theſe relations, it is true, are infinite, and God, who knows all things, and their relations as they are, knows them all, and ſo his knowledge is infinite. But men are able to diſcover more or leſs of theſe relations, only as they apply their minds to conſider any ſort of ideas, and to find out intermediate ones, which can ſhew the relation of thoſe ideas, which cannot immediately be compared by juxtapoſition. But then what he means by that infinite reaſon, which men conſult, I confeſs myſelf not well to underſtand. For if he means that they conſider a part of thoſe relations of things, which are infinite, that is true; but then, this is a very improper way of ſpeaking, and I cannot think that a man of his parts would uſe it to mean nothing elſe by it. If he means, as he ſays, p. 536. that this infinite and univerſal reaſon, whereof men partake, and which they conſult, is the reaſon of God himſelf; I can by no means aſſent to it. Firſt, becauſe I think we cannot ſay God reaſons at all; for he has at once a view of all things. But reaſon is very far from ſuch an intuition, it is a laborious and gradual progreſs in the knowledge of things, by comparing one idea with a ſecond, and a ſecond with a third, and that with a fourth, &c. to find the relation between the firſt and the laſt of theſe in this train, and in ſearch for ſuch intermediate ideas, as may ſhew us the relation we deſire to know, which ſometimes we find, and ſometimes not. This way, therefore, of finding truth, ſo painful, uncertain, and limited, is proper only to men, or finite underſtandings, but can by no means be ſuppoſed in God; it is therefore in God, underſtanding, or knowledge. But then to ſay that we partake in the knowledge of God, or conſult his underſtanding, is what I cannot receive for true. God has given me an underſtanding of my own; and I ſhould think it preſumption in me to ſuppoſe, I apprehended any thing by God's underſtanding, ſaw with his eyes, or ſhared of his knowledge. I think it more poſſible for me, to ſee with other men's eyes, and underſtand with another man's underſtanding, than with God's; there being ſome proportion between mine and another man's underſtanding, but none between mine and God's. But if this "infinite reaſon which we conſult," be at laſt nothing but thoſe infinite, unchangeable relations, which are in things, ſome of which we make a ſhift to diſcover, this indeed is true, but ſeems to me to make little to our author's purpoſe, of ſeeing all things in God; and that "if we ſee not "all things, by the natural union of our minds, with the univerſal and infinite

“ we ſhould not have the liberty to think on all things,” as he expreſſeth it, p. 538. To explain himſelf farther, concerning this univerſal reaſon, or as he there calls it, by another name, “ order, p. 539. he ſays, that God contains “ in himſelf the perfections of all the creatures, that he has created, or can “ create, after an intelligible manner.” Intelligible to himſelf, that is true, but intelligible to men, at leaſt to me, that I do not find; unleſs by containing in himſelf the perfections, of all the creatures, be meant, that there is no perfection in any creature, but there is a greater in God, or that there is in God greater perfection than all the perfection in the creatures taken together. And therefore, tho’ it be true what follows in the next words, “ that it is by “ theſe intelligible perfections, that God knows the eſſence of every thing;” yet it will not follow from hence, or from any thing elſe that he has ſaid, that thoſe perfections in God, which contain in them the perfections of all the creatures, are the immediate objects of the mind of man, or that they are objects of the mind of man, that he can in them ſee the eſſences of the creatures. For I aſk, in which of the perfections of God does a man ſee the eſſence of a horſe, or an aſs, of a ſerpent or a dove, of hemlock or parſley? I, for my part, confeſs, I ſee not the eſſence of any of theſe things, in any of the perfections of God, which I have any notion of. For, indeed, I ſee not the diſtinct eſſence either of theſe things at all, or know wherein it conſiſts. And therefore I cannot comprehend the force of the inference, which follows in theſe words, “ then “ the intelligible ideas, or perfections, that are in God, which repreſent to us “ what is out of God, are abſolutely neceſſary and unchangeable.” That the perfections, that are in God, are neceſſary and unchangeable, I readily grant: but that the ideas, that are intelligible to God, or are in the underſtanding of God (for ſo we muſt ſpeak of him, whilſt we conceive of him, after the manner of men) can be ſeen by us; or, that the perfections, that are in God, repreſent to us the eſſences of things, that are out of God, that I cannot conceive. The eſſence of matter, as much as I can ſee of it, is extenſion, ſolidity, diviſibility and mobility; but in which of the perfections of God do I ſee this eſſence? To another man, as to our author perhaps, the eſſence of body is quite another thing; and when he has told us what to him is the eſſence of body, it will be, then, to be conſidered, in which of the perfections of God he ſees it. For example, let it be pure extenſion alone, the idea, then, that God had in himſelf of the eſſence of body, before body was created, was the idea of pure extenſion; when God then created body, he created extenſion; and then ſpace, which exiſted not before, began to exiſt. This, I confeſs, I cannot conceive; but we ſee in the perfections of God the neceſſary and unchangeable eſſences of things. He ſees one eſſence of body in God, and I another; which is that neceſſary and unchangeable eſſence of body, which is contained in the perfections of God, his, or mine? Or indeed how do, or can, we know there is any ſuch thing exiſting, as body at all? for we ſee nothing but the ideas that are in God; but body itſelf we neither do, nor can poſſibly ſee at all; and how then can we know that there is any ſuch thing exiſting, as body, ſince we can by no means ſee, or perceive, it by our ſenſes, which is all the way we can have of knowing any corporeal thing to exiſt? But it is ſaid, God ſhews us the ideas in himſelf, on occaſion of the preſence of thoſe bodies to our ſenſes. This is gratis dictum, and begs the thing in queſtion: and therefore I deſire to have it proved to me that they are preſent. I ſee the ſun, or an horſe; no, ſays our author, that is impoſſible, they cannot be ſeen, becauſe, being bodies, they cannot be united to my mind, and be preſent to it. But the ſun being riſen, and the horſe brought within convenient diſtance, and ſo being preſent to my eyes, God ſhews me their ideas in himſelf: And I ſay God ſhews me theſe ideas, when he pleaſes, without the preſence of any ſuch bodies to my eyes. For when I think I ſee a ſtar, at ſuch a diſtance from me, which truly I do not ſee, but the idea of it, which God ſhews me, I would have it proved to me, that there is ſuch a ſtar exiſting, a million of millions of miles from me, when I think I ſee it, more than when I dream of ſuch a ſtar. For until it be proved that there is a candle in the room, by which I write this, the ſuppoſition of my ſeeing in God the pyramidical idea of its flame, upon occaſion of the candle's being there, is begging what is in queſtion. And to prove to me, that God exhibts to me that idea, upon occaſion of the preſence of the candle, it muſt firſt be proved to me, that there is a candle there, which upon theſe principles can never be done.

FARTHER, we ſee the neceſſary and unchangeable eſſences of things in the perfections of God. Water, a roſe, and a lion, have their diſtinct eſſences one from another, and all other things; what I deſire to know are theſe diſtinct eſſences? I confeſs I neither ſee them in, nor out of God, and in which of the perfections of God do we ſee each of them?

Pag. 504. I FIND theſe words, "it is evident that the perfections, that are "in God, which repreſent created, or poſſible beings, are not at all equal: that "thoſe, for example, that repreſent bodies, are not ſo noble as thoſe, for example, that repreſent ſpirits; and amongſt thoſe themſelves, which repreſent "nothing but body, or nothing but ſpirits, there are more perfect one than "another, to infinity. This is conceiveable clearly, and without pain, tho' one "finds ſome difficulty to reconcile the ſimplicity of the divine being, with this "variety of intelligible ideas, which he contains in his wiſdom." This difficulty is to me inſurmountable, and I conclude it always ſhall be ſo, till I can find a way to make ſimplicity and variety the ſame. And this difficulty muſt always cumber this doctrine, which ſuppoſes that the perfections of God are the repreſentatives to us, of whatever we perceive of the creatures: for then thoſe perfections muſt be many, and diverſe, and diſtinct one from another, as thoſe ideas are, that repreſent the different creatures to us. And this ſeems to me to make God formally to contain in him all the diſtinct ideas of all the creatures, and that ſo, that they may be ſeen one after another. Which ſeems to me, after all the talk of abſtraction, to be but a little leſs groſs conception than of the ſketches of all the pictures, that ever a painter draws, kept by him in his cloſet, which are there all to be ſeen one after another, as he pleaſes to ſhew them. But, whilſt theſe abſtract thoughts produce nothing better than this, I the eaſier content myſelf with my ignorance, which roundly thinks thus; God is a ſimple being, omniſcient, that knows all things poſſible; and omnipotent, that can do, or make, all things poſſible. But how he knows, or how he makes, I do not conceive: his ways of knowing, as well as his ways of creating, are to me incomprehenſible; and if they were not ſo, I ſhould not think him to be God, or to be perfecter in knowledge than I am. To which our author's thoughts ſeem, in the cloſe of what is above-cited, ſomewhat to incline, when he ſays "the variety of intelligible ideas, which God contains in his wiſdom;" whereby he ſeems to place the variety of ideas in the mind, or thoughts of God, as we may ſo ſay, whereby it is hard to conceive, how we can ſee them, and not in the being of God, where they are to be ſeen, as ſo many diſtinct things in it.

A DISCOURSE OF MIRACLES.

TO diſcourſe of miracles, without defining what one means by the word miracle, is to make a ſhew, but in effect to talk of nothing.

A MIRACLE, then, I take to be a ſenſible operation, which, being above the comprehenſion of the ſpectator, and, in his opinion, contrary to the eſtabliſhed courſe of nature, is taken by him to be divine.

HE that is preſent at the fact, is a ſpectator: he that believes the hiſtory of the fact, puts himſelf in the place of a ſpectator.

THIS definition, it is probable, will not eſcape theſe two exceptions.

1. THAT hereby what is a miracle is made very uncertain; for it depending on the opinion of the ſpectator, that will be a miracle to one, which will not be ſo to another.

IN anſwer to which, it is enough to ſay, that this objection is of no force, but in the mouth of one, who can produce a definition of a miracle, not liable to the ſame exception, which I think not eaſy to do; for it being agreed, that a miracle muſt be that, which ſurpaſſes the force of nature in the eſtabliſhed, ſteady laws of cauſes and effects, nothing can be taken to be a miracle, but what is judged to exceed thoſe laws. Now every one being able to judge of thoſe laws, only by his own acquaintance with nature, and notions of its force (which are different in different men) it is unavoidable, that that ſhould be a miracle to one, which is not ſo to another.

2. ANOTHER objection to this definition will be, that the notion of a miracle, thus enlarged, may come ſometimes to take in operations that have nothing extraordinary, or ſupernatural, in them, and thereby invalidate the uſe of miracles, for the atteſting of divine revelation.

To which I anſwer, not at all, if the teſtimony, which divine revelation receives from miracles, be rightly conſidered.

To know that any revelation is from God, it is neceſſary to know that the meſſenger, that delivers it, is ſent from God, and that cannot be known but by ſome credential, given him by God himſelf. Let us ſeen then, whether miracles, in my ſenſe, be not ſuch credentials, and will not infallibly direct us right in the ſearch of divine revelation.

IT is to be conſidered, that divine revelation receives teſtimony from no other miracles, but ſuch as are wrought to witneſs his miſſion from God, who delivers the revelation. All other miracles, that are done in the world, how many, or great ſoever, revelation is not concerned in. Caſes wherein there has been, or can be need of miracles, for the confirmation of revelation, are fewer than perhaps is imagined. The heathen world, amidſt an infinite and uncertain jumble of deities, fables and worſhips, had no room for a divine atteſtation of any one againſt the reſt. Thoſe owners of many gods were at liberty in their worſhip; and no one of their divinities pretending to be the one, only, true God; no one of them could be ſuppoſed, in the pagan ſcheme, to make uſe of miracles to eſtabliſh his worſhip alone, or to aboliſh that of the other; much leſs was there any uſe of miracles to confirm any articles of faith, ſince no one of them had any ſuch to propoſe, as neceſſary to be believed by their votaries. And, therefore, I do not remember any miracles recorded in the Greek, or Roman writers, as done to confirm any one's miſſion and doctrine. Conformable hereunto we find St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. 22. takes notice that the Jews (it is true) required miracles, but as for the Greeks, they looked after ſomething elſe; they knew no need, or uſe, there was of miracles, to recommend any religion to them. And, indeed, it is an aſtoniſhing mark, how far the god of this world had blinded men's minds, if we conſider, that the Gentile world received and ſtuck to a religion, which, not being derived from reaſon, had no ſure foundation in revelation. They knew not its original, nor the authors of it, nor ſeemed concerned to know from whence it came, or by whoſe authority delivered; and ſo had no mention, or uſe, of miracles for its confirmation. For though there were, here and there, ſome pretences to revelation, yet there were not ſo much as pretences to miracles, that atteſted it.

If we will direct our thoughts, by what has been, we muſt conclude that miracles, as the credentials of a meſſenger, delivering a divine religion, have no place, but upon a ſuppoſition of one, only, true God; and that it is ſo, in the nature of the thing, and cannot be otherwiſe, I think will be made appear, in the ſequel of this diſcourſe. Of ſuch, who have come in the name of the one, only, true God, profeſſing to bring a law from him, we have in hiſtory a clear account but of three, viz. Moſes, Jeſus, and Mahomet. For what the Perſees ſay of their Zoroaſter, or the Indians of their Brama (not to mention all the wild ſtories of the religions farther eaſt) is ſo obſcure, or ſo manifeſtly fabulous, that no account can be made of it. Now of the three before-mentioned, Mahomet having none to produce, pretends to no miracles, for the vouching his miſſion; ſo that the revelations, that come atteſted by miracles, being only thoſe of Moſes and Chriſt, and they confirming each other, the buſineſs of miracles, as it ſtands really in matter of fact, has no manner of difficulty in it; and I think the moſt ſcrupulous, or ſceptical, cannot from miracles raiſe the leaſt doubt againſt the divine revelation of the Goſpel.

But ſince the ſpeculative and learned will be putting of caſes, which never were, and it may be preſumed never will be; ſince ſcholars and diſputants will be raiſing of queſtions, where there are none, and enter upon debates, whereof there is no need; I crave leave to ſay, that he, who comes with a meſſage from God, to be delivered to the world, cannot be refuſed belief, if he vouches his miſſion by a miracle; becauſe his credentials have a right to it. For every rational thinking man muſt conclude as Nicodemus did, "we know that thou "art a teacher come from God, for no man can do theſe ſigns which thou "doſt, except God be with him."

For example, Jeſus of Nazareth profeſſes himſelf ſent from God: he with a word calms a tempeſt at ſea, this one looks on as a miracle, and conſequently cannot but receive his doctrine: another thinks this might be the effect of chance, or ſkill in the weather, and no miracle, and ſo ſtands out; but afterwards ſeeing him walk on the ſea, owns that for a miracle, and believes: which yet upon another has not that force, who ſuſpects it may poſſibly be done by the aſſiſtance of a ſpirit: but yet the ſame perſon, ſeeing afterwards our Saviour cure an inveterate palſy, by a word, admits that for a miracle, and becomes a convert: another over-looking it in this inſtance, afterwards finds a miracle, in his giving ſight to one born blind, or in raiſing the dead, or his raiſing himſelf from the dead, and ſo receives his doctrine, as a revelation coming from God. By all which it is plain, that, where the miracle is admitted, the doctrine cannot be rejected; it comes with the aſſurance of a divine atteſtation, to him that allows the miracle, and he cannot queſtion its truth.

The next thing then is, "what ſhall be a ſufficient inducement to take any "extraordinary operation to be a miracle, i. e. wrought by God himſelf, for "the atteſtation of a revelation from him?

And to this I anſwer, the carrying with it the marks of a greater power, than appears in oppoſition to it. For,

1. First, This removes the main difficulty, where it preſſes hardeſt, and clears the matter from doubt, when extraordinary and ſupernatural operations are brought to ſupport oppoſite miſſions, about which methinks more duſt has been raiſed by men of leiſure, than ſo plain a matter needed. For ſince God's power is paramount to all, and no oppoſition can be made againſt him, with an equal force to his; and ſince his honour and goodneſs can never be ſuppoſed to ſuffer his meſſenger, and his truth, to be borne down, by the appearance of a greater power, on the ſide of an impoſtor, and in favour of a lie; wherever there is an oppoſition, and two, pretending to be ſent from heaven, claſh, the ſigns, which carry with them the evident marks of a greater power, will always be a certain and unqueſtionable evidence, that the truth and divine miſſion are on that ſide, on which they appear. For though the diſcovery, how the lying wonders are, or can be produced, be beyond the capacity of the ignorant, and often beyond the conception of the moſt knowing ſpectator, who is, therefore, forced to allow them, in his apprehenſion, to be above the force of natural cauſes and effects; yet he cannot but know, they are not ſeals ſet by God to his truth, for the atteſting of it, ſince they are oppoſed by miracles, that carry the evident marks of a greater and ſuperior power, and therefore they cannot at all ſhake the authority of one ſo ſupported. God can never be thought to ſuffer that a lie, ſet up in oppoſition to a truth coming from him, ſhould be backed with a greater power, than he will ſhew for the confirmation and propagation of a doctrine, which he has revealed, to the end it might be believed. The producing of ſerpents, blood and frogs, by the Egyptian ſorcerers and by Moſes, could not, to the ſpectators, but appear equally miraculous; which of the pretenders then had their miſſion from God, and the truth on their ſide, could not have been determined, if the matter had reſted there. But, when Moſes's ſerpent eat up their's, when he produced lice, which they could not, the deciſion was eaſy. It was plain Jannes and Jambres acted by an inferior power, and their operations, how marvelous and extraordinary ſoever, could not, in the leaſt, bring in queſtion Moſes's miſſion; that ſtood the firmer for this oppoſition, and remained the more unqueſtionable after this, than if no ſuch ſigns had been brought againſt it.

So likewiſe, the number, variety and greatneſs of the miracles, wrought for the confirmation of the doctrine delivered by Jeſus Chriſt, carry with them ſuch ſtrong marks of an extraordinary, divine power, that the truth of his miſſion will ſtand firm and unqueſtionable, till any one, riſing up in oppoſition to him, ſhall do greater miracles, than he and his apoſtles did. For any thing leſs will not be of weight to turn the ſcales, in the opinion of any one, whether of an inferior, or more exalted underſtanding. This is one of thoſe palpable truths and trials, of which all mankind are judges; and there needs no aſſiſtance of learning, no deep thought to come to a certainty in it. Such care has God taken that no pretended revelation ſhould ſtand in competition with what is truly divine, that we need but open our eyes, to ſee and be ſure which came from him. The marks of his over-ruling power accompany it; and, therefore, to this day we find, that wherever the Goſpel comes, it prevails to the beating down the ſtrong holds of Satan, and the diſlodging the prince of the power of darkneſs, driving him away, with all his lying wonders; which is a ſtanding miracle, carrying with it the teſtimony of ſuperiority.

What is the uttermoſt power of natural agents, or created beings, men of the greateſt reach cannot diſcover; but that it is not equal to God's omnipotency, is obvious to every one's underſtanding; ſo that the ſuperior power is an eaſy, as well as a ſure guide to divine revelation, atteſted by miracles, where they are brought as credentials to an embaſſy from God,

And thus, upon the ſame grounds of ſuperiority of power, unconteſted revelation will ſtand too.

For the explaining of which, it may be neceſſary to premiſe,

I. That no miſſion can be looked on to be divine, that delivers any thing derogating from the honour of the one, only, true, inviſible God, or inconſiſtent with natural religion and the rules of morality: becauſe, God having diſcovered to men the unity and majeſty of his eternal Godhead, and the truths of natural religion and morality by the light of reaſon, he cannot be ſuppoſed to back the contrary by revelation; for that would be to deſtroy the evidence and the uſe of reaſon, without which men cannot be able to diſtinguiſh divine revelation from diabolical impoſture.

2. That it cannot be expected that God ſhould ſend any one into the world, on purpoſe to inform men of things indifferent, and of ſmall moment, or that are knowable by the uſe of their natural faculties. This would be to leſſen the dignity of his majeſty in favour of our ſloth, and in prejudice to our reaſon.

3. The only caſe, then, wherein a miſſion of any one from heaven can be reconciled to the high and awful thoughts, men ought to have of the Deity, muſt be the revelation of ſome ſupernatural truths, relating to the glory of God, and ſome great concern of men. Supernatural operations, atteſting ſuch a revelation may, with reaſon, be taken to be miracles, as carrying the marks of a ſuperior and over-ruling power, as long as no revelation, accompanied with marks of a greater power, appears againſt it. Such ſupernatural ſigns may juſtly ſtand good, and be received for divine, i. e. wrought by a power ſuperior to all, till a miſſion, atteſted by operations of a greater force, ſhall diſprove them: becauſe it cannot be ſuppoſed, God ſhould ſuffer his prerogative to be ſo far uſurped by any inferior being, as to permit any creature, depending on him, to ſet his ſeals, the marks of his divine authority, to a miſſion coming from him. For, theſe ſupernatural ſigns being the only means, God is conceived to have, to ſatisfy men, as rational creatures, of the certainty of any thing he would reveal, as coming from himſelf, can never conſent, that it ſhould be wreſted out of his hands, to ſerve the ends and eſtabliſh the authority of an inferior agent that rivals him. His power being known to have no equal, always will, and always may be ſafely depended on, to ſhew its ſuperiority in vindicating his anthority, and maintaining every truth that he hath revealed. So that the marks of a ſuperior power accompanying it, always have been, and always will be a viſible and ſure guide to divine revelation; by which men may conduct themſelves, in their examining of revealed religions, and be ſatisfied which they ought to receive, as coming from God; though they have by no means ability preciſely to determine what is, or is not above the force of any created being; or what operations can be performed by none but a divine power, and require the immediate hand of the Almighty. And therefore we ſee it is by that, our Saviour meaſures the great unbelief of the Jews, John xv. 24, ſaying, "if I had not done among them the works, which no other man did, they had not had ſin; but now have they both ſeen and hated both me and my Father;" declaring, that they could not but ſee the power and preſence of God, in thoſe many miracles he did, which were greater than ever any other man had done. When God ſent Moſes to the children of Iſrael with a meſſage, that now, according to his promiſe, he would redeem them by his hand, out of Egypt, and furniſhed him with ſigns and credentials of his miſſion; it is very remarkable what God himſelf ſays of thoſe ſigns, Exod. iv. 8. "And it ſhall come to paſs, if they will not believe thee, nor hearken to the voice of the firſt ſign (which was turning his rod into a ſerpent) that they will believe the voice of the latter ſign (which was the making his hand leprous, by putting it in his boſom;) God farther adds, *v.* 9. "And it ſhall come to paſs, if they will not believe alſo theſe two ſigns, neither hearken unto thy voice, that thou ſhalt take of the water of the river and pour upon the dry land: and the water, which thou takeſt out of the river, ſhall become blood upon the dry land." Which of thoſe operations was, or was not, above the force of all created beings, will, I ſuppoſe, be hard for any man, too hard for a poor brick-maker to determine; and therefore the credit and certain reception of the miſſion, was annexed to neither of them, but the prevailing of their atteſtation was heightened by the increaſe of their number; two ſupernatural operations ſhewing more power than one, and three more than two. God allowed that it was natural, that the marks of greater power ſhould have a greater impreſſion on the minds and belief of the ſpectators. Accordingly the Jews, by this eſtimate judged of the miracles of our Saviour, John vii. 31. where we have this account, "And many of the people believed

"on him, and ſaid, when Chriſt cometh will he do more miracles than theſe, "which this man hath done?" This perhaps, as it is the plaineſt, ſo it is alſo the ſureſt way to preſerve the teſtimony of miracles in its due force, to all ſorts and degrees of people. For miracles being the baſis, on which the divine miſſion is always eſtabliſhed, and conſequently that foundation, on which the believers of any divine revelation muſt ultimately bottom their faith, this uſe of them would be loſt, if not to all mankind, yet at leaſt to the ſimple and illiterate (which is the far greateſt part) if miracles be defined to be none, but ſuch divine operations, as are in themſelves beyond the power of all created beings, or at leaſt operations, contrary to the fixed and eſtabliſhed laws of nature. For, as to the latter of thoſe, what are the fixed and eſtabliſhed laws of nature, philoſophers alone (if at leaſt they) can pretend to determine. And, if they are to be operations performable only by divine power, I doubt whether any man, learned or unlearned, can in moſt caſes be able to ſay, of any particular operation, that can fall under his ſenſes, that it is certainly a miracle. Before he can come to that certainty, he muſt know that no created being has a power to perform it. We know good and bad angels have abilities and excellencies, exceedingly beyond all our poor performances, or narrow comprehenſions. But to define, what is the utmoſt extent of power, that any of them has, is a bold undertaking of a man in the dark, that pronounces without ſeeing, and ſets bounds in his narrow cell, to things at an infinite diſtance from his model and comprehenſion.

Such definitions therefore of miracles, however ſpecious in diſcourſe and theory, fail us when we come to uſe, and an application of them in particular caſes. 170$\frac{2}{3}$.

"These thoughts concerning miracles, were occaſioned by my reading "Mr. Fleetwood's eſſay on miracles, and the letter writ to him on that ſubject. "The one of them defining a miracle to be an extraordinary operation performable by God alone: and the other writing of miracles, without any definition "of a miracle at all."

J. LOCKE.

Part of a Fourth

LETTER

FOR

TOLERATION, &c.

SIR,

A Freſh revival of the controverſy formerly between you and me, is what I ſuppoſe no body did expect from you after twelve years ſilence. But reputation (a ſufficient cauſe for a new war) as you give the world to underſtand, hath put reſolution into your heart, and arms into your hands, to make an example of me, to the ſhame and confuſion of all thoſe, who could be ſo injurious to you, as to think you could quit the opinion, you had appeared for in print, and agree with me in the matter of toleration. It is viſible how tender even men of the moſt ſettled calmneſs are in point of reputation, and it is allowed the moſt excuſable part of human frailty; and, therefore, no body can wonder to ſee a report thought injurious, laboured againſt with might and main, and the aſſiſtance and cauſe of religion itſelf taken in, and made uſe of, to put a ſtop to it. But yet, for all this, there are ſober men, who are of opinion, that it better becomes a Chriſtian temper, that diſputes, eſpecially of religion, ſhould be waged purely for the ſake of truth, and not for our own: ſelf ſhould have nothing to do in them. But ſince, as we ſee, it will crowd itſelf in, and be often the principal agent, your ingenuity, in owning what has brought you upon the ſtage again, and ſet you on work, after the eaſe and quiet you reſolutely maintained yourſelf in, ſo many years, ought to be commended, in giving us a view of the diſcreet choice you have made, of a method ſuited to your purpoſe, which you publiſh to the world in theſe words, p. 2. "being "deſirous to put a ſtop to a report ſo injurious (as well as groundleſs) as I look "upon this to be, I think it will be no improper way of doing it, if I thus "ſignify to you and the reader, that I find nothing more convincing in this "your long letter, than I did in your two former; giving withal a brief ſpecimen of the anſwerableneſs of it. Which I chooſe to do upon a few pages "at the beginning, where you have placed your greateſt ſtrength, or at leaſt "ſo much of it, as you think ſufficient to put an end to this controverſy."

Here we have your declaration of war, of the Grounds that moved you to it, and of your compendious way to aſſured victory, which, I muſt own, is very new and very remarkable. You chooſe a few pages out of the beginning of my third letter: in theſe, you ſay, "I have placed my greateſt ſtrength." So that, what I have there ſaid being baffled, it gives you a juſt triumph over my whole long letter; and all the reſt of it being but pitiful, weak, impertinent ſtuff, is by the overthrow of this forlorn hope fully confuted.

This is called anſwering by ſpecimen. A new way, which the world owes to your invention; an evidence that, whilſt you ſaid nothing, you did not ſpare thinking. And, indeed, it was a noble thought; a ſtratagem, which I believe ſcarce any other, but your ſelf, would have found out, in a meditation of twice twelve years, how to anſwer arguments, without ſaying a word to them, or ſo much as reciting them; and, by examining ſix or ſeven pages, in the beginning of a book, reduce to nothing above three hundred pages of it that follow. This is indeed a deciſive ſtroke, that lays all flat before you. Who can ſtand againſt ſuch a conqueror, who by barely attacking of one, kills an hundred? This would certainly be an admirable way, did it not degrade the conqueror, whoſe buſineſs is to do; and turn him into a mere talking gazeteer, whoſe boaſts are of no conſequence. For, after ſlaughter of foes, and routing of armies, by ſuch a dead-doing hand, no body thinks it ſtrange to find them all alive again, ſafe and ſound upon their feet, and in a poſture of defending themſelves. The event, in all ſorts of controverſies, hath often better inſtructed thoſe who have, without bringing it to trial, preſumed on the weakneſs of their adverſaries. However, this, which you have ſet up, of confuting without arguing, cannot be denied to be a ready way, and well thought on, to ſet you up high, and your reputation ſecure, in the thoughts of your believing readers, if that be (as it ſeems it is) your buſineſs: but, as I take it, tends not at all to the informing their underſtandings, and making them ſee the truth and grounds it ſtands on. That perhaps, is too much for the profane vulgar to know; it is enough for them, that you know it for them, and have aſſured them, that you can, when you pleaſe to condeſcend ſo far, confound all that any one offers againſt your opinion. An implicit faith, of your being in the right, and aſcribing victory to you, even in points, whereof you have ſaid nothing, is that which ſome ſort of men think moſt uſeful; and ſo their followers have but tongues for their champion to give him the praiſe and authority he aims at, 'tis no matter whether they have any eyes for themſelves to ſee on which ſide the truth lyes. Thus methinks you and I both find our account in this controverſy, under your management; you, in ſetting your reputation ſafe, from the blemiſh it would have been to it, that you were brought over to my opinion; and I, in ſeeing (if you will forgive me ſo preſumptuous a word) that you have left my cauſe ſafe, in all thoſe parts you have ſaid nothing to, and not very much damaged in that part you have attacked, as I hope to ſhew the indifferent reader. You enter upon your ſpecimen, p. 2. by minding me that I tell you, "that I doubt not but to let you ſee that, if you will be "true to your own principles, and ſtand to what you have ſaid, you muſt carry "ſome degrees of force to all thoſe degrees which in words you declare "againſt, even to the diſcipline of fire and faggot." And you ſay, "if I make "my word good you aſſure me you will carry a faggot yourſelf, to the burning "what you have written, for ſo unmerciful and outrageous a diſcipline: but "'till I have done that, you ſuppoſe the diſcipline, you have endeavoured to "defend, may remain ſafe and unhurt, as it is, in its own nature, harmleſs "and ſalutary to the world."

To promiſe fairly, is then the part of an honeſt man, when the time of performance is not yet come. But it falls out unluckily here; for you, who have undertaken, by anſwering ſome parts of my ſecond letter, to ſhew the anſwerableneſs of the whole, that, inſtead of anſwering, you promiſe to retract "if I make good my word, in proving upon your own principles, you muſt "carry your ſome degrees of force to fire and faggot."

Sir, my endeavours to make my word good, have lain before you a pretty competent time, the world is witneſs of it, and will, as I imagine, think it time for you, ſince you yourſelf have brought this queſtion upon the ſtage, either to acknowledge that I have made my word good, or, by invalidating my arguments, ſhew that I have not. He, that after a debt of ſo many years, only promiſes what brave things he will do hereafter, is hardly thought upon the exchange to do what he ought. The account in his hand requires to be made up and balanced; and that will ſhew, not what he is to promiſe, but, if he be a fair man, what he is to perform. If the ſchools make longer allowances of time, and admit evaſions for ſatisfaction, 'tis fit you uſe your privilege, and take more time to conſider; only I crave leave, in the mean while, to refer my reader to what I ſaid on this argument, chap. 4. of my third letter,

that

that he may have a view of your way of anſwering by ſpecimen, and judge whether all, that I have here urged, be anſwered, by what you ſay here, or what you promiſe here be ever like to be performed.

The next ſample you give, to ſhew the anſwerableneſs of my letter, is not much more lucky than the former; it may be ſeen, p. 3. and 4. where you ſay, that I tell you, p. 1. "that you have alter'd the queſtion;" for it ſeems, p. 26. you tell me the queſtion between us is, "whether the magiſtrate has any "right to uſe force, to bring men to the true religion? Whereas, p. 76. you "yourſelf, I ſay, own the queſtion to be, whether the magiſtrate has a right "to uſe force in matters of religion?" "Which affirmation of mine, you "muſt take leave to tell me, is a mere fiction; for neither p. 76. nor any "where elſe, do you own the queſtion to be what I ſay you do."

"And as to uſing force in matters of religion (which you ſay are my words, "not your's) if I mean by it the uſing force to bring men to any other religion, "beſides the true; you are ſo far from owning the queſtion to be, whether "the magiſtrate has a right to uſe force for ſuch a purpoſe, that you have "always thought it out of queſtion, that no man in the world, magiſtrate, or "other, can have any right to uſe either force, or any other means, that I can "name, to bring men to any falſe religion, how much ſoever he may per-"ſuade himſelf that it is true."

"It is not, therefore, from any alteration, but from the true ſtate of the "queſtion, that you take occaſion, as I complain without cauſe, to lay a load "on me, for charging you with the abſurdities of a power in the magiſtrates to "puniſh men, to bring them to their religion." "But, it ſeems, having little "to ſay againſt what you do aſſert, you ſay, I find it neceſſary my ſelf to alter "the queſtion, and to make the world believe, that you aſſert what you do not, "that I may have ſomething before me which I can confute."

In this paragraph you poſitively deny, that it is any where owned by you, as the queſtion between us, "whether the magiſtrate has a right of uſing force in "matters of religion?" Indeed theſe words are not, as they are cited in p. 76. of your former letter; but he that will turn over the leaf, may, in p. 78. read theſe words of your's, viz. that "you refer it to me, whether I in ſaying, no body "has a right, or you in ſaying, the magiſtrate has a right, in uſing force in "matters of religion, have moſt reaſon." Though you poſitively tell me, "that "neither p. 76. nor any where elſe, do you own the queſtion to be what I ſay "you do." And now let the reader judge between us. I ſhould not, perhaps, have ſo much as taken notice of this, but that you, who are ſo ſparing of your anſwer, that you think a brief ſpecimen upon ſome few pages of the beginning of my letter, ſufficient to confute all I have ſaid in it, do yet ſpend the better part of two pages on this: which if I had been miſtaken in, it had been of no great conſequence; of which I ſee no other uſe you have, but to caſt on me ſome civil reflections of your faſhion, and fix on me the imputation of fiction, mere fiction; a compliment which I ſhall not return you, tho' you ſay, "Using "force in matters of religion, are my words, not your's." Whether they are your words, or not, let p. 78. of your former letter decide, where you own your ſelf to ſay, that "the magiſtrate has a right to uſe force in matters of "religion." So that this, as I take it, is a ſpecimen of your being very poſitive in a miſtake, and about a plain matter of fact, about an action of your own, and ſo will ſcarce prove a ſpecimen of the anſwerableneſs of all I ſay in my letter, unleſs we muſt allow that truth and falſhood are equally anſwerable, when you declare againſt either of them.

The next part of your ſpecimen we have, p. 4, 5. where you tell me that I undertake to prove, that "If upon your grounds the magiſtrate be obliged to "uſe force to bring men to the true religion; it will neceſſarily follow, that "every magiſtrate, who believes his religion to be true, is obliged to uſe force "to bring men to his."

"Now becauſe this undertaking is ſo neceſſary for me; and my whole cauſe "ſeems to depend upon the ſucceſs of it: you ſhall the more carefully con-"ſider how well I perform it. But, before you do this, it will be fit to let me

" know, in what ſenſe you grant my inference, and in what ſenſe you deny " it. Now, that every magiſtrate, who upon juſt and ſufficient grounds be" lieves his religion to be true, is obliged to uſe ſome moderate penalties (which " is all the force, you ever contended for) to bring men to his religion, you " freely grant; becauſe that muſt needs be the true religion; ſince no other " can, upon ſuch grounds, be believed to be true. But that any magiſtrate, " who upon weak and deceitful grounds, believes a falſe religion to be true " (and he can never do it upon better grounds) is obliged to uſe the ſame " (or any other) means, to bring men to his religion, this you flatly deny; nor " can it, by any rules of reaſoning, be inferred from what you aſſert."

HERE you tell me you grant my inference in this ſenſe, viz. " that every " magiſtrate, who upon juſt and ſufficient grounds believes his religion to be " true, is bound to uſe force to bring men to it."

HERE you grant that every magiſtrate, without knowing that his religion is true, is obliged, upon his believing it to be true, to uſe force to bring men to it; indeed you add, " who believes it to be true upon juſt and ſufficient grounds:" ſo you have got a diſtinction, and that always ſets off a diſputant, tho' many times it is of no uſe to his argument. For here let me aſk you, who muſt be judge, whether the grounds, upon which he believes his religion to be true, be juſt and ſufficient? Muſt the magiſtrate himſelf judge for himſelf, or muſt you judge for him? a third competitor in this judgment I know not where you will find, for your turn. If every magiſtrate muſt judge for himſelf, whether the grounds, upon which he believes his religion to be true, are juſt and ſufficient grounds, your limitation of the uſe of force to ſuch only as believe upon juſt and ſufficient grounds, bating that it is an ornament to your ſtyle and learning, might have been ſpared, ſince it leaves my inference untouched, in the full latitude I have expreſſed it, concerning every magiſtrate, there not being any one magiſtrate excluded thereby, from an obligation to uſe force, to bring men to his own religion, by this your diſtinction. For if every magiſtrate, who upon juſt and ſufficient grounds believes his religion to be true, be obliged to uſe force, to bring men to his religion, and every magiſtrate be himſelf judge, whether the grounds he believes upon, be juſt and ſufficient; it is viſible every magiſtrate is obliged to uſe force, to bring men to his religion: ſince any one, who believes any religion to be true, cannot but judge the grounds, upon which he believes it to be true, are juſt and ſufficient: for if he judged otherwiſe, he could not then believe it to be true. If you ſay, you muſt judge for the magiſtrate, then what you grant is this, that every magiſtrate who, upon grounds that you judge to be juſt and ſufficient, believes his religion to be true, is obliged to uſe force to bring men to his religion. If this be your meaning, as it ſeems not much remote from it, you will do well to ſpeak it out, that the magiſtrates of the world may know whom to have recourſe to, in the difficulty you put upon them, in declaring them under an obligation to uſe force, to bring men to the true religion; which they can neither certainly know, nor muſt venture to uſe force to bring men to, upon their own perſuaſion of the truth of it, when they have nothing but one of theſe two, viz. knowledge or belief, that the religion they promote is true, to determine them. Neceſſity has at laſt (unleſs you would have the magiſtrate act in the dark, and uſe his force wholly at random) prevailed on you to grant, that the magiſtrate may uſe force to bring men to that religion, which he believes to be true; but ſay you, " his belief muſt be upon juſt and ſufficient grounds." The ſame neceſſity remaining ſtill, muſt prevail with you to go one ſtep farther, and tell me whether the magiſtrate himſelf muſt be judge, whether the grounds, upon which he believes his religion to be true, be juſt and ſufficient: or whether you are to be judge for him? If you ſay the firſt, my inference ſtands good, and this queſtion, I think, is yielded, and at an end. If you ſay, you are to be judge for the magiſtrates, I ſhall congratulate to the magiſtrates of the world the way you have found out for them, to acquit themſelves of their duty, if you will but pleaſe to publiſh it, that they may know where to find you; for in truth, ſir, I prefer you, in this caſe, to the Pope; though you know that old gentleman at Rome has long ſince laid claim to all deciſions of this kind, and alledges infallibility for the ſupport of his title; which, indeed, will ſcarce be able to ſtand at Rome, or any where elſe, without the help of infallibility. But of this perhaps more in the next paragraph.

You go on with your ſpecimen in your next paragraph, p. 5. which I ſhall crave leave of my reader to ſet down at large, it being a moſt exact and ſtudied piece of artificial fencing, wherein, under the cover of good words, and the appearance of nice thinking, nothing is ſaid; and therefore may deſerve to be kept, not as a ſpecimen of your anſwering; for, as we ſhall ſee, you anſwer nothing, but as a ſpecimen of your ſkill, in ſeeming to ſay ſomething, where you have nothing to anſwer. You tell me that I ſay, p. 2. that "I ſuppoſe that you will "grant me "(what he muſt be a hard man, indeed, that will not grant)" "that any thing laid upon the magiſtrate as a duty, is ſome way or other "practicable. Now the magiſtrate being obliged to uſe force in matters of religion, "but yet ſo as to bring men only to the true religion, he will not be in any "capacity to perform this part of his duty, unleſs the religion he is to promote, be "what he can certainly know, or elſe what it is ſufficient for him to believe to "be the true: either his knowledge, or his opinion, muſt point out that religion "to him, which he is by force to promote." "Where, if by knowing, or "knowledge, I mean the effect of ſtrict demonſtration; and by believing or "opinion, any ſort of aſſent or perſuaſion, how ſlightly ſoever grounded: then "you muſt deny the ſufficiency of my diviſion; becauſe there is a third ſort, or "degree, of perſuaſion, which, though not grounded upon ſtrict "demonſtration; yet in firmneſs and ſtability, does far exceed that, which is built upon "ſlight appearances of probability; being grounded upon ſuch clear and ſolid "proof, as leaves no reaſonable doubt, in an attentive and unbyaſſed mind: "ſo that it approaches very near to that, which is produced by demonſtration, "and is therefore, as it reſpects religion, very frequently and familiarly called "in ſcripture, not faith, or belief only, but knowledge, and in divers places, "full aſſurance; as might eaſily be ſhewn, if that were needful. Now this "kind of perſuaſion, this knowledge, this full aſſurance, men may, and ought "to have, of the true religion: but they can never have it, of a falſe one. And "this it is, that muſt point out that religion to the magiſtrate, which he is to "promote, by the method you contend for."

Here the firſt thing you do, is to pretend an uncertainty of what I mean by "knowing or knowledge, and by believing or opinion." Firſt, as to knowledge, I have ſaid "certainly know." I have called it "viſion, knowledge and "certainty, knowledge properly ſo called." And for believing or opinion, I ſpeak of believing with aſſurance, and ſay, that believing in the higheſt degree of aſſurance is not knowledge. That whatever is not capable of demonſtration, is not, unleſs it be ſelf-evident, capable to produce knowledge, how well grounded and great ſoever the aſſurance of faith may be, wherewith it is received. That I grant, that a ſtrong aſſurance of any truth, ſettled upon prevalent and well-grounded arguments of probability, is often called knowledge, in popular ways of talking; but being here to diſtinguiſh between knowledge and belief, to what degrees of confidence ſoever raiſed, their boundaries muſt be kept, and their names not confounded, with more to the ſame purpoſe, p. 2, 3 and 4. whereby it is ſo plain, that by knowledge I mean the effect of ſtrict demonſtration; and by believing or opinion, I mean any degree of perſuaſion, even to the higheſt degree of aſſurance; that I challenge you your ſelf to ſet it down, in plainer and more expreſs terms. But no body can blame you, for not finding your adverſary's meaning, let it be ever ſo plain, when you can find nothing to anſwer to it. The reaſon, therefore, which you allege, for the denying the ſufficiency of my diviſion, is no reaſon at all. Your pretended reaſon is becauſe there is "a third "ſort, or degree, of perſuaſion; which, though not grounded upon ſtrict "demonſtration; yet in firmneſs and ſtability does far exceed that, which is built "upon ſlight appearances of probability," &c. Let it be ſo, that there is a degree of perſuaſion, not grounded upon ſtrict demonſtration, far exceeding that which is built upon ſlight appearances of probability. But let me aſk you, what reaſon can this be to deny the ſufficiency of my diviſion, becauſe there is, as you ſay, a third ſort or degree of perſuaſion, when even that, which you call this third ſort or degree of perſuaſion, is contained in my diviſion? This is a ſpecimen indeed, not of anſwering what I have ſaid, but of not anſwering; and for ſuch I leave it to the reader. “A degree of perſuaſion, though not grounded on ſtrict demonſtration, yet in firmneſs or ſtability far exceeding that, which is built upon ſlight appearances of probability, you call here a third ſort, or degree of perſuaſion.” Pray tell me which are the two other ſorts; for knowledge upon ſtrict demonſtration, is not belief or perſuaſion, but wholly above it. Beſides, if the degrees of firmneſs in perſuaſion make different ſorts of perſuaſion, there are not only three, but three hundred ſorts of perſuaſion; and therefore the naming of your third ſort was with little ground, and to no purpoſe, or tendency to an anſwer; though the drawing in ſomething like a diſtinction be always to the purpoſe of a man, who hath nothing to anſwer, it giving occaſion for the uſe of many good words; which, though nothing to the point, ſerve to cover the diſputant's ſaying nothing under the appearance of learning, to thoſe who will not be at the pains to examine what he ſays.

You ſay, “every magiſtrate is, by the law of nature, under an obligation to uſe force, to bring men to the true religion.” To this I urge, that the magiſtrate hath nothing elſe to determine him, in the uſe of force, for promotion of any religion, one before another, but only his own belief, or perſuaſion of the truth of it. Here you had nothing to do, but fairly to grant, or deny; but inſtead thereof, you firſt raiſe a groundleſs doubt, as I have ſhewn, about my meaning, whereof there could be no doubt at all, to any one who would but read what I had ſaid; and thereupon, having got a pretence for a diſtinction, you ſolemnly tell the world, “there is a third ſort of perſuaſion, which though not grounded on ſtrict demonſtration; yet in firmneſs and ſtability, does far exceed, that which is built upon ſlight appearances of probability, leaving no doubt, approaching near to knowledge, being full aſſurance.” Well, the magiſtrate hath a “perſuaſion of firmneſs and ſtability, has full aſſurance;” muſt he be determined by this his full aſſurance, in the promoting of that religion by force, of whoſe truth he is, in ſo high a degree of perſuaſion, ſo fully aſſured? “No, ſay you, it muſt be grounded upon ſuch clear and ſolid proof, as leaves no reaſonable doubt, in an attentive and unbyaſſed mind.” To which the magiſtrate is ready to reply, that he, upon his grounds, can ſee no reaſonable doubt, and that his is an attentive and unbyaſſed mind, of all which he himſelf is to be judge, till you can produce your authority to judge for him; though in the concluſion, you actually make your ſelf judge for him. “It is ſuch a kind of perſuaſion, ſuch a full aſſurance muſt point out to the magiſtrate that religion, he is to promote by force, which can never be had, but of the true religion:” which is, in effect, as every one may ſee, the religion, that you judge to be true, and not the religion the magiſtrate judges to be true. For pray tell me, muſt the magiſtrate's full aſſurance point out to him the religion, which he is by force to promote, or muſt he by force promote a religion, of whoſe truth he hath no belief, no aſſurance at all? If you ſay the firſt of theſe, you grant that every magiſtrate muſt uſe force, to promote his own religion, for that is the religion, whereof he has ſo full aſſurance, that he ventures his eternal ſtate upon it. “Ay, ſay you, that is for want of attention, and becauſe he is not unbyaſſed.” It is like he will ſay the ſame of you, and then you are quits. And that he ſhould by force promote that religion, which he believes not to be true, is ſo abſurd, that I think you can neither expect it, nor bring your ſelf to ſay it. Neither of theſe, therefore, being anſwers, that you can make uſe of, that which lyes at the bottom, though you give it but covertly, is this, “that the magiſtrate ought by force to promote the religion that you believe with full aſſurance to be true.” This would do admirably well for your purpoſe, were not the magiſtrate intitled to aſk, “who made you a judge for him in the caſe?” And ready to retort your own words upon you, that it is want of attention and unbyaſſedneſs in you, that puts your religion paſt doubt with you, upon your proofs of it. Try when you pleaſe with a Bramin, a Mahometan, a Papiſt, Lutheran, Quaker, Anabaptiſt, Preſbyterian, for you will find, if you argue with them, as you do here with me, that the matter will reſt here between you, and that you are no more a judge for any of them, than they are for you. Men in all religions have equally ſtrong perſuaſions, and every one muſt judge for himſelf; nor can any one judge for another, and you laſt of all for the magiſtrate; that the ground you build upon, that "firmneſs and ſtability of perſuaſion, in the higheſt degree of aſſurance, leaves no "doubt, can never be had of a falſe religion," being falſe, all your talk of full aſſurance, pointing out to the magiſtrate the true religion, that he is obliged by force to promote, amounts to no more but his own religion, and can point out no other to him.

However, in the next paragraph you go on with your ſpecimen, and tell me, "hence appears the impertinency of all I diſcourſe, p. 2, 3, 4. concerning "the difference between faith and knowledge: where the thing, I was con"cerned to make out, if I would ſpeak to the purpoſe, was no other but this, "that there are as clear and ſolid grounds for the belief of falſe religions, as there "are for the belief of the true; or, that men may both as firmly and as rationally "believe and embrace falſe religions, as they can the true." "This, you con"feſs, is a point, which, you ſay, when I have well cleared and eſtabliſhed it, "will do my buſineſs; but nothing elſe will. And, therefore my talk of faith "and knowledge, however it may amuſe ſuch, as are prone to admire all that I "ſay, will never enable me, before better judges, from the duty of every ma"giſtrate, to uſe moderate penalties for promoting the true religion, to infer the "ſame obligation to lie upon every magiſtrate, in reſpect to his own religion, "whatever it be."

Where the impertinency lyes, will be ſeen, when it is remembered, that the queſtion between us is not, what religion has the moſt clear and ſolid grounds, for the belief of it, much leſs, whether "there are as clear and ſolid grounds, "for the belief of falſe religions, as there are for the belief of the true," i. e. whether falſhood has as much truth in it, as truth itſelf? A queſtion which, I gueſs, no man, but one of your great pertinency, could ever have propoſed. But the queſtion here, between you and me, is, what muſt point out to the magiſtrate that religion, which he is by force to promote, that ſo he may be able to perform the duty, that you pretend is incumbent on him, by the law of nature; and here I proved, that, having no certain demonſtrative knowledge of the true religion, all that was left him to determine him in the application of force (which you make the proper inſtrument of promoting the true religion) for the promoting the true religion, was only his perſuaſion, belief, or aſſurance of the true religion, which was always his own: and ſo in this ſtate, the religion, which by force the magiſtrates of the world muſt of neceſſity promote, muſt be either their own, or none at all. Thus the argument ſtanding between us, I am apt to think the world may be of opinion, that it had been pertinent to your cauſe, to have anſwered my argument, if you had any thing to anſwer; which ſince you have not done, this ſpecimen alſo of the facility, wherewith you can anſwer all I have ſaid in the third letter, may be joined to the former, and be a ſpecimen of ſomething elſe, than what you intended it. For in truth, ſir, the endeavouring to ſet up a new queſtion, abſurd in itſelf, and nothing at all to the purpoſe, without offering any thing, to clear the difficulty you were preſſed with, will, to underſtanding readers, appear pertinent in one that ſets himſelf up for an arrant drawcanſir, and is giving ſpecimens of himſelf, that nothing can ſtand in his way.

It is with the ſame pertinency that, to this propoſition, "that there are as clear "and ſolid grounds for the belief of a falſe religion, as there are for the belief of "the true," you join this following as an equivalent, "or that men may both as "firmly and as rationally believe and embrace falſe religions, as they can the true;" and you would fain have it thought that your cauſe is gained, unleſs I will maintain theſe two abſurd propoſitions, which my argument has nothing to do with. And you ſeem to me to build upon theſe two falſe propoſitions.

I. That, in the want of knowledge and certainty, of which is the true religion, nothing is fit to ſet the magiſtrate upon doing his duty, in employing of force, to make men conſider and embrace the true religion, but the higheſt perſuaſion and full aſſurance of its truth. Whereas his own perſuaſion of the truth of his own religion, in what degree ſoever it be, ſo he believes it to be true, will, if he thinks it his duty by force to promote the true, be ſufficient to ſet him on work. Nor can it be otherwiſe, ſince his own perſuaſion of his own religion, which he judges ſo well grounded, as to venture his future ſtate upon it, cannot but be ſufficient to ſet him upon doing what he takes to be his duty, in bringing others to the ſame religion.

II. ANOTHER falſe ſuppoſition you build upon, is this, that the true religion is always embraced with the firmeſt aſſent. There is ſcarce any one ſo little acquainted with the world, that hath not met with inſtances of men, moſt unmoveably confident, and fully aſſured in a religion, which was not the true. Nor is there, among the many abſurd religions of the world, almoſt any one, that does not find votaries to lay down their lives for it; and if that be not firm perſuaſion and full aſſurance, that is ſtronger than the love of life, and has force enough to make a man throw himſelf into the arms of death, it is hard to know what is firm perſuaſion and full aſſurance. Jews and Mahometans have frequently given inſtances of this higheſt degree of perſuaſion. And the Bramins religion in the eaſt is entertained, by its followers, with no leſs aſſurance of its truth, ſince it is not unuſual for ſome of them to throw themſelves under the wheels of a mighty chariot, wherein they, on ſolemn days, draw the image of their God about in proceſſion, there to be cruſhed to death, and ſacrifice their lives in honour of the God they believe in. If it be objected, that thoſe are examples of mean and common men, but the great men of the world, and the heads of ſocieties, do not ſo eaſily give themſelves up to a confirmed bigotry. I anſwer, the perſuaſion they have of the truth of their own religion, is viſibly ſtrong enough to make them venture themſelves, and uſe force to others upon the belief of it. Princes are made like other men, believe upon the like grounds that other men do, and act as warmly upon that belief, though the grounds of their perſuaſion be in themſelves not very clear, or may appear to others to be not of the utmoſt ſolidity. Men act by the ſtrength of their perſuaſion, though they do not always place their perſuaſion and aſſent on that ſide, on which in reality the ſtrength of truth lies. Reaſons, that are not thought of, not heard of, not rightly apprehended nor duly weighed, make no impreſſion on the mind: and truth, how richly ſoever ſtored with them, may not be aſſented to, but lye neglected. The only difference between princes and other men, herein, is this, that princes are uſually more poſitive in matters of religion, but leſs inſtructed. The ſoftneſs and pleaſures of a court, to which they are uſually abandoned when young, and affairs of ſtate, which wholly poſſeſs them when grown up, ſeldom allow any of them time to conſider and examine, that they may embrace the true religion. And here your ſcheme, upon your own ſuppoſition, has a fundamental error that over-turns it. For you affirming that force, your way applied, is the neceſſary and competent means to bring men to the true religion, you leave magiſtrates deſtitute of theſe neceſſary and competent means of being brought to the true religion, though that be the readieſt way, in your ſcheme, the only way, to bring other men to it, and is contended for by you as the only method.

BUT farther, you will perhaps be ready to reply, that you do not ſay barely, that men may not as firmly, but that they cannot as firmly and as rationally believe and embrace falſe religions as they can the true: this, be it as true as it will, is of no manner of advantage to your cauſe. For here the queſtion, neceſſary to be conſidered in your way of arguing, returns upon you, "who muſt "be the judge whether the magiſtrate believes and embraces his religion ra-"tionally, or no?" If he himſelf be judge, then he does act rationally, and it muſt have the ſame operation on him, as if it were the moſt rational in the world: if you muſt be judge for him, whether his belief be rational or no, why may not others judge for him, as well as you: or at leaſt he judge for you, as well as you for him; at leaſt till you have produced your patent of infallibility, and commiſſion of ſuperintendency over the belief of the magiſtrates of the earth, and ſhewn the commiſſion, whereby you are appointed the director of the magiſtrates of the world, in their belief, which is or is not the true religion;

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ligion; do not think this ſaid without cauſe, your whole diſcourſe here has no other tendency, but the making your ſelf judge of what religion ſhould be promoted by the magiſtrate's force; which, let me tell you, by the way, every warm zealot in any religion, has as much a right to be as you. I beſeech you tell me, are you not perſuaded, nay, fully aſſured, that the church of England is in the right, and all that diſſent from her are in the wrong? Why elſe would you have force uſed to make them conſider and conform? If then the religion of the church of England be, as you are fully aſſured, the only true religion, and the magiſtrate muſt ground his perſuaſion of the truth of his religion, on ſuch clear and ſolid proofs, as the true religion alone has, and no falſe one can have, and by that perſuaſion the magiſtrate muſt be directed in the uſe of force (for all this in effect, you ſay, in the ſixth and beginning of the ſeventh pages) what is this but covertly to ſay, that it is the duty of all magiſtrates to uſe force, to bring men to embrace the religion of the church of England? Which ſince it plainly follows from your doctrine, and I think you cannot deny to be your opinion, and what in effect you contend for, you will do well to ſpeak it out, in plain words, and then there will need no more to be ſaid in the queſtion.

And now I deſire it may be conſidered, what advantage this ſuppoſition of force, which is ſuppoſed, put into the magiſtrate's hands, by the law of nature, to be uſed in religion, brings to the true religion, five hundred of which muſt unavoidably, in the ſtate of things in the world, act againſt it, for one that uſes force for it. I ſay, that this uſe of force in the magiſtrate's hand is barely ſuppoſed by you, from the benefit it is like to produce; but it being demonſtration, that the prejudice that will accrue to the true religion, from ſuch a uſe of force, is five hundred times more than the advantages can be expected from it, the natural and unavoidable inference, from your own ground of benefit, is, that God never gave any ſuch power to the magiſtrate; and there it will reſt, 'till you can, by ſome better argument, prove the magiſtrate to have ſuch a power: to which give me leave to add one word more.

You ſay the magiſtrate is obliged by the law of nature to uſe force to promote the true religion; muſt he ſtand ſtill and do nothing, till he certainly know which is the true religion? if ſo, the commiſſion is loſt, and he can never do his duty; for to certain knowledge of the true religion he can in this world never arrive. May he then act upon "firm perſuaſion and full aſſurance, "grounded upon ſuch clear and ſolid proofs, as the true religion alone has, and "no falſe one can have?" And then, indeed, you have diſtinguiſhed yourſelf into a ſafe retreat. For who can doubt but your third ſort, or degree of perſuaſion, if that be your meaning, will determine the magiſtrate to the true religion, when it is grounded on thoſe, which are the proofs only of the true religion, which if it be all that you intend, by your full aſſurance (which is the title you give to this your third ſort or degree of perſuaſion) I muſt deſire you to apply this, in anſwer to my argument. I ſay, magiſtrates in general have nothing to determine them, in their application of force, but their own perſuaſion; and your anſwer is, the magiſtrates of the true religion have their own perſuaſion to determine them; but of all the other magiſtrates, which are above an hundred, I might ſay a thouſand to one, you ſay nothing at all? and thus, by the help of a diſtinction, the queſtion is reſolved. I ſay the magiſtrates are not in a capacity to perform their duty, if they be obliged to uſe force, to promote the true religion; ſince they have nothing to determine them, but their own perſuaſion of the truth of any religion; which, in the variety of religions which the magiſtrates of the world have embraced, cannot direct them to the true. Yes, ſay you, their perſuaſion, who have embraced the true religion, will direct them to the true religion. Which amounts at laſt to no more but this, that the magiſtrate that is in the right, is in the right. A very true propoſition without doubt; but whether it removes the difficulty I propoſed, any better than begging the queſtion, you were beſt conſider. There are five hundred magiſtrates of falſe religions for one that is of the true; I ſpeak much within compaſs; 'tis a duty incumbent on them all, ſay you, to uſe force to bring

bring men to the true religion. My queſtion is, how can this be compaſſed by men who are unavoidably determined by the perſuaſion of the truth of their own religion? 'Tis anſwered they, who are of the true religion, will perform their duty. A great advantage, ſurely, to true religion, and worth the contending for, that it ſhould be the magiſtrate's duty to uſe force, for promoting the true religion, when, in the ſtate of things that is at preſent in the world, and always hitherto has been, one magiſtrate in five hundred will uſe force, to promote the true religion, and the other four hundred ninety nine, to promote falſe ones.

BUT perhaps, you will tell me, that you do not allow that magiſtrates, who are of falſe religions, ſhould be determined by their own perſuaſions, which are "built upon ſlight appearances of probability; but ſuch as are grounded upon "clear and ſolid proofs," which the true religion alone has. In anſwer to this, I aſk, who muſt be judge, whether his perſuaſion be grounded on clear and ſolid proofs; the magiſtrate himſelf, or you for him? If the magiſtrate himſelf, then we are but where we were; and all that you ſay here, with the diſtinction that you have made, about ſeveral ſorts of perſuaſion, ſerves only to lead us round about to the ſame place: for the magiſtrate, of what religion ſoever, muſt, notwithſtanding all you have ſaid, be determined by his own perſuaſion. If you ſay, you muſt be judge of the clearneſs and ſolidity of the proofs, upon which the magiſtrate grounds the belief of his own religion, it is time you ſhould produce your patent, and ſhew the commiſſion whereby you act.

THERE are other qualifications you aſſign of the proof, on which you tell us "your third ſort or degree of perſuaſion is grounded; and that is ſuch as leaves "no reaſonable doubt, in an attentive and unbiaſſed mind;" which unleſs you muſt be judge what is a reaſonable doubt, and which is an attentive and unbiaſſed mind, will do you no manner of ſervice. If the magiſtrate muſt be judge for himſelf in this caſe, you can have nothing to ſay to him; but if you muſt be judge, then any doubt about your religion will be unreaſonable, and his not embracing and promoting your religion will be want of attention and an unbiaſſed mind. But let me tell you, give but the ſame liberty of judging, for the magiſtrate of your religion, to the men of another religion, which they have as much right to, as you have to judge for the magiſtrate of any other religion, in the points mentioned, all this will return upon you. Go into France, and try whether it be not ſo. So that your plea for the magiſtrate's uſing force, for promoting the true religion, as you have ſtated it, gives as much power and authority to the king of France to uſe it againſt his diſſenting ſubjects, as to any other prince in Chriſtendom, to uſe it againſt their's; name which you pleaſe.

THE fallacy in making it the magiſtrate's duty to promote by force the only true religion, lyes in this, that you allow yourſelf to ſuppoſe the magiſtrate, who is of your religion, to be well-grounded, attentive and unbiaſſed, and fully and firmly aſſured that his religion is true: but that other magiſtrates of other religions, different from your's, are not ſo. Which what is it, but to erect yourſelf into a ſtate of infallibility above all other men, of different perſuaſions from your's, which yet they have as good a title to, as yourſelf?

HAVING thus advanced yourſelf into the chair, and given yourſelf the power of deciding for all men, which is, and which is not the true religion, it is not to be wondred, that you ſo roundly pronounce all my diſcourſe, p. 2, 3, 4. "concerning the difference between faith and knowledge, to be impertinency;" and ſo magiſterially to tell me, "that the thing, I was there concerned to make "out, if I would ſpeak to the purpoſe, was no other but this, that there are as "clear and as ſolid grounds for the belief of falſe religions, as there are for belief "of the true, or, that men may, both as firmly and as rationally, believe and "embrace falſe religions, as they can the true."

THE impertinency, in theſe two or three pages, I ſhall leave to ſhift for itſelf, in the judgment of any indifferent reader, and will only, at preſent, examine what you tell "I was concerned to make out, if I would ſpeak to the "purpoſe."

My buſineſs there was to prove, that the magiſtrate being taught that it was his duty to uſe force, to promote the true religion, it would thence unavoidably follow, that not having knowledge of the truth of any religion, but only belief that it was true, to determine him in his application of force, he would take himſelf in duty bound to promote his own religion by force; and thereupon force would inevitably be uſed, to promote falſe religions, upon thoſe very grounds, upon which you pretend to make it ſerviceable only to the true: and this, I ſuppoſe, I have in thoſe pages evidently proved, tho' you think not fit to give any other anſwer to what I there ſay, but that it is impertinent; and I ſhould have proved ſomething elſe, which you would have done well, by a plain and clear deduction, to have ſhewn from my words.

[The two following leaves of the copy are either loſt, or miſlaid.]

After this new invention of your's, “of anſwering by ſpecimen,” ſo happily found out for the eaſe of yourſelf and other diſputants of renown, that ſhall pleaſe to follow it, I cannot preſume, you ſhould take notice of any thing I have to ſay: you have aſſumed the privilege, by ſhewing your ſtrength againſt one argument, to pronounce all the reſt baffled; and therefore, to what purpoſe is it to offer difficulties to you, who can blow them all off with a breath? But yet, to apologize for myſelf to the world, for being of opinion, that it is not always from want of conſideration, attention, or being unbiaſſed, that men with firmneſs of perſuaſion embrace, and with full aſſurance adhere to the wrong ſide, in matters of religion; I ſhall take the liberty to offer the famous inſtance of the two Raynolds, brothers, both men of learning and parts, whereof the one being of the church of England, and the other of the church of Rome, they both ſo deſiring each other's converſion to the religion which he himſelf was of, that they writ to one another about it; and with ſuch appearance of ſolid and clear grounds on both ſides, that they were wrought upon by them: each changed his religion, and that with ſo firm a perſuaſion, and full an aſſurance of the truth of that, which he turned to; that no endeavours or arguments, of either of them, could ever after move the other, or bring him back from what he had perſuaded him to. If now I ſhall aſk, to which of theſe two, full aſſurance pointed out the true religion? You no doubt, if you would anſwer at all, would ſay, to him that embraced that of the church of England, and a Papiſt would ſay the other: but if an indifferent man were aſked, whether this full aſſurance was ſufficient to point out the true religion to either of them, he muſt anſwer, no; for if it were, they muſt neceſſarily have been both of the ſame religion.

To ſum up, then, what you anſwer to my ſaying, “it cannot be the magiſtrate's duty to uſe force to promote the true religion, becauſe he is not in a capacity to perform that duty; for not having a certain knowledge, but only his own perſuaſion, to point out to him which is the true religion, if he be ſatiſfied it is his duty to uſe force, to promote the true religion, it will inevitably follow, that he muſt always uſe it to promote his own.” To which you anſwer, that a perſuaſion of a low degree is not ſufficient to point out that religion to the magiſtrate, which he is to promote by force; but that a “firmneſs and ſtability of perſuaſion, a full aſſurance is that, which is to point out to the magiſtrate that religion, which he is by force to promote.” Where, if, by firmneſs and ſtability of perſuaſion and full aſſurance, you mean what the words import, 'tis plain you confeſs the magiſtrate's duty is to promote his own religion by force; for that is the religion, which his firm perſuaſion and full aſſurance points out to him. If by full aſſurance you mean any thing but the ſtrength of perſuaſion, you contradict all that you have ſaid, about firmneſs and ſtability, and degrees of perſuaſion, and having in that ſenſe allowed the ſufficiency of my diviſion, where I ſay, “knowledge, or opinion, muſt point out that religion to him, which he is by force to promote;” retract it again, and inſtead thereof, under the name of full aſſurance, you ſubſtitute and put in true religion, and ſo firmneſs of perſuaſion is in effect laid by, and nothing but the name made uſe of; for pray tell me, is firmneſs of perſuaſion, or being of the true religion, either of them, by itſelf, ſufficient to point out to the magiſtrate that religion, which it is his duty to promote by force? For they do not always go together. If being of the true religion by itſelf may do it, your mentioning firmneſs of perſuaſion, grounded on ſolid proof that leaves no doubt, is to no purpoſe, but to miſlead your reaſon; for every one, that is of the true religion, does not arrive at that high degree of perſuaſion, that full aſſurance, which approaches that, which is very near to that which is produced by demonſtration. And in this ſenſe, of full aſſurance, which you ſay men may have of the true religion, and can never have of a falſe one, your anſwer amounts to this, that full aſſurance, in him that embraces the true religion, will point out the religion he is by force to promote: where 'tis plain, that, by fulneſs of aſſurance, you do mean not the firmneſs of his perſuaſion, that points out to him the religion, which he is by force to promote (for any lower degree of perſuaſion, to him that embraces the true religion, would do it as certainly; and to one that embraces not the true religion, the higheſt degree of perſuaſion would, even in your opinion, do nothing at all) but his being of the true religion, is that which alone guides him to his duty, of promoting the true religion by force. So that to my queſtion, "how ſhall a magiſtrate, who is perſuaded that it is his, and every magiſtrate's "duty to promote the true religion by force, be determined in his uſe of force?" you ſeem to ſay his firm perſuaſion, or full aſſurance of the truth of the religion, he ſo promotes, muſt determine him; and preſently, in other words, you ſeem to lay the ſtreſs upon his actually being of the true religion. The firſt of theſe anſwers is not true; for I have ſhewn, that firmneſs of perſuaſion may and does point out, to magiſtrates, falſe religions, as well as the true: and the ſecond is much-what the ſame, as if to one, who ſhould aſk, what ſhould enable a man to find the right way, who knows it not, it ſhould be anſwered, the being in it. One of theſe muſt be your meaning, (chooſe which you pleaſe of them) if you have any meaning at all, in your ſixth, and beginning of the ſeventh page, to which I refer the reader; where if he find nothing elſe, he cannot fail to find a ſpecimen of ſchool-play, of talking uncertainly in the utmoſt perfection, nicely and artificially worded, that it may ſerve for a ſpecimen of a maſter-piece in that kind; but a ſpecimen of the anſwerableneſs of my letter will require, as I imagine, a little more plain dealing. And to ſatisfy readers, that have not attained to the admiration of ſkilfully ſaying nothing; you muſt directly inform them, whether firmneſs of perſuaſion be, or be not ſufficient in a magiſtrate, to enable him to do his duty, in promoting the true religion by force, or elſe this you have pitched on will ſcarce be a ſample of the anſwerableneſs of all I have ſaid.

BUT you ſtand poſitive in it, and that is like a maſter, that it cannot be inferred from the magiſtrate's being obliged to promote by force the true religion, that every magiſtrate is obliged to promote, by force, his own religion. And that for the ſame reaſon you had given before, more perplexed and obſcurely, viz. "Becauſe there is this perpetual advantage on the ſide of the true religion, "that it may and ought to be believed on clear and ſolid grounds, ſuch as will "appear the more ſo, the more they are examined: whereas no other religion "can be believed ſo, but upon ſuch appearances only as will not bear a juſt "examination."

THIS would be an anſwer to what I have ſaid, if it were ſo, that all magiſtrates ſaw the preponderancy of the grounds of belief, which are on the ſide of the true religion; but ſince it is not the grounds and reaſons of a truth that are not ſeen, that do or can ſet the magiſtrate upon doing his duty in the caſe; but it is the perſuaſion of the mind, produced by ſuch reaſons and grounds as do affect it, that alone does, or is capable, to determine the magiſtrate in the uſe of force, for performing of his duty; it neceſſarily follows, that if two magiſtrates have equally ſtrong perſuaſions, concerning the truth of their religions reſpectively, they muſt both be ſet on work thereby, or neither; for though one be of a falſe, and the other of the true religion; yet the principle of operation, that alone which they have to determine them, being equal in both, they muſt both be determined by it; unleſs it can be ſaid, that one of them muſt act according to that principle, which alone can determine, and the other muſt act againſt it; that is, do what he cannot do; be determined to one thing, by what at the ſame time determines him to another. From which incapacity in magiſtrates to perform their duty by force, to promote the true religion, I think it may juſtly be concluded, that to uſe force for the promoting any religion, cannot be their duty.

You tell us, it is by the law of nature magiſtrates are obliged to promote the true religion by force. It muſt be owned, that if this be an obligation of the law of nature, very few magiſtrates over-look it, ſo forward are they to promote that religion by force, which they take to be true. This being the caſe, I beſeech you tell me what was Huaina Capac, Emperor of Peru, obliged to do? Who, being perſuaded of his duty to promote the true religion, was not yet within diſtance of knowing, or ſo much as hearing of the Chriſtian religion, which really is the true, (ſo far was he from a poſſibility to have his belief, grounded upon the ſolid and clear proofs of the true religion.) Was he to promote the true religion by force? That he neither did, nor could know any thing of, ſo that was morally impoſſible for him to do. Was he to ſit ſtill in the neglect of his duty incumbent on him? That is in effect to ſuppoſe it a duty, and no duty, at the ſame time. If upon his not knowing which is the true religion, you allow it his duty to promote it by force, the queſtion is at an end: you and I are agreed, that it is not the magiſtrate's duty by force to promote the true religion. If you hold it in that caſe to be his duty: what remains for him to do, but to uſe force to promote that religion, which he himſelf is ſtrongly, nay perhaps to the higheſt degree of firmneſs, perſuaded is the true? Which is the granting what I contend for, that, if the magiſtrate be obliged to promote by force the true religion, it will thence follow, that he is obliged to promote by force that religion which he is perſuaded is the true; ſince, as you will have it, force was given him to that end, and it is his duty to uſe it, and he hath nothing elſe to determine it to that end, but his own perſuaſion. So that one of theſe two things muſt follow, either that in that caſe it ceaſes to be his duty, or elſe he muſt promote his own religion; chooſe you which you pleaſe ⁂

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

Relating to the

LIFE

OF

ANTHONY firſt Earl of Shafteſbury.

To which are added,

Three LETTERS writ by the E. of Shafteſbury while Priſoner in the Tower; one to King Charles II; another to the Duke of York; and a third to a noble Lord: found with Mr. Locke's MEMOIRS, &c.

BEING at Oxford in the beginning of the civil war, (for he was on that ſide, as long as he had any hopes to ſerve his country there) he was brought one day to King Charles I. by the Lord Falkland his friend, then ſecretary of ſtate, and preſented to him, as having ſomething to offer to his Majeſty, worth his conſideration. At this audience he told the King that he thought he could put an end to the war, if his Majeſty pleaſed, and would aſſiſt him in it. The King anſwered, that "he was a very young man for ſo "great an undertaking." "Sir, replied he, that will not be the worſe for "yours affairs, provided I do the buſineſs;" whereupon the King ſhewing a willingneſs to hear him, he diſcourſed to him to this purpoſe.

THE gentlemen and men of eſtates, who firſt engaged in this war, ſeeing now, after a year or two, that it ſeems to be no nearer the end, than it was at firſt, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well ſatisfied, would be glad to be at quiet at home again, if they could be aſſured of a redreſs of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties ſecured to them. This, I am ſatisfied, is the preſent temper, generally through all England, and particularly in thoſe parts, where my eſtate and concerns lye; if therefore your Majeſty will impower me to treat with the parliament-garriſons to grant them a full and general pardon, with an aſſurance that a general amneſty (arms being laid down on both ſides) ſhould re-inſtate all things in the ſame poſture they were before the war, and then a free parliament ſhould do what more remained to be done for the ſettlement of the nation.

THAT he would begin and try the experiment, firſt in his own country, and doubted not, but the good ſucceſs he ſhould have there, would open him the gates of other adjoining garriſons, bringing them the news of peace and ſecurity, in laying down their arms.

BEING furniſhed with full power, according to his deſire, away he goes to Dorſetſhire, where he managed a treaty with the garriſons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorcheſter, and others; and was ſo ſucceſsful in it, that one of them was actually put into his hands, as the other were to have been, ſome few days after. But Prince Maurice, who commanded ſome of the King's forces, being with his army then in thoſe parts, no ſooner heard that the town was ſurrendered, but he preſently marched into it, and gave the pillage of it to his ſoldiers. This Sir A. ſaw with the utmoſt diſpleaſure, and could not forbear to expreſs his reſentments to the prince; ſo that there paſſed ſome pretty hot words between them; but the violence was committed, and thereby his deſign broken. All that he could do was, that he ſent to the other garriſons, he was in treaty with, to ſtand upon their guard, for that he could not ſecure his articles to them, and ſo this deſign proved abortive and died in ſilence. Prince Maurice.

THIS project of his for putting an end to a civil war, which had ſufficiently haraſſed the kingdom, and no body could tell what fatal conſequence it might have, being thus fruſtrated, it was not long before his active thoughts, always intent upon ſaving his country (the good of that being that, by which he ſteered his counſels and actions, through the whole courſe of his life) it was not long, before he ſet his head upon framing another deſign, to the ſame purpoſe. The firſt project of it took its riſe in a debate between him and ſerjeant Fountain, in an inn at Hungerford, where they accidentally met, and both diſliking the continuance of the war, and deploring the ruin it threatned, it was ſtarted between them, that the countries all through England ſhould arm and endeavour to ſuppreſs the armies on both ſides. This propoſal, which, in one night's debate, looked more like a well-meant wiſh than a formed deſign, he afterwards conſidered more at leiſure, framed and faſhioned into a well-ordered and practical contrivance, and never left working in it, till he had brought moſt of the ſober and well-intentioned gentlemen of both ſides, all through England, into it. This was that, which gave riſe to that third ſort of army, which of a ſudden ſtarted up in ſeveral parts of England, with ſo much terror to the armies both of King and parliament, and had not ſome of thoſe who had engaged in it, and had undertaken to riſe at the time appointed, failed, the clubmen, for ſo they were called, had been ſtrong enough to carry their point, which was to make both ſides lay down their arms, and if they would not do it, to force them to it; to declare for a general amneſty, to have the then parliament diſſolved, and to have a new one called for redreſſing the grievances, and ſettling the nation. This undertaking was not a romantick fancy, but had very promiſing grounds of ſucceſs; for the yeomanry and body of the people had ſuffered already very much by the war, and the gentry and men of eſtates had abated much of their fierceneſs, and wiſhed to return to their former eaſe, ſecurity and plenty, eſpecially perceiving that the game, particularly on the King's ſide, began to be played out of their hands, and that it was the ſoldiers of fortune, who were beſt looked upon at court, and had the commands and power put into their hands. Clubmen.

HE had been for ſome time before in Dorſetſhire, forming and combining the parts of this great machine, till at length he got it to begin to move. But thoſe, who had been forward to enter into the deſign, not being ſo vigorous and reſolute, when the time was to appear and act; and the court, who had learnt, or ſuſpected, that it had its riſe and life from him, having ſo ſtrict an eye upon him, that he could not maintain correſpondence with diſtant countries, and animate the ſeveral parts as it was neceſſary, before it was his time to ſtir, he received a very civil and more than ordinary letter from the King, to come to him at Oxford; but he wanted not friends there, to inform him of the danger it would be to him to appear there, and to confirm him in the ſuſpicion, that the King's letter put him in, that there was ſomething elſe meant him, and not ſo much kindneſs as that expreſſed. Beſides, the lord Goring, who lay with an army in thoſe parts, had orders from court to ſeize him, and had civilly ſent him word, that he would come ſuch a day and dine with him. All this together made him ſee, that he could be no longer ſafe at home, nor in the King's quarters; he therefore went, whither he was driven, into the Parliament quarters, and took ſhelter in Portſmouth. Thus, for endeavouring to ſave his King and country, he was baniſhed from the ſide he had choſen. And the court, that was then in high hopes of nothing leſs than perfect conqueſt, and being maſters of all, had a great averſion to moderate counſels, and to thoſe of the nobility and gentry of their party, who were authors, or favourers, of any ſuch propoſals, as might bring things to a compoſition. Such well-wiſhers to their country, though they had ſpent much, and ventured all on the King's ſide, when they appeared for any other end of the war, but dint of arms, and a total reduction of the parliament by force, were counted enemies; and any contrivance, carried on to that end, was interpreted treaſon.

A PERSON of his conſideration thus rejected and caſt off by the King, and taking ſanctuary with them, was received by the parliament with open arms; and though he came in from the other ſide, and put himſelf into their hands, without any terms; yet there were thoſe among them, that ſo well knew his worth, and what value they ought to put upon it, that he was ſoon after offered conſiderable employments under them, and was actually truſted with command, without ſo much as ever being queſtioned concerning what he knew of perſons, or counſels, on the other ſide, where they knew that his great penetration and forward mind, would not let him live in ignorance among the great men, who were moſt of them his friends, and all his acquaintance.

BUT though he was not ſuffered to ſtay among thoſe, with whom he had embarked, and had lived in confidence with, and was forced to go over to the parliament, he carried thither himſelf only, and nothing of any body's elſe; he left them and all their concerns, actions, purpoſes, counſels perfectly behind him, and no body of the King's ſide could complain of him, after the day he went from his houſe, where he could be no longer ſafe, that he had any memory of what he had known, when one of them.

THIS forgetfulneſs ſo becoming a gentleman, and a man of honour, he had eſtabliſhed ſo firmly in his own mind, that his reſolution to perſiſt in it was like afterwards to coſt him no little trouble. Mr. Denzil Hollis (afterwards the Lord Hollis) had been one of the commiſſioners, employed by the parliament in the treaty at Uxbridge, he had there had ſome ſecret and ſeparate tranſactions with the King; this could not be kept ſo ſecret, but that it got ſome vent, and ſome of the parliament had ſome notice of it. Mr. Hollis being afterwards attacked in parliament, by a contrary party, there wanted nothing perfectly to ruin him, but ſome witneſs to give credit to ſuch an accuſation againſt him. Sir A. Aſhley Cooper they thought fit for their purpoſe, they doubted not but he knew enough of it, and they made ſure that he would not fail to embrace ſuch a fair and unſought-for opportunity of ruining Mr. Hollis, who had been long his enemy, upon a family-quarrel, which he had carried ſo far, as, by his power in the houſe, to hinder him from ſitting in the parliament, upon a fair election for that parliament. Upon this preſumption he was ſummoned to the houſe, and being called in, was there aſked, whether when he was at Oxford he knew not, or had not heard ſomething concerning Mr. Hollis's ſecret tranſaction with the King, at the treaty at Uxbridge. To this queſtion he told them he could anſwer nothing at all; for though poſſibly what he had to ſay would be to the clearing of Mr. Hollis; yet he could not allow himſelf to ſay any thing in the caſe, ſince whatever anſwer he made, it would be a confeſſion that, if he had known any thing to the diſadvantage of Mr. Hollis, he would have taken that diſhonourable way of doing him a prejudice, and wreak his revenge on a man, that was his enemy.

THOSE, who had brought him there, preſſed him mightily to declare, but in vain, though threats were added of ſending him to the tower. He perſiſting obſtinately ſilent was bid to withdraw, and thoſe, who had depended upon his diſcovery, being defeated, and conſequently very much diſpleaſed, moved warmly for his commitment; of which he, waiting in the lobby, having notice, unmoved expected his doom, though ſeveral of his friends coming out, were earneſt with him to ſatisfy the houſe; but he kept firm to his reſolution, and found friends enough, among the great men of the party that oppoſed Mr. Hollis, to bring him off; who very much applauded the generoſity of his carriage, and ſhewed that action ſo much to deſerve the commendation, rather than the cenſure of that aſſembly, that the angry men were aſhamed to inſiſt farther on it, and ſo dropped the debate.

SOME days after Mr. Hollis came to his lodging, and having, in terms of great acknowledgement and eſteem, expreſſed his thanks for his late behaviour in the houſe, with reſpect to him: he replied, that he pretended not thereby to merit any thing of him, or to lay an obligation on him; that what he had done, was not out of any conſideration of him, but what was due to himſelf, and he ſhould equally have done, had any other man been concerned in it, and therefore he was perfectly as much at liberty as before, to live with him as he pleaſed. But withal, that he was not ſo ignorant of Mr. Hollis's worth, nor knew ſo little how to put a juſt value on his friendſhip, as not to receive it, as a very great and ſenſible favour, if he thought him a perſon worthy on whom to beſtow it. Mr. Hollis, not leſs taken with his diſcourſe, than what had occaſioned it, gave him freſh and repeated aſſurances of his ſincere and hearty friendſhip, which were received with ſuitable expreſſions. And thus an old quarrel between two men of high ſpirits and great eſtates, neighbours in the ſame county, ended in a ſound and firm friendſhip, which laſted as long as they lived.

THIS paſſage brings to my mind what I remember to have often heard him ſay, concerning a man's obligation to ſilence, in regard of diſcourſe made to him, or in his preſence: that it was not enough to keep cloſe and uncommunicated what had been committed to him with that caution, but there was a general and tacit truſt in converſation, whereby a man was obliged not to report again any thing, that might be any way to the ſpeaker's prejudice, tho' no intimation had been given of a deſire not to have it ſpoken again.

HE was wont to ſay, that wiſdom lay in the heart and not in the head, and that it was not the want of knowledge, but the perverſeneſs of the will, that filled men's actions with folly, and their lives with diſorder.

THAT there was in every one, two men, the wiſe and the fooliſh, and that each of them muſt be allowed his turn. If you would have the wiſe, the grave, and the ſerious always to rule and have the ſway, the fool would grow ſo peeviſh and troubleſom, that he would put the wiſe man out of order, and make him fit for nothing: he muſt have his times of being let looſe to follow his fancies, and play his gambols, if you would have your buſineſs go on ſmoothly.

I HAVE heard him alſo ſay, that he deſired no more of any man but that he would talk: if he would but talk, ſaid he, let him talk as he pleaſes. And indeed, I never knew any one penetrate ſo quick into men's breaſts, and from a ſmall opening, ſurvey that dark cabinet, as he would. He would underſtand men's true errand, as ſoon as they had opened their mouths, and begun their ſtory, in appearance to another purpoſe.

SIR Richard Onſlow and he were invited by Sir J. D. to dine with him at Chelſea, and deſired to come early, becauſe he had an affair of concernment to communicate to them. They came at the time, and being ſat, he told them he had made choice of them both for their known abilities, and particular friendſhip to him, for their advice in a matter of the greateſt moment to him that could be. He had, he ſaid, been a widower for many years, and began to want ſome body, that might eaſe him of the trouble of houſe-keeping, and take ſome care of him under the growing infirmities of old age; and to that purpoſe had pitched upon a woman, very well known to him, by the experience of many years, in fine, his houſe-keeper. Theſe gentlemen, who were not ſtrangers to his family, and knew the woman very well, and were beſides very great friends to his ſon and daughter, grown up, and both fit for marriage, to whom they thought this would be a very prejudicial match, were both in their minds oppoſite to it; and to that purpoſe Sir Richard Onſlow began the diſcourſe; wherein, when he came to that part, he was entring upon the deſcription of the woman, and going to ſet her out in her own colours, which were ſuch as could not have pleaſed any man in his wife. Sir Anthony ſeeing whither he was going, to prevent any miſchief, begged leave to interrupt him, by aſking Sir J. a queſtion, which in ſhort was this, "whether he "were not already married?" Sir J. after a little demur, anſwered, "yes truly, "he was married the day before." Well then, replied Sir Anthony, there is no more need of our advice; pray let us have the honour to ſee my Lady and wiſh her joy, and ſo to dinner. As they were returning to London in their coach, I am obliged to you, ſaid Sir Richard, for preventing my running into a diſcourſe, which could never have been forgiven me, if I had ſpoke out, what I was going to ſay. But as for Sir J. he methinks ought to cut your throat for your civil queſtion. How could it poſſibly enter into your head to aſk a man, who had ſolemnly invited us on purpoſe to have our advice, about a marriage he intended, had gravely propoſed the woman to us, and ſuffered us ſeriouſly to enter into the debate, "whether he were already married, or no?" The man, and the manner, replied Sir Anthony, gave me a ſuſpicion that, having done a fooliſh thing, he was deſirous to cover himſelf with the authority of our advice. I thought it good to be ſure, before you went any farther, and you ſee what came of it. This afforded them entertainment, till they came to town, and ſo they parted.

SOON after the reſtoration of King Charles II. the Earl of Southampton and he having dined together at the Chancellor's, as they were returning home, he ſaid to my Lord Southampton, yonder Mrs. Ann Hide (for ſo as I remember he ſtiled her) is certainly married to one of the brothers. The Earl, who was a friend to the Chancellor, treated this as a chimæra, and aſked him how ſo wild a fancy could get into his head? Aſſure your ſelf, ſir, replied he, it is ſo. A concealed reſpect, however ſuppreſſed, ſhewed itſelf ſo plainly in the looks, voice and manner, wherewith her mother carved to her, or offered her of every diſh, that it is impoſſible but it muſt be ſo. My Lord S, who thought it a groundleſs conceit then, was not long after convinced, by the Duke of York's owning her, that Lord Aſhley was no bad gueſſer.

I SHALL give one inſtance more of his great ſagacity, wherein it proved of great uſe to him, in a caſe of mighty conſequence. Having reaſon to apprehend what tyranny the uſurpation of the government, by the officers of the army, under the title of the committee of ſafety, might end in; he thought the firſt ſtep to ſettlement was the breaking of them, which could not be done, with any pretence of authority, but that of the long parliament. Meeting, therefore, ſecretly with Sir Arthur Haſelrig, and ſome others of the members, they gave commiſſions in the name of the parliament to be major-general, one of the forces about London, another of the weſt, &c. and this when they had not one ſoldier. Nay, he often would tell it laughing, that, when he had his commiſſion, his great care was where to hide it. Before this he had ſecured Portſmouth; for the governor of it, Col. Metham, being his old acquaintance and friend, he aſked him one day, meeting him by chance in Weſtminſter-Hall, whether he would put Portſmouth into his hands, if he ſhould happen to have an occaſion for it? Metham promiſed it ſhould be at his devotion. Theſe tranſactions, though no part of them were known in particular, yet cauſing ſome remote preparations, alarmed Wallingford-houſe, where the committee of ſafety ſat, and made them ſo attentive to all actions and diſcoveries, that might give them any light, that at laſt they were fully perſuaded there was ſomething a brewing againſt them, and that matter for commotions in ſeveral parts was gathering. They knew the vigour and activity of Sir A. Aſhley, and how well he ſtood affectionated to them, and therefore ſuſpected, that he was at the bottom of this matter. To find what they could, and ſecure the man they moſt apprehended, he was ſent for to Wallingford-houſe, where Fleetwood examined him, according to the ſuſpicions he had of him; that he was laying deſigns in the weſt againſt them, and was working the people to an inſurrection, that he intended to head there. He told them, he knew no obligation he was under, to give them an account of his actions, nor to make them any promiſes; but to ſhew them how ill-grounded their ſuſpicions were, he promiſed, that he would not go out of town, without coming firſt and giving him an account of it. Fleetwood, knowing his word might be relied on, ſatisfied with the promiſe he had made, let him go upon his parole. That which deceived them in the caſe, was, that knowing his eſtate and intereſt lay in the weſt, they preſumed, that that was his poſt, and there certainly if any ſtir was, he would appear, ſince there lay his great ſtrength, and they had no body elſe in view, who could ſupply his room, and manage that part. But they were miſtaken; Haſelrig, upon the knowledge that they ſhould have Portſmouth, forwardly took that province; and he, who had inſtruments at work in the army, quartered in and about London, and knew that muſt be the place of moſt buſineſs and management, and where the turn of affairs would be, had choſen that.

LAMBERT, who was one of the rulers at Wallingford-houſe, happened to be away, when he was there, and came not in, till he was done: when they told him, that Sir A. Aſhley had been there, and what had paſſed, he blamed Fleetwood for letting him go, and told him they ſhould have ſecured him, for that certainly there was ſomething in it, that they were deceived in, and they ſhould not have parted ſo eaſily, with ſo buſy and dangerous a man as he was. Lambert was of a quicker ſight, and a deeper reach than Fleetwood, and the reſt of that gang, and knowing of what moment it was to their ſecurity, to fruſtrate the contrivances of that working and able head, was reſolved, if poſſibly he could, to get him into his clutches.

SIR A. A. coming home to his houſe in —— ſtreet in Covent-Garden one evening, found a man knocking at his door. He aſked his buſineſs; the man anſwered, it was with him, and fell a diſcourſing with him. Sir A. A. heard him out, and gave him ſuch an anſwer as he thought proper, and ſo they parted, the ſtranger out of the entry where they ſtood, into the ſtreet, and Sir A. A. along the entry into the houſe, but gueſſing by the ſtory the other told him, that the buſineſs was but a pretence, and that his real errand he came about, was ſomething elſe; when he parted from the fellow went inwards, as if he intended to go into the houſe, but as ſoon as the fellow was gone, turned ſhort, and went out, and went to his barber's, which was but juſt by; where he was no ſooner got in, and got up ſtairs into a chamber, but his door was beſet with muſketeers, and the officer went in too, with others, to ſeize him; but not finding him, they ſearched every corner and crany of the houſe diligently, the officer declaring he was ſure he was in the houſe, for he had left him there juſt now; as was true, for he had gone no farther than the corner of the half-moon-tavern, which was juſt by, to fetch a file of ſoldiers, that he had left there in the ſtrand, out of ſight, whilſt he went to diſcover whether the gentleman, he ſought, were within or no; where doubting not to find him ſafely lodged, he returned with his myrmidons to his houſe, ſure, as he thought, of his prey; but Sir A. A. ſaw through his made ſtory, and gave him the ſlip. After this he was fain to get out of the way and conceal himſelf under a diſguiſe; but he hid himſelf not lazily in a hole, he made war upon them at Wallingford-houſe incognito, as he was, and made them feel him, though he kept out of ſight. . . . . Several companies of their ſoldiers drew up in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, without their officers, and there put themſelves under the command of ſuch officers, as he appointed them. The city began to rouſe itſelf, and to ſhew manifeſt ſigns of little regard to Wallingford-houſe, and he never left working, till he had raiſed a ſpirit and ſtrength enough to declare openly for the old parliament, as the only legal authority then in England, which had any pretence to claim, and take on them, the government. For Portſmouth being put into the hands of Sir Arthur Haſelrig, and the city ſhewing their inclination, the countries readily took into it, and by their concurrent weight reinſtated the excluded members, in their former adminiſtration. This was the firſt open ſtep he made, towards the wreſting the civil power out of the hands of the army; who having thought Richard, Oliver's ſon, unworthy of it, had taken it to themſelves, executed by a committee of their own officers, where Lambert, who had the chief command and influence in the army, had placed it, till he had modelled things among them, ſo as might make way, for his taking the ſole adminiſtration into his own hands; but Sir A. A. found a way to ſtrip him of that, as ſoon as the parliament was reſtored.

THE firſt thing he did, was to get from them a commiſſion to himſelf, and two or three more of the moſt weighty and popular members of the houſe, to have the power of general of all the forces in England, which they were to execute jointly. This was no ſooner done, but he got them together, where he had provided abundance of clerks, who were immediately ſet to work, to tranſcribe a great many copies of the form of a letter, wherein they reciting, that it had pleaſed God to reſtore the parliament to the exerciſe of their power, and that the parliament had given to them a commiſſion to command the army, they therefore commanded him (viz. the officer, to whom the letter was directed) immediately with his troop, company, or regiment, as it happened, to march to N. Theſe letters were directed to the chief officer of any part of the army, who had their quarters together in any part of England. Theſe letters were diſpatched away by particular meſſengers that very night, and coming to the ſeveral officers ſo peremptorily to march immediately, they had not time to aſſemble and debate among themſelves what to do; and having no other intelligence but that the parliament was reſtored, and that the city, and Portſmouth, and other parts of England had declared for them; the officers durſt not diſobey, but all, according to their ſeveral orders, marched, ſome one way, and ſome another; ſo that this army, which was the great ſtrength of the gentlemen of Wallingford-houſe, was by this means quite ſcattered and rendered perfectly uſeleſs to the committee of ſafety, who were hereby perfectly reduced under the power of the parliament, as ſo many diſarmed men, to be diſpoſed of, as they thought fit.

IT is known, that whilſt the long parliament remained entire, Mr. Denzil Hollis was the man of the greateſt ſway in it, and might have continued it on, if he would have followed Sir A. A's advice. But he was a haughty, ſtiff man, and ſo, by ſtraining it a little too much, loſt all.

FROM the time of their reconcilement already mentioned, they had been very hearty friends; it happened one morning, that Sir A. A. calling upon Mr. Hollis, in his way to the houſe, as he often did, he found him in a great heat againſt Cromwell, who had then the command of the army, and a great intereſt in it. The provocation may be read at large in the pamphlets of that time, for which Mr. Hollis was reſolved, he ſaid, to bring him to puniſhment. Sir A. A. diſſuaded him, all he could, from any ſuch attempt, ſhewing him the danger of it, and told him it would be ſufficient to remove him out of the way, by ſending him with a command into Ireland. This Cromwell, as things ſtood, would be glad to accept; but this would not ſatisfy Mr. Hollis. When he came to the houſe, the matter was brought into debate, and it was moved, that Cromwell, and thoſe guilty with him, ſhould be puniſhed. Cromwell, who was in the houſe, no ſooner heard of this, but he ſtole out, took horſe, and rode immediately to the army, which, as I remember, was at Triploe heath; there he acquainted them, what the Preſbyterian party was a doing in the houſe, and made ſuch uſe of it to them, that they, who were before in the power of the parliament, now united together under Cromwell, who immediately led them away to London, giving out menaces againſt Hollis and his party, as they marched, who, with Stapleton and ſome others, were fain to fly, and thereby the independent party becoming the ſtronger, they, as they called it, purged the houſe, and turned out all the Preſbyterian party. Cromwell, ſome time after, meeting Sir A. A. told him, I am beholden to you for your kindneſs to me, for you, I hear, were for letting me go without puniſhment, but your friend, God be thanked, was not wiſe enough to take your advice.

MONK, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, and the removal of Richard, marching with the army he had with him, into England, gave fair promiſes, all along in his way to London, to the rump that were then ſitting, who had ſent commiſſioners to him that accompanied him. When he was come to town, though he had promiſed fair to the rump and commonwealth party on one hand, and gave hopes to the royaliſts on the other; yet at laſt agreed with the French ambaſſador to take the government on himſelf, by whom he had promiſe from Mazarine of aſſiſtance from France, to ſupport him in this undertaking. This bargain was ſtruck up between them late at night, but not ſo ſecretly, but that his wife, who had poſted herſelf conveniently behind the hangings, where ſhe could hear all that paſſed, finding what was reſolved, ſent her brother Clarges away immediately, with notice of it to Sir A. A. She was zealous for the reſtoration of the King, and had therefore promiſed Sir A. to watch her huſband, and inform him, from time to time, how matters went. Upon this notice Sir A. cauſed the council of ſtate, whereof he was one to be ſummoned, and when they were met, he deſired the clerks might withdraw, he having matters of great importance to communicate to them. The doors of the council chamber being locked, and the keys laid upon the table, he began to charge Monk not in a direct and open accuſation, but in obſcure intimations, and doubtful expreſſions, giving ground of ſuſpicion, that he was playing falſe with them, and not doing as he promiſed. This he did ſo ſkilfully and intelligibly to Monk, that he perceived he was diſcovered, and therefore in his anſwer to him fumbled and ſeemed out of order; ſo that the reſt of the council perceived there was ſomething in it, though they knew not what the matter was; and the general at laſt averring, that what had been ſuggeſted was upon groundleſs ſuſpicions, and that he was true to his principles, and ſtood firm to what he had profeſſed to them, and had no ſecret deſigns that ought to diſturb them, and that he was ready to give them all manner of ſatisfaction: whereupon Sir A. A. cloſing with him, and making a farther uſe of what he had ſaid than he intended: for he meant no more than ſo far, as to get away from them upon this aſſurance, which he gave them. But Sir A. A. told him, that if he was ſincere in what he had ſaid, he might preſently remove all ſcruples, if he would take away their commiſſions from ſuch and ſuch officers in his army, and give them to thoſe whom he named, and that preſently, before he went out of the room. Monk was in himſelf no quick man, he was guilty, alone among a company of men, who he knew not what they would do with him; for they all ſtruck in with Sir A. A. and plainly perceived that Monk had deſigned ſome foul play. In theſe ſtraits, being thus cloſe preſſed, and knowing not how elſe to extricate himſelf, he conſented to what was propoſed, and ſo immediately before he ſtirred, a great part of the commiſſions of his officers were changed, and Sir Edward Harley, among the reſt, who was a member of the council, and there preſent, was made governor of Dunkirk, in the room of Sir William Lockhart, and was ſent away immediately, to take poſſeſſion of it. By which means the army ceaſed to be at Monk's devotion, and was put into hands, that would not ſerve him, in the deſign he had undertaken. The French ambaſſador, who had the night before ſent away an expreſs to Mazarine, poſitively to aſſure him that things went here as he deſired, and that Monk was fixed by him in his reſolution to take on himſelf the government, was not a little aſtoniſhed the next day to find things taking another turn, and indeed this ſo much diſgraced him in the French court, that he was preſently called home, and ſoon after broke his heart.

THIS was that, which gave the great turn to the reſtoration of King Charles II. whereof Sir A. had laid the plan in his head, a long time before, and had carried it on, *

Quantus hîc ſitus ex titulis, quod rarò, diſcas.
Baro ASHLEY de Wimborne St. Giles,
Deinde Comes Shaftſburienſis,
Cancellarius Scaccarii, Ærarii Triumvir,
Magnus Angliæ Cancellarius,
CAROLO Secundo à Sanctioribus & Secretioribus Conſiliis, &c.
Hæc non Sepulchri ornamenta, ſed Viri;
Quippe quæ nec Majoribus debuit nec favori.
Comitate, acumine, ſuadelâ, conſilio, animo, conſtantiâ, fide,
Vix Parem alibi invenias, Superiorem certè nullibi.
Libertatis Civilis, Eccleſiaſticæ
Propugnator ſtrenuus, indefeſſus.

Vitæ

Vitæ publicis commodis impenſæ memoriam & laudes,
Stante libertate, nunquam obliterabit,
Tempus edax, nec edacior Invidia.
Servo pecori inutilia, inviſa magna exempla.

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Three letters writ by the E. of Shaftſbury, whilſt priſoner in the tower; one to King Charles II. another to the D. of York; a third to a noble Lord; found with Mr. Locke's memoirs, relating to the life of Anthony firſt Earl of Shaftſbury.

To King Charles II.

SIR,

THE almighty God, the King of Kings, permitted Job to diſpute with him, and to order his cauſe before him; give me leave therefore, Great Sir, to lay my caſe before your Majeſty, and to plead not only my innocence but my merits towards your Majeſty; for "my integrity will I hold faſt, and will not "let it go; my heart ſhall not reproach me, ſo long as I live."

I HAD the honour to have a principal hand in your reſtoration, neither did I act in it, but on a principle of piety and honour: I never betrayed (as your Majeſty knows) the party, or councils, I was of. I kept no correſpendence with, nor I made no ſecret addreſſes to, your Majeſty; neither did I endeavour, or obtain, any private terms, or articles, for myſelf, or reward for what I had, or ſhould do. In what ever I did, towards the ſervice of your Majeſty, I was ſolely acted by the ſenſe of that duty I owed to God, the Engliſh nation, and your Majeſty's juſt right and title. I ſaw the hand of providence that had led us through various forms of government, and had given power into the hands of ſeveral ſorts of men, but he had given none of them a heart to uſe it as they ſhould; they all fell to the prey, ſought not the good, or ſettlement, of the nation, endeavoured only the enlargement and continuance of their own authority, and graſped at thoſe very powers, they had complained of ſo much, and for which ſo bloody and ſo fatal a war had been raiſed and continued in the bowels of the nation. I obſerved the leaders of the great parties of religion, both laity and clergy, ready and forward to deliver up the rights and liberties of the people, and to introduce an abſolute dominion, ſo that tyranny might be eſtabliſhed in the hands of thoſe, that favoured their way, and with whom they might have hopes to divide the preſent ſpoil, having no eye to poſterity, or thoughts of future things. One of the laſt ſcenes of this confuſion was general Lambert's ſeizing of the government in a morning, by force of arms, turning out the parliament and their council of ſtate, and in the room erecting a committee of ſafety. The news of this gives a great ſurpriſe to general Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland. ⁂

To the D. of YORK.

SIR,

I Humbly confeſs I never thought my perſon, or my principles, acceptable to your royal highneſs; but at that juncture of time and occaſion, when I was committed, I had no reaſon to expect you ſhould be my ſevere enemy. Reputation is the greateſt concern of great dealers in the world; great princes are the greateſt dealers: no reputation more their intereſt, than to be thought merciful, relievers of the diſtreſſed, and maintainers of the ancient laws and rights of their country. This I ever wiſh may attend your royal highneſs, and that I may be one inſtance of it.

To the Lord ——

My Lord,

I Had prepared this for your meeting in December, but that being adjourned to the 3d of April, an age to an old infirm man, eſpecially ſhut up in a winter's priſon; forgive me if I ſay, you owe yourſelf and your poſterity, as well as me, the endeavouring to remove ſo ſevere a precedent on one of your members; ſuch as I may truly ſay is the firſt of the kind, and I pray heartily may be the laſt. Your interceſſion to his majeſty, if it be general, is not like to be refuſed; if you are ſingle, yet you have done honourably, and what I ſhould have done for you.

Eſther, c. iv. ver. 13, 14.

A NEW

METHOD

OF A

COMMON-PLACE-BOOK.

Tranſlated out of FRENCH from the ſecond volume of the Bibliotheque Univerſelle.

	a			a	
	e 4.			e	
A	i		F	i	
	o			o	
	u			u	
	a			a	
	e			e	
B	i		G	i	
	o			o	
	u			u	
	a			a 16. 20.	
	e			e	
C	i		H	i	
	o 18. 24.			o	
	u			u	
	a			a	
	e			e	
D	i		I	i	
	o			o	
	u			u	
	a			a	
	e			e	
E	i 2. 14.		L	i	
	o			o	
	u			u	

M	a	S	a
	e		e
	i		i
	o		o
	u		u
N	a	T	a
	e		e
	i		i
	o		o
	u		u
O	a	U	a
	e		e
	i		i
	o		o
	u		u
P	a	X	a
	e		e
	i		i
	o		o
	u		u
R	a	Z	a
	e		e
	i		i
	o		o
	u	Q	u

EPISTOLA.] A letter from
2. Mr. Locke to Mr. Toignard, containing a new and eaſy method of a common-place-book, to which an index of two pages is ſufficient.

AT length, ſir, in obedience to you, I publiſh my “ method “ of a common-place-book.” I am aſhamed that I deferred ſo long complying with your requeſt; but I eſteemed it ſo mean a thing, as not to deſerve publiſhing, in an age ſo full of uſeful inventions, as ours is. You may remember, that I freely communicated it to you, and ſeveral others, to whom I imagined it would not be unacceptable: ſo that it was not to reſerve the ſole uſe of it to myſelf, that I declined publiſhing it. But the regard I had to the publick, diſcouraged me from preſenting it with ſuch a trifle. Yet my obligations to you, and the friendſhip between us, compel me now to follow your advice. Your laſt letter has perfectly determined me to it, and I am convinced that I ought not to delay publiſhing it, when you tell me, that an experience of ſeveral years has
3 ſhewed its uſefulneſs, and ſeveral of your friends, to whom you have communicated it. There is no need, I ſhould tell you, how uſeful it has been to me, after five and twenty years experience, as I told you, eight years ſince, when I had the honour to wait on you at Paris, and when I might have been inſtructed, by your learned and agreeable diſcourſe. What I aim at now, by this letter, is to teſtify publickly the eſteem and reſpect I have for you, and to convince you how much I am, ſir, your, &c.

“ Before I enter on my ſubject, “ it is fit to acquaint the reader, “ that this tract is diſpoſed in the “ ſame manner that the common- “ place-book ought to be diſpoſed. “ It will be underſtood by reading “ what follows, what is the mean- “ ing of the Latin titles on the top of “ the backſide of each leaf, and at “ the bottom of this page.”

“ EBIONITÆ.] In eorum evangelio, “ quod ſecundum Hebræos diceba- “ tur, hiſtoria quæ habetur Matth. “ xix. 16. & ſequ. ut alia quædam “ erat interpolata in hunc mo- “ dum :” dixit ad eum alter divitum, magiſter, quid bonum faciens vivam ? Dixit, ei, ho-
V mo, legem & prophetas : fac re-
14. ſpondit ad eum, feci. Dixit ei : vade

ADVERSARIORUM METHODUS.]

4. I take a paper book of what ſize I pleaſe. I divide the two firſt pages that face one another by parallel lines into five and twenty equal parts, every fifth line black, the other red. I then cut them perpendicularly by other lines that I draw from the top to the bottom of the page, as you may ſee in the table prefixed. I put about the middle of each five ſpaces one of the twenty letters I deſign to make uſe of, and, a little forward in each ſpace, the five vowels, one below another, in their natural order. This is the index to the whole volume, how big ſoever it may be.

THE index being made after this manner, I leave a margin, in all the other pages of the book, of about the largeneſs of an inch, in a volume in folio, or a little larger, and in a leſs volume, ſmaller in proportion.

IF I would put any thing in my COMMON-PLACE-BOOK, I find out a head to which I may refer it. Each head ought to be ſome important and eſſential word to the matter in hand, 5. and in that word regard is to be had to the firſt letter, and the vowel that follows it; for upon theſe two letters depend all the uſe of the index.

I omit three letters of the alphabet as of no uſe to me, viz. K. Y. W. which are ſupplied by C. I. U. that are equivalent to them. I put the letter Q. that is always followed with an U. in the fifth ſpace of Z. By throwing Q. laſt in my index, I preſerve the regularity of my index, and diminiſh not in the leaſt its extent; for it ſeldom happens that there is any head begins with Z. U. I have found none in the five and twenty years I have uſed this method. If nevertheleſs it be neceſſary, nothing hinders but that one may make a reference after Q. U. provided it be done with any kind of diſtinction; but for more exactneſs a place may be aſſigned for Q. U. below the index, as I have formerly done. When I meet with any thing, that I think fit to put into my Common-place-book, I firſt find a proper head. Suppoſe, for example, that the head be EPISTOLA, I look unto the index for the

ADVERSARIORUM METHODUS.]

V firſt letter and the following 6 vowel, which in this inſtance are E I. if in the ſpace marked E I. there is any number, that directs me to the page deſigned for words that begin with an E. and whoſe firſt vowel, after the initial letter, is I; I muſt then write under the word epiſtola, in that page, what I have to remark. I write the head in large letters, and begin a little way out into the margin, and I continue on the line, in writing what I have to ſay. I obſerve conſtantly this rule, that only the head appears in the margin, and that it be continued on, without ever doubling the line in the margin, by which means the heads will be obvious at firſt ſight.

IF I find no number in the index in the ſpace E I. I look into my book for the firſt backſide of a leaf that is not written in, which, in a book where there is yet nothing but the index, muſt be p. 2. I write then, in my index after E I. the number 2. and the head epiſtola at the top of the margin of the ſecond page, and all that I put under that head, in the ſame page, as you ſee I have done in the ſecond page of this method. From that time the claſs E I. is wholly in poſſeſſion of the ſecond and third pages.

THEY

7. THEY are to be employed only on words, that begin with an E, and whoſe neareſt vowel is an I, as Ebionitæ (ſee the bottom of the third page) Epiſcopus, Echinus, Edictum, Efficacia, &c. The reaſon, why I begin always at the top of the back-ſide of a leaf, and aſſign to one claſs two pages, that face one another, rather than an entire leaf, is, becauſe the heads of the claſs appear all at once, without the trouble of turning over a leaf.

EVERY time, that I would write a new head, I look firſt in my index for the characteriſtick letters of the word, and I ſee, by the number that follows, what the page is that is aſſigned to the claſs of that head. If there is no number, I muſt look for the firſt back-ſide of a page that is blank. I then ſet down the number in the index, and deſign that page, with that of the right ſide of the following leaf, to this new claſs. Let it be, for example, the word Adverſaria; if I ſee no number in the ſpace A. E. I ſeek for the firſt back-ſide of a leaf, which being at p. 4. I ſet down in the ſpace A. E. the number 4. and in the fourth page the head ADVERSARIA, with all that I write under it, as I have already informed you.

V From this time the fourth page

Adverſariorum Methodus.]

V. with the fifth that follows is re-
8. ſerved for the claſs A. E. that is to ſay for the heads that begin with an A, and whoſe next vowel is an E; as for inſtance Aer, Aera, Ageſilaus, Acheron, &c.

When the two pages deſigned for one claſs are full, I look forwards for the next back-ſide of a leaf, that is blank. If it be that which immediately follows, I write at the bottom of the margin, in the page that I have filled, the letter V, that is to ſay, Verte, turn over; as likewiſe the ſame at the top of the next page. If the pages, that immediately follow, are already filled by other claſſes, I write at the bottom of the page laſt filled, V, and the number of the next empty back-ſide of a page. At the beginning of that page I write down the head, under which I go on, with what I had to put in my Common-Place-Book, as if it had been in the ſame page. At the top of this new back-ſide of a leaf, I ſet down the number of the page I filled laſt. By theſe numbers which refer to one another, the firſt whereof is at the bottom of one page, and the ſecond is at the beginning of another, one joins matter, that is ſeparated, as if there was nothing between them. For, by this reciprocal reference of numbers, one may turn, as one leaf, all thoſe that are between the two, even as if
9 they were paſted together. You have an example of this in the third and fourteenth pages.

Every time I put a number at the bottom of a page, I put it alſo into the index; but when I put only an V, I make no addition in the index; the reaſon whereof is plain.

If the head is a monoſyllable and begins with a vowel, that vowel is at the ſame time both the firſt letter of the word, and the characteriſtick vowel. Therefore I write the word Ars in A a and Os in O o.

You may ſee by what I have ſaid, that one is to begin to write each claſs of words, on the back-ſide of a page. It may happen, upon that account, that the back-ſide of all the pages may be full, and yet there may remain ſeveral pages, on the right hand, which are empty. Now if you have a mind to fill your book, you may aſſign theſe right ſides, which are wholly blank, to new claſſes.

If any one imagines that theſe hundred claſſes are not ſufficient to comprehend all ſorts of ſubjects without confuſion, he may follow the ſame method, and yet augment the number to five hundred, in adding a vowel. But having experienced both the one and the other method, I prefer the firſt; and uſage will convince thoſe, who ſhall try it, how well it will ſerve the purpoſe aimed at, eſpecially if one
V has a book for each ſcience, upon

Adversariorum Methodus.]

V. upon which one makes collec-
10. tions, or at leaſt two for the two heads, to which one may refer all our knowledge, viz. moral philoſophy and natural.

You may add a third, which may be called the knowledge of ſigns, which relates to the uſe of words, and is of much more extent than mere criticiſm.

As to the language, in which one ought to expreſs the heads, I eſteem the Latin tongue moſt commodious, provided the nominative caſe be always kept to, for fear leſt in words of two ſyllables, or in monoſyllables that begin with the vowel, the change, which happens in oblique caſes, ſhould occaſion confuſion. But it is not of much conſequence what language is made uſe of, provided there be no mixture in the heads, of different languages.

To take notice of a place in an author, from whom I quote ſomething, I make uſe of this method: before I write any thing, I put the name of the author in my common-place-book, and under that name the title of the treatiſe, the ſize of the volume, the time and place of its edition, and (what ought never to be omitted) the number of pages that the whole book contains. For example, I put into the claſs, II. claſs, M. A. "Marſhami Canon Chronicus Ægyptiacus, "Græcus, & diſquiſitiones fol." London 1672. p. 626. This number of pages ſerves me for the future to mark the particular treatiſe of this author, and the edition I make uſe of. I have no need to mark the place, otherwiſe than in ſetting down the number of the page from whence I have drawn what I have wrote, juſt above the number of pages contained in the whole volume. You will ſee an example in Acheruſia, where the number 259 is juſt above the number 626, that is to ſay, the number of the page where I take my matter, is juſt above the number of pages of the whole volume. By this means I not only ſave myſelf the trouble of writing Canon Chronicus Ægyptiacus, &c. but am able by the rule of three to find out the ſame paſſage in any other edition, by looking for the number of its pages; ſince the edition I have uſed, which contains 626, gives me 259. You will not indeed always light on the very page you want, becauſe of the breaches, that are made in different editions of books, and that are not always equal in proportion; but you are never very far from the place you want, and it is better to be able to find a paſſage, in turning over a few pages, than to be obliged to turn over a whole book to find

ADVERSARIORUM METHODUS.] It
V. as it happens, when the book
12. has no index, or when the index is not exact.

ACHERON.] "Pratum, ficta mortu-" orum habitatio, eſt locus pro-" pe Memphin, juxta paludem, " quam vocant Acheruſiam, &c." This is a paſſage out of D. Siculus, the ſenſe whereof is this: the fields, where they feign that the dead inhabit, are only a place near Memphis, near a marſh called Acheruſia, about which is a moſt delightful country, where one may behold lakes and foreſts of Lotus and Calamus. It is with reaſon, that Orpheus ſaid, the dead inhabit theſe places, becauſe there the Egyptians celebrate the greateſt part, and the moſt auguſt, of their funeral ſolemnities. They carry the dead over the Nile, and through the marſh of Acheruſia, and there put them into ſubterraneous vaults. There are a great many other fables, among the Greeks, touching the ſtate of the dead, which very well agree with what is at this day practiſed in Egypt. For they call the boat, in which the dead are tranſported, Baris; and a certain piece of money is given to the ferry-man for a paſſage, who, in their language, is
13. called Charon. Near this place is a temple of Hecate in the ſhades, &c. and the gates of Cocytus and Lethe, ſhut up with bars of braſs. There are other gates, which are called the gates of truth, with the ſtatue of juſtice before them, which has no head. Marſham.

⁂

EBIONITÆ. 14. vade, vende omnia quæ poſſides, & divide pauperibus, & veni, ſequere me. Cœpit autem dives ſcalpere caput ſuum, & non placuit ei. Et dixit ad eum Dominus: quomodo dicis, legem feci & prophetas? cùm ſcriptum ſit in lege, diliges proximum tuum ſicut teipſum: & ecce multi fratres tui filii Abrahæ amicti ſunt ſtercore, morientes præ fame, & domus tua plena eſt bonis multis, & non egreditur omnino aliquid ex eâ ad eos. Et converſus, dixit Simoni, diſcipulo ſuo, ſedenti apud ſe: Simon, fili Johannæ, facilius eſt camelum intrare per foramen acûs, quam divitem in regnum cœlorum. "Nimirum "hæc ideo immutavit Ebion, "quia Chriſtum nec Dei filium, "nec νομοθέτην, ſed nudum inter-"pretem legis per Moſem datæ "agnoſcebat."

IN the Goſpel of the Ebionites, which they called the Goſpel according to the Hebrews, the ſtory, that is in the XIXth of St. Matth. and in the 16th and following verſes, was changed after this manner: "one of the "rich men ſaid to him: maſ-"ter, what ſhall I do that I "may have life? Jeſus ſaid "to him: obey the law and "the prophets. He anſwered, "I have done ſo. Jeſus ſaid "unto him, go, ſell what thou "haſt, divide it among the poor, "and then come and follow "me. Upon which the rich "man began to ſcratch his head, "and to diſlike the advice of "Jeſus: and the Lord ſaid unto "him, how can you ſay, you "have done, as the law and the "prophets direct you? ſince it "is written in the law, thou "ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy "ſelf; and there are many of "thy brethren, children of A-"braham, who are almoſt naked, "and who are ready to die with "hunger, while thy houſe is full "of good things, and yet thou "giveſt them no help, nor aſ-"ſiſtance. And turning himſelf "towards Simon, his diſciple, "who ſat near him: Simon, "ſon of Johanna, ſaid he, it is "eaſier for a camel to go thro' "the eye of a needle, than for "a rich man to enter into the "kingdom of heaven." Ebion changed this paſſage, becauſe he did not believe Jeſus Chriſt to be the ſon of God, nor a lawgiver, but a meer interpreter of the law of Moſes. Grotius $\frac{336}{1060}$.

HÆRETICI.] "noſtrum igitur fuit-
" eligere & optare meliora, ut
16. " ad veſtram correctionem aditum
" haberemus, non in contentione
" & æmulatione &
" perſecutionibus, ſed manſuetè
" conſolando, benevolè hortando,
" leniter diſputando, ſicut
" ſcriptum eſt, ſervum autem Domini
" non oportet litigare, ſed
" mitem eſſe ad omnes, docibilem,
" patientem, in modeſtia
" corripientem diverſa ſentientes.
" Noſtrum ergo fuit velle has
" partes expetere: Dei eſt volentibus
" & petentibus donare
" quod bonum eſt. Illi in vos
" ſæviant, qui neſciunt cum quo
" labore verum inveniatur, &
" quam difficile caveantur errores.
" Illi in vos ſæviant, qui
" neſciunt quam rarum & arduum
" ſit carnalia phantaſmata
" piæ mentis ſerenitate ſuperare.
" Illi in vos ſæviant, qui neſciunt
" cum quantâ difficultate
" ſanetur oculus interioris
" hominis, ut poſſit intueri ſolem
" ſuum;——Illi in vos ſæviant,
" qui neſciunt quibus ſuſpiriis
" & gemitibus fiat, ut ex
" quantulacunque parte poſſit intelligi
" Deus. Poſtremo, illi in
" vos ſæviant, qui nullo tali errore
" decepti ſunt, quali vos deceptos
" vident. In catholicâ
" enim eccleſiâ, ut omittam ſinceriſſimam
" ſapientiam, ad cujus
" cognitionem pauci ſpirituales
" in hâc vitâ perveniunt,
" ut eam ex minimâ quidem
" parte, quia homines ſunt, ſed
" tamen ſine dubitatione, cognoſcant:
" cæteram quippe turbam
" non intelligendi vivacitas,
" ſed credendi ſimplicitas tutiſſimam
17. " facit." Auguſtinus
Tom. vi. Col. 116. Fol. Baſiliæ
1542. contra Epiſt. Manichæi,
quam vocant fundamenti.

" We were of opinion, that
" other methods were to be
" made choice of, and that,
" to recover you from your
" errors, we ought not to perſecute
" you with injuries
" and invectives, or any ill
" treatment, but endeavour to
" procure your attention, by
" ſoft words and exhortations,
" which would ſhew the tenderneſs
" we have for you: according
" to that paſſage of holy
" writ, " the ſervant of the lord
" ought not to love ſtrife and
" quarrels, but to be gentle,
" affable, and patient towards
" all mankind, and to reprove
" with modeſty thoſe who differ
" from him in opinion."—
" Let them only treat you with
" rigour, who know not how
" difficult it is to find out the
" truth, and avoid error. Let
" thoſe treat you with rigour,
" who are ignorant how rare and
" painful a work it is calmly
" to diſſipate the carnal phantoms,
" that diſturb even a pious
" mind. Let thoſe treat you
" with rigour, who are ignorant
" of the extreme difficulty
" that there is to purify the
" eye of the inward man,
" to render him capable of
" ſeeing the truth, which is the
" ſun, or light of the ſoul. Let
" thoſe treat you with rigour,
" who have never felt the
V " ſighs and groans, that
20. " a ſoul muſt have, before
" it

Confessio Fidei.] "Periculoſum 18. nobis admodum atque etiam miſerabile eſt, tot nunc fides exiſtere, quot voluntates: & tot nobis doctrinas eſſe, quot mores: & tot cauſas blaſphemiarum pullulare, quot vitia ſunt: dum aut ita fides ſcribuntur, ut volumus, aut, ita ut volumus, intelliguntur. Et cum ſecundum unum Deum & unum Dominum, & unum baptiſma, etiam fides una ſit, excidimus ab eâ fide, quæ ſola eſt: & dum plures fiant, id eſſe cœperunt, ne ulla ſit; conſcii enim nobis invicem ſumus, poſt Nicæni conventûs ſynodum, nihil aliud quam fidem ſcribi. Dum in verbis pugna eſt, dum de novitatibus quæſtio eſt, dum de ambiguis occaſio eſt, dum de autoribus querela eſt, dum de ſtudiis certamen eſt, dum in conſenſu difficultas eſt, dum alter alteri anathema eſſe cœpit, prope jam nemo eſt Chriſti, &c. Jam vero proximi anni fides, quid jam de immutatione in ſe habet? Primum, quæ homouſion decernit taceri: ſequens rurſum, quæ homouſion decernit & prædicat. Tertium deinceps, quæ uſiam ſimpliciter à patribus præſumptam, per indulgentiam excuſat. Poſtremum quartum, quæ non excuſat, ſed condemnat, &c. De ſimilitudine autem filii Dei ad Deum patrem, quod miſerabilis noſtri temporis eſt fides, ne non ex toto, ſed tantum ex por- 19. tione ſit ſimilis? Egregii ſcilicet arbitri cœleſtium ſacramentorum conquiſitores, inviſibilium myſteriorum profeſſionibus de fide Dei calumniamur, annuas atque menſtruas de Deo fides decernimus, decretis pœnitemus, pœnitentes defendimus, defenſos anathematizamus, aut in noſtri aliena aut in alienis noſtra damnamus, & mordentes invicem, jam abſumpti ſumus invicem," Hilarius p. 211. in lib. ad Conſtantium Auguſtum. Baſil. 1550. fol.

"It is a thing equally deplorable and dangerous, that there are at preſent as many creeds as there are opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations; and as many ſources of blaſphemy, as there are faults among us; becauſe we make creeds arbitrarily, and explain them as arbitrarily. And as there is but one faith; ſo there is but one only God, one Lord, and one baptiſm. We renounce this one faith, when we make ſo many different creeds, and that diverſity is the reaſon, why we have no true faith among us. We cannot be ignorant, that, ſince the council of Nice, we have done nothing but made creeds. And while we fight againſt words, litigate about new queſtions, diſpute about equivocal terms, complain of authors, that every one V 24. may make his own party triumph, while we cannot agree,

HÆRETICI.] 20. "It can obtain any knowledge of the divine being. To conclude, let thoſe treat you with rigour, who never have been ſeduced into errors, near a-kin to thoſe you are ingaged in. I paſs over in ſilence that pure wiſdom, which but a few ſpiritual men attain to in this life; ſo that tho' they know but in part, becauſe they are men; yet nevertheleſs they know what they do know with certainty: for in the catholick church, it is not penetration of mind, nor profound knowledge, but ſimplicity of faith, which puts men in a ſtate of ſafety.

"Barbari quippe homines Romanæ, imo potius humanæ eruditionis expertes, qui nihil omnino ſciunt, niſi quod à doctoribus ſuis audiunt: quod audiunt, hoc ſequuntur, ac ſic neceſſe eſt eos qui totius literaturæ ac ſcientiæ ignari, ſacramentum divinæ legis doctrina, magis quam lectione, cognoſcunt, doctrinam potius retinere, quam legem. Itaque eis traditio magiſtrorum ſuorum & doctrina inveterata, quaſi lex eſt, qui hoc ſciunt, quod docentur. Hæretici ergo ſunt, ſed non ſcientes. Denique apud nos ſunt hæretici, apud ſe non ſunt. Nam in tantum ſe catholicos eſſe judicant, ut nos ipſos titulo hæreticæ appellationis infament. Quod ergo illi nobis ſunt & hoc nos illis. Nos eos injuriam divinæ generationi facere certi ſumus, 21. quod minorem patre filium dicant. Illi nos injurioſos patri exiſtimant, quia æquales eſſe credamus veritas apud nos eſt; ſed illi apud ſe eſſe præſumunt. Honor Dei apud nos eſt: ſed illi hoc arbitrantur, honorem divinitatis eſſe quod credunt. Inofficioſi ſunt, ſed illis hoc eſt ſummum religionis officium. Impii ſunt, ſed hoc putant eſſe veram pietatem. Errant ergo, ſed bono animo errant, non odio ſed affectu Dei, honorare ſe dominum atque amare credentes. Quamvis non habeant rectam fidem, illi tamen hoc perfectam Dei æſtimant caritatem. Qualiter pro hoc ipſo falſæ opinionis errore in die judicii puniendi ſunt, nullus ſcire poteſt niſi judex. Interim idcirco eis, ut reor, patientiam Deus commodat, quia videt eos, etſi non rectè credere, affectu tamen piæ opinionis errare. Salvinus. $\frac{162}{336}$.

THIS biſhop ſpeaks here of the Arian Goths and Vandals. "They are, ſays he, Barbarians, who have no tincture of the Roman politeneſs, and who are ignorant of what is very commonly known among other men, and only know what their doctors have taught them, and follow what they have heard them ſay. Men ſo ignorant as theſe, find themſelves under a neceſſity of learning the myſteries of the Goſpel, rather by the inſtructions that are given them, than by books."

HÆRETICI.] "THE tradition of
22. their doctors, and the received doctrines are the only rule they follow, becauſe they know nothing but what they have taught them. They are then hereticks, but they know it not. They are ſo in our account, but they believe it not; and think themſelves ſo good catholicks, that they treat us as hereticks, judging of us, as we do of them. We are perſuaded that they believe amiſs concerning the divine generation, when they maintain the Son is inferior to the Father; and they imagine that we rob the Father of his glory who believe them both to be equal. We have the truth on our ſide, and they pretend it is on theirs. We give to God his due honour, and they think they honour him better. They fail in their duty, but they imagine they perform perfectly well; and they make true piety to conſiſt in what we call impious. They are in a miſtake, but with a great deal of ſincerity; and it is ſo far from being an effect of their hatred, that it is a mark of their love of God, ſince, by what they do, they imagine, they ſhew the greateſt reſpect for the Lord, and zeal for his glory. Therefore, though they have not true
24. faith, they nevertheleſs look upon that which they have, as a perfect love of God. It belongs only to the judge of the univerſe to know, how theſe men will be puniſhed for their errors, at the laſt day. Yet I believe God will ſhew compaſſion towards them, becauſe he ſees their heart is more right than their belief, and that, if they are miſtaken, it is their piety made them err.

CONFESSIO FIDEI] 24. " while we anathematiſe one another, there is hardly one that adheres to Jeſus Chriſt. What change was there not in the creed laſt year! The firſt council ordained a ſilence upon the homouſion; the ſecond eſtabliſhed it, and would have us ſpeak; the third excuſes the fathers of the council, and pretends they took the word ouſia ſimply; the fourth condemns them, inſtead of excuſing them. With reſpect to the likeneſs of the Son of God to the Father, which is the faith of our deplorable times, they diſpute whether he is like in whole, or in part. Theſe are rare folks to unravel the ſecrets of heaven. Neverthelefs it is for theſe creeds, about inviſible myſteries, that we calumniate one another, and for our belief in God. We make creeds every year, nay every moon, we repent of what we have done, we defend thoſe that repent, we anathematiſe thoſe we defended. So we condemn either the doctrine of others in our ſelves, or our own in that of others, and, reciprocally tearing one another to pieces, we have been the cauſe of each other's ruin.

The END of the Common-Place-Book.

[illegible] Fidei] †, while we anathematiſe one another, there is hardly one that adheres to Jeſus Chriſt. What change was there not in the creed laſt year! The firſt council ordained a ſilence upon the homouſion; the ſecond eſtabliſhed it, and would have us ſpeak; the third excuſes the fathers of the council, and pretends they took the word ouſia ſimply; the fourth condemns them, inſtead of excuſing them. With reſpect to the likeneſs of the Son of God to the Father, which is the faith of our deplorable times, they diſpute whether he is like in whole, or in part. Theſe are rare folks to unravel the ſecrets of heaven. Nevertheleſs it is for theſe creeds, about inviſible myſteries, that we calumniate one another, and for our belief in God. We make creeds every year, nay every moon, we repent of what we have done, we defend thoſe that repent, we anathematiſe thoſe we defended. So we condemn either the doctrine of others in ourſelves, or our own in that of others, and, reciprocally tearing one another to pieces, we have been the cauſe of each other's ruin.

The END of the Common-Place-Book.

SOME FAMILIAR LETTERS BETWEEN Mr. LOCKE, AND Several of his FRIENDS.

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SOME

FAMILIAR LETTERS

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Mr. LOCKE,

AND

Several of his FRIENDS.

TO THE

READER.

THE following letters, offered to your peruſal, are the genuine productions of thoſe gentlemen, to whom they are attributed.

THEY contain not only ſuch civil and polite converſation, as friendſhip produces among men of parts, learning, and candor; but ſeveral matters relating to literature, and more particularly to Mr. Locke's notions, in his "Eſſay concerning human underſtanding," and in ſome of his other works, and therefore I cannot doubt of your thanks for the preſent I make you. For, though the curioſity of ſome, to ſee whatever drops from the pens of great men, and to inform themſelves in their private characters, their tempers, diſpoſitions and manner of converſing with their friends, would perhaps have juſtified me, in publiſhing any letters of Mr. Locke's, and of his friends to him (that were not letters of mere buſineſs) yet my regard to what I take to be the more general judgment of the publick, has determined me to publiſh ſuch only, as have relation to this twofold view, and ſhall determine me hereafter, in a ſecond volume, if gentlemen, that have any letters of Mr. Locke's by them, think fit to communicate them to me.

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Familiar Letters, &c.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, London, July 16, 1692.

THOUGH the extraordinary compliment, you were pleaſed to make me, in the epiſtle dedicatory *, eaſily perſuaded me, from whom that preſent was likely to come; when, at my coming to town, I found your book left for me, by Mr. Tooke, at my bookſeller's; yet my conſciouſneſs, how little I could deſerve the one, or the other, from you, made me fear ſome miſtake, till enquiring of Mr. Tooke himſelf, he aſſured me of the favour you had done me. I will not pretend to return you ſuch thanks as I ought, till I can write ſuch a book as yours is. Only give me leave to ſay, that if my trifle could poſſibly be an occaſion of vanity to me; you have done moſt to make it ſo, ſince I could ſcarce forbear to applaud my ſelf, upon ſuch a teſtimony, from one, who ſo well underſtands demonſtration, did I not ſee that thoſe, who can be extreme rigorous and exact in the ſearch of truth, can be as civil and as complaiſant, in their dealing with thoſe, whom they take to be lovers of it. But this cannot keep me from being out of countenance, at the receipt of ſuch obligations, without the hopes of making ſuch returns as I ought. Inſtead of that, give me leave to do what is next to it, and let you ſee that I am not ſorry I am obliged to you. The bearer hereof, Dr. Sibelius, is a friend of mine, who comes to Dublin with a deſign to ſettle there, and I beg your aſſiſtance of him, in what lyes in your way. I ſhall take it as a favour done to me. And methinks I have reaſon now to expect it of you, ſince you have done me, more than one, very great ones, when I had no reaſon to expect any at all. Sir, you have made great advances of friendſhip towards me, and you ſee they are not loſt upon me. I am very ſenſible of them, and would make ſuch an uſe of them as might aſſure you, I ſhould take it for a new favour, if you would afford me an occaſion, wherein I might, by any ſervice, tell you how much I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt obliged ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

I HAD the honour to know one of your name at Leyden about ſeven or eight years ſince. If he be any relation of yours, and now in Dublin, I beg the favour of you to preſent my humble ſervice to him.

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* Before A treatiſe of dioptricks, printed at London 1692, wherein it is ſaid, "that to none do we owe, "for a greater advancement in this part of philoſophy, (viz. Logick,) than to the incomparable Mr. Locke, "who, in his eſſay of human underſtanding, hath rectified more received miſtakes, and delivered more profound truths, eſtabliſhed on experience and obſervation, for the direction of man's mind, in the proſecution of knowledge, (which I think may be properly termed logick) than are to be met with, in all the "volumes of the ancients. He has clearly overthrown all thoſe metaphyſical whimſies, which infected men's "brains with a ſpice of madneſs, whereby they feigned a knowledge, where they had none, by making a "noiſe with ſounds, without clear and diſtinct ſignifications."

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, Auguſt 27, 1692.

UPON the arrival of our Lord Lieutenant in this place (which was on the 25th inſtant) I had the favour of a letter from you, by the hands of Dr. Sibelius. I cannot eaſily tell you, how grateful it was to me, having the higheſt eſteem for him that ſent it, from the firſt moment that I was ſo happy as to ſee any of his writings; and therefore it was, that I was ſo ambitious of making a friendſhip with you, by preſenting you one of my trifles, which I ordered my bookſeller to lay before you, under this character, "as a mean "teſtimony of the great reſpect, I had for the author of the eſſay of human "underſtanding." And ſince I find, by yours to me, that my ambition is not fallen ſhort of its deſign; but that you are pleaſed to encourage me, by aſſuring me that I have made great advances of friendſhip towards you; give me leave to embrace the favour with all joy imaginable. And that you may judge of ſincerity, by my open heart, I will plainly confeſs to you, that I have not in my life read any book with more ſatisfaction, than your eſſay; inſomuch that a repeated peruſal of it is ſtill more pleaſant to me.

AND I have endeavoured, with great ſucceſs, to recommend it to the conſideration of the ingenious, in this place. Dr. King, Biſhop of Derry, when he read it, made ſome ſlight remarks on the foremoſt parts of the book; but his buſineſs would not permit him to go through it all. What he did, rough as it was, he gave to me, and they are at your commands, when you pleaſe.

ONE thing I muſt needs inſiſt on to you, which is, that you would think of obliging the world with "a treatiſe of morals," drawn up according to the hints you frequently give in your eſſay, of their being demonſtrable, according to the mathematical method. This is moſt certainly true. But then the taſk muſt be undertaken, only by ſo clear and diſtinct a thinker as you are. This were an attempt worthy your conſideration. And there is nothing I ſhould more ardently wiſh for, than to ſee it. And, therefore, good ſir, let me beg of you to turn your thoughts this way; and if ſo young a friendſhip as mine have any force, let me prevail upon you.

UPON my reading your eſſay, I was ſo taken with it, that when I was in London, in Auguſt 1690, I made enquiry amongſt ſome of my learned friends, for any other of your writings, if perhaps they knew any: I was recommended, by ſome, to "two diſcourſes concerning government," and a little "trea-"tiſe concerning toleration." There is neither of them carries your name; and I will not venture to aſk you, whether they are yours, or not? This, only, I think, no name need be aſhamed of either.

DR. SIBELIUS, I find, is your friend, and therefore I aſſure him of all ſervice I can poſſibly do him. I will make it my buſineſs to get him acquaintance in this place; and I dare promiſe him ſome of the beſt.

THE incloſed from my brother, will tell you that he was your acquaintance in Leyden. I my ſelf have been there, anno 1685, but had not the good fortue of being known to you. But, from this time, I ſhall reckon my ſelf happy in your friendſhip, and ſhall ever ſubſcribe my ſelf

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt obliged, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, London, Sept. 20, 1692.

THERE being nothing, that I think of ſo much value, as the acquaintance and friendſhip of knowing and worthy men, you may eaſily gueſs how much I find my ſelf obliged, I will not ſay by the offer, but by the gift you have made me, of yours. That, which confirms me in the aſſurance of it, is the little pretence I have to it. For, knowing my ſelf, as I do, I cannot think ſo vainly of my ſelf, as to imagine that you ſhould make ſuch overtures and expreſſions of kindneſs to me, for any other end, but merely as the pledges and exerciſe of it. I return you therefore my thanks, as for the greateſt and moſt acceptable preſent you could have made me; and deſire you to believe, that ſince I cannot hope that the returns, which I made you of mine, ſhould be of any great uſe to you, I ſhall endeavour to make it up, as well as I can; with an high eſteem, and perfect ſincerity. You muſt, therefore, expect to have me live with you hereafter, with all the liberty and aſſurance of a ſettled friendſhip. For meeting with but few men in the world, whoſe acquaintance I find much reaſon to covet, I make more than ordinary haſte into the familiarity of a rational enquirer after, and lover of truth, whenever I can light on any ſuch. There are beauties of the mind, as well as of the body, that take and prevail at firſt ſight: and wherever I have met with this, I have readily ſurrendered my ſelf, and have never yet been deceived in my expectation. Wonder not therefore, if, having been thus wrought on, I begin to converſe with you, with as much freedom, as if we had begun our acquaintance when you were in Holland; and deſire your advice and aſſiſtance about a ſecond edition of my eſſay, the former being now diſperſed. You have, I perceive, read it over ſo carefully, more than once, that I know no body I can more reaſonably conſult, about the miſtakes and defects of it. And I expect a great deal more, from any objections you ſhould make, who comprehend the whole deſign and compaſs of it, than from one who has read but a part of it, or meaſures it, upon a ſlight reading, by his own prejudices. You will find, by my epiſtle to the reader, that I was not inſenſible of the fault I committed, by being too long upon ſome points, and the repetitions, that by my way of writing of it, had got in, I let it paſs with, but not without advice ſo to do. But now, that my notions are got into the world, and have in ſome meaſure buſtled through the oppoſition and difficulty they were like to meet with from the received opinion, and that prepoſſeſſion, which might hinder them from being underſtood upon a ſhort propoſal; I aſk you, whether it would not be better now to pare off, in a ſecond edition, a great part of that, which cannot but appear ſuperfluous to an intelligent and attentive reader. If you are of that mind, I ſhall beg the favour of you to mark to me theſe paſſages, which you would think fitteſt to be left out. If there be any thing, wherein you think me miſtaken, I beg you to deal freely with me, that either I may clear it up to you, or reform it in the next edition. For I flatter my ſelf that I am ſo ſincere a lover of truth, that it is very indifferent to me, ſo I am poſſeſſed of it, whether it be by my own, or any other's diſcovery. For I count any parcel of this gold not the leſs to be valued, nor not the leſs enriching, becauſe I wrought it not out of the mine my ſelf. I think every one ought to contribute to the common ſtock, and to have no other ſcruple, or ſhyneſs, about the receiving of truth, but that he be not impoſed on, and take counterfeit, and what will not bear the touch, for genuine and real truth. I doubt not but, to one of your largeneſs of thought, that, in the reading of my book, you miſs ſeveral things, that perhaps belong to my ſubject, and you would think belongs to the ſyſtem: If, in this part too, you will communicate your thoughts, you will do me a favour. For though I will not ſo far flatter my ſelf, as to undertake to fill up the gaps, which you may obſerve in it; yet it may be of uſe, where mine is at a ſtand, to ſuggeſt to others matter of farther contemplation. This I often find, that what men by thinking have made clear to themſelves, they are apt to think

think, that upon the firſt ſuggeſtion it ſhould be ſo to others, and ſo let it go, not ſufficiently explained; not conſidering what may be very clear to themſelves, may be very obſcure to others. Your penetration and quickneſs hinders me from expecting from you many complaints of this kind. But, if you have met with any thing, in your reading of my book, which at firſt ſight you ſtuck at, I ſhall think it a ſufficient reaſon, in the next edition, to amend it, for the benefit of meaner readers.

THE remarks of that learned gentleman you mention, which you ſay you have in your hands, I ſhall receive as a favour from you.

THOUGH by the view I had of moral ideas, whilſt I was conſidering that ſubject, I thought I ſaw that morality might be demonſtratively made out; yet whether I am able ſo to make it out, is another queſtion. Every one could not have demonſtrated what Mr. Newton's book hath ſhewn to be demonſtrable; but to ſhew my readineſs to obey your commands, I ſhall not decline the firſt leiſure I can get, to employ ſome thoughts that way; unleſs I find what I have ſaid in my eſſay ſhall have ſtirred up ſome abler man to prevent me, and effectually do that ſervice to the world.

WE had here, the 8th inſtant, a very ſenſible earthquake, there being ſcarce an houſe, wherein it was not by ſome body, or other felt. We have news of it at ſeveral places from Cologn, as far as Briſtol. Whether it reached you I have not heard. If it did, I would be glad to know, what was the exact time it was felt, if any body obſerved it. By the Queen's pendulum at Kenſington, which the ſhake ſtopped from going, it was 2 h. poſt m. At Whitehall, where I obſerved it, it was by my watch 2 h. 5 m. poſt m. Which, ſuppoſing the Queen's pendulum went exact, and adding the æquation of that day, will fall near the time marked by my watch, or a little later. If there could be found people, that in the whole extent of it, did by well adjuſted clocks exactly obſerve the time, one might ſee whether it were all one ſhock, or proceeded gradually from one place to another.

I THANK you for having taken Dr. Sibelius into your protection. I deſire you, with my ſervice to preſent my moſt humble thanks to your brother, for the favour of his letter; to which, though I have not time this poſt to return an anſwer, I ſhall not long delay my acknowledgments.

I HOPE you will ſee, by the freedom I have here taken with you, that I begin to reckon my ſelf amongſt your acquaintance. Uſe me ſo, I beſeech you. If there be any ſervice I can do you here, imploy me, with an aſſurance that I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt faithful ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, Oct. 15,—92.

I Do moſt heartily beg your pardon for my long ſilence to yours of the 20th laſt. Our then approaching parliament was the occaſion of my not returning you an immediate anſwer; and I expected withal to give you a more large account of ſome things, you deſire from me. But, ſeeing no immediate hopes of leiſure, by reaſon of our parliamentary buſineſs, I venture at preſent to ſend you only the incloſed, rough papers. And till I can have an opportunity my ſelf of reviſing your book, I have put it into the hands of a very ingenious and learned perſon, who promiſes me to give his obſervations in writing, which, as ſoon as obtained, I ſhall tranſmit to you.—The earthquake was not at all felt here.—I am wonderfully pleaſed that you give me hopes of ſeeing a moral eſſay from your hand; which I aſſure you, ſir, with all ſincerity, is highly reſpected by

Your moſt humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, Dec. 22, 1692.

I Now ſit down to anſwer your's of September 20, concerning the ſecond edition of your book, wherein you deſire my opinion and advice. And, after ſo long conſideration of the matter, as between that and this; and conſulting ſome ingenious heads here about it, I can ſay but little; only that the ſame judicious hand, that firſt formed it, is beſt able to reform it, where he ſees convenient. I never quarrelled with a book for being too prolix, eſpecially where the prolixity is pleaſant, and tends to the illuſtration of the matter in hand, as I am ſure your's always does. And, after I received your letter on this ſubject, I communicated the contents thereof to two very ingenious perſons here; and, at the ſame time, I lent them your book, deſiring them to examine it ſtrictly, and to find out, and note, whatever might be changed, added, or ſubſtracted. And after a diligent peruſal, they agreed with me in the ſame concluſion, viz. That the work, in all its parts, was ſo wonderfully curious and inſtructive, that they would not venture to alter any thing in it. But however, that I may in ſome meaſure anſwer your expectations, I ſhall briefly note to you, what I conceive on this ſubject.

AND, 1ſt, the errata typographica (beſides thoſe mentioned in the table) are many and great; theſe therefore, in your next edition, are diligently to be corrected.

2dly, pag. 270. 'TIS aſſerted, "that, without a particular revelation, we "cannot be certain, that matter cannot think, or that Omnipotency may not "endow matter with a power of thinking."

AND pag. 314, 315. "the immateriality of God is evinced from the abſo-"lute impoſſibility of matter's thinking." Theſe two places, I know, have been ſtumbled at by ſome, as not conſiſtent. To me indeed they appear, and are, very agreeable; and I have clearly evinced their conſiſtency to thoſe that have ſcrupled them. But I thought fit to give you this hint, that in your next edition you may prevent any ſuch doubt. My ſenſe, of theſe two places is this. In the firſt it is ſaid, "that we cannot tell (without a particular revelation to "the contrary) but an almighty God can make matter think." In the other it is aſſerted, "that unthinking matter cannot be this almighty God." The next place I take notice of, as requiring ſome farther explication, is your diſcourſe about man's liberty and neceſſity. This thread ſeems ſo wonderfully fine ſpun in your book, that, at laſt, the great queſtion of liberty and neceſſity ſeems to vaniſh. And herein you ſeem to make all ſins to proceed from our underſtandings, or to be againſt conſcience, and not at all from the depravity of our wills. Now it ſeems harſh to you, that a man will be damned, becauſe he underſtands no better than he does. What you ſay concerning genera and ſpecies is unqueſtionably true; and yet it ſeems hard to aſſert, that there is no ſuch ſort of creatures in nature, as birds: for though we may be ignorant of the particular eſſence, that makes a bird to be a bird, or that determines and diſtinguiſhes a bird from a beaſt; or the juſt limits and boundaries between each; yet we can no more doubt of a ſparrow's being a bird, and an horſe's being a beaſt, than we can of this colour being black, and the other white: though by ſhades, they may be made ſo gradually to vaniſh into each other, that we cannot tell where either determines.

BUT all this I write, more in deference to your deſires from me, than to ſatisfy myſelf, that I have given you any material hints, or have offered any conſiderable objection, that is worth your notice and removal. Mr. Norris's unfortunate attempts on your book ſufficiently teſtify its validity; and truly I think he trifles ſo egregiouſly, that he ſhould forewarn all men how far they venture to criticize on your work. But thus far, after all, I'll venture to intimate to you, that if you are for another work of this kind, I ſhould adviſe you to let this ſtand as it does. And your next ſhould be of a model wholly new, and that

that is by way of logick; ſomething accommodated to the uſual forms, together with the conſideration of extenſion, ſolidity, mobility, thinking, exiſtence, duration, number, &c. and of the mind of man, and its powers; as may make up a complete body of what the ſchools call logick and metaphyſicks. This I am the more inclinable to adviſe on two accounts; firſt, becauſe I have lately ſeen Johannis Clerici Logica, Ontologia and Pneumatologia, in all which he has little extraordinary, but what he borrows from you; and in the alteration he gives them, he robs them of their native beauties; which can only be preſerved to them, by the ſame incomparable art, that firſt framed them. Secondly, I was the firſt that recommended and lent to the reverend provoſt of our univerſity, Dr. Aſhe, a moſt learned and ingenious man, your eſſay, with which he was ſo wonderfully pleaſed and ſatisfied, that he has ordered it to be read by the bachelors in the college, and ſtrictly examines them in their progreſs therein. Now a large diſcourſe, in the way of a logick, would be much more taking in the univerſities, wherein youths do not ſatisfy themſelves to have the breeding, or buſineſs of the place, unleſs they are ingaged in ſomething that bears the name and form of logick.

This, ſir, is in ſhort what offers itſelf to me, at preſent, concerning your work. There remains only, that I again put you in mind of the ſecond member of your diviſion of ſciences, the ars practica, or ethicks; you cannot imagine what an earneſt deſire and expectation I have raiſed, in thoſe that are acquainted with your writings, by the hopes I have given them from your promiſe of endeavouring ſomething on that ſubject. Good ſir, let me renew my requeſts to you therein; for believe me, ſir, it will be one of the moſt uſeful and glorious undertakings that can imploy you. The touches you give, in many places of your book, on this ſubject, are wonderfully curious, and do largely teſtify your great abilities that way, and I am ſure the pravity of men's morals does mightily require the moſt powerful means to reform them. Be as large as it is poſſible on this ſubject, and by all means let it be in Engliſh. He that reads the xlvth ſection in your 129th page, will be inflamed to read more of the ſame kind, from the ſame incomparable pen. Look, therefore, on your ſelf as obliged by God almighty to undertake this taſk (pardon me, ſir, that I am ſo free with you, as to inſiſt to your ſelf on your duty, who, doubtleſs, underſtand it better than I can tell you) ſuffer not, therefore, your thoughts to reſt, till you have finiſhed it, and that God almighty may ſucceed your labours, is, and ſhall be the prayer of,

Worthy Sir,

Your entirely affectionate, humble ſervant,

Will. Molyneux.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

SIR, Oates, 26. Dec. 1692.

Whatever has happened to give you leiſure ſooner than was expected, I hope to receive ſome advantage by it. And that now you will be able to ſend me your own thoughts on my book, together with the obſervations of your friend, into whoſe hands you have put it with that deſign. I return you my humble thanks for the papers you did me the favour to ſend me, in your laſt. But am apt to think you agree with me, that there is very little in thoſe papers, wherein either my ſenſe is not miſtaken, or very little, wherein the argument is directly againſt me. I ſuppoſe that learned gentleman, if he had had the leiſure to read my eſſay quite through, would have found ſeveral of his objections might have been ſpared. And I can eaſily forgive thoſe, who have not been at the pains to read the third book of my eſſay, if they make uſe of expreſſions,

preſſions, that, when examined, ſignify nothing at all, in defence of hypotheſes, that have long poſſeſſed their minds. I am far from imagining my ſelf infallible; but yet I ſhould be loth to differ from any thinking man, being fully perſuaded there are very few things, of pure ſpeculation, wherein two thinking men, who impartially ſeek truth, can differ, if they give themſelves the leiſure to examine their hypotheſes, and underſtand one another. I, preſuming you to be of this make, whereof ſo few are to be found (for it is not every one, that thinks himſelf a lover, or ſeeker of truth, who ſincerely does it) took the liberty to deſire your objections, that in the next edition I might correct my miſtakes. For I am not fond of any thing in my book, becauſe I have once thought, or ſaid it. And therefore I beg you, if you will give your ſelf the pains to look over my book again with this deſign, to oblige me, that you would uſe all manner of freedom, both as to matter, ſtyle, diſpoſition, and every thing wherein, in your own thoughts, any thing appears to you fit, in the leaſt, to be altered, omitted, explained, or added. I find none ſo fit, nor ſo fair judges, as thoſe, whoſe minds the ſtudy of mathematicks has opened, and diſ-entangled from the cheat of words, which has too great an influence in all the other, which go for ſciences: and I think (were it not for the doubtful and fallacious uſe is made of thoſe ſigns) might be made much more ſciences than they are.

I SENT order ſome time ſince, that a poſthumous piece of Mr. Boyle's ſhould be given to your bookſeller in London, to be conveyed to you. It is "A general hiſtory of the air;" which, though left by him very imperfect, yet I think the very deſign of it will pleaſe you, and it is caſt into a method, that any one, who pleaſes, may add to it, under any of the ſeveral titles, as his reading, or obſervation, ſhall furniſh him with matter of fact. If ſuch men as you are, curious and knowing, would join to what Mr. Boyle had collected and prepared, what comes in their way, we might hope, in ſome time, to have a conſiderable hiſtory of the air, than which I ſcarce know any part of natural philoſophy would yield more variety and uſe; but it is a ſubject too large for the attempts of any one man, and will require the aſſiſtance of many hands, to make it a hiſtory very ſhort of complete.

SINCE I did my ſelf the honour to write to your brother, I have been very ill, to which you muſt pardon ſome part of the length of my ſilence. But my eſteem and reſpect for you is founded upon ſomething ſo much beyond compliment and ceremony, that I hope you will not think me the leſs ſo, though I do not every poſt importune you with repeated profeſſions that I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, Oates, 20. Jan. -9⅔.

HAD I known, I ſhould, within ſo few days, have received the favour of ſuch a letter as yours of 22 Dec. I ſhould not have troubled you with mine, that went hence but a little before the receipt of your's. I was afraid, in reading the beginning of your's, that I had not ſo great an intereſt in you, as I flattered my ſelf, and upon a preſumption whereof it was, that I took the liberty ſo confidently to aſk your advice, concerning the ſecond edition of my book. But what followed ſatisfied me, that it was your civility, and not reſervedneſs, made you tell me, that the ſame hand, which firſt formed it, is beſt able to reform it. Could I flatter myſelf ſo, as to think I deſerved all that you ſay of me, in your obliging letter, I ſhould yet think you a better judge of what is to be reformed in my book, than I myſelf. You have given the world

world proofs of your great penetration, and I have received great marks of your candor. But were the inequality between us, as much to my advantage, as it is on the other ſide, I ſhould nevertheleſs beg your opinion. Whatſoever is our own, let us do what we can, ſtands a little too near us to be viewed as it ſhould: and, though we ever ſo ſincerely aim at truth; yet our own thoughts, judging ſtill of our own thoughts, may be ſuſpected to overlook errors and miſtakes. And I ſhould think, he valued himſelf more than truth, and preſumed too much on his own abilities, who would not be willing to have all the exceptions could be made, by any ingenious friend, before he ventured any thing into the publick. I therefore heartily thank you, for thoſe you have ſent me, and for conſulting ſome of your friends, to the ſame purpoſe: and beg the favour, if any thing more occurs from your own thoughts, or from them, you will be pleaſed to communicate it to me, if it be but thoſe errata typographica you meet with, not taken notice of, in the table. I confeſs, I thought ſome of the explications in my book too long, though turned ſeveral ways, to make thoſe abſtract notions the eaſier ſink into minds, prejudiced in the ordinary way of education, and therefore I was of a mind to contract it. But finding you, and ſome other friends of mine, whom I conſulted in the caſe, of a contrary opinion, and that you judge the redundancy in it a pardonable fault, I ſhall take very little pains to reform it.

I CONFESS what I ſay, page 270, compared with 314, 315. may, to an unwary reader, ſeem to contain a contradiction: but you, conſidering right, perceive that there is none. But it not being reaſonable to me to expect, that every body ſhould read me with that judgment you do, and obſerve the deſign and foundation of what I ſay, rather than ſtick barely in the words, it is fit, as far as may be, that I accommodate myſelf to ordinary readers, and avoid the appearances of contradiction, even in their thoughts, p. 314. I ſuppoſe matter, in its own natural ſtate, void of thought, a ſuppoſition I concluded would not be denied me, or not hard to be proved, if it ſhould: and thence I inferred, matter could not be the firſt eternal being. But p. 270. I thought it no abſurdity, or contradiction, to ſuppoſe, “ that a thinking, omnipotent being once “ granted, ſuch a being might annex to ſome ſyſtems of matter, ordered in a “ way, that he thought fit, a capacity of ſome degrees of ſenſe and thinking.” To avoid this appearance of a contradiction, in my two ſuppoſitions, and clear it up to leſs attentive readers, I intend in the ſecond edition to alter it thus, if you think it will do.

P. 270. l. 20. READ, “ for I ſee no contradiction in it, that the firſt, eternal, “ thinking being, or omnipotent ſpirit, ſhould, if he pleaſed, give to certain “ ſyſtems of created, ſenſeleſs matter, put together as he thinks fit, ſome degrees of ſenſe, perception, and thought; though I judge it no leſs than a contradiction, to ſuppoſe matter (which is evidently, in its own nature, without “ ſenſe and thought) ſhould be the eternal, firſt, thinking being. What certainty of knowledge can any one have, that ſome perceptions, ſuch as, v. g. “ pleaſure and pain, ſhould not be in ſome bodies themſelves after”——

P. 315. l. 5. READ, “ thought can never begin to be: for it is impoſſible to “ conceive that matter, either with, or without motion, could have originally, “ in and from itſelf, ſenſe, perception and knowledge, as is evident from hence, “ that ſenſe, perception and knowledge muſt then be a property eternally inſeparable from matter, and every particle of it. Not to add, that though “ our general, or ſpecifick conception of matter makes us ſpeak of it as one “ thing; yet really all matter is not one individual thing, neither is there any “ ſuch thing exiſting, as one material being, or one body, that we know or “ can conceive. And therefore, if matter were the eternal, firſt, cogitative being, there would not be one eternal, infinite, cogitative being: but an infinite “ number of finite, cogitative beings, independent one of another, of limited “ force and diſtinct thoughts, which could never produce that order, harmony, “ and beauty is to be found in nature. Since, therefore, whatſoever is the firſt, “ eternal being muſt neceſſarily be cogitative: and whatſoever is firſt of all “ things——higher degree, it neceſſarily follows, that the eternal, firſt being

“ cannot be matter.” Pray give me your opinion, whether if I print it thus, it will not remove the appearance of any contradiction.

I DO not wonder to find you think my diſcourſe about liberty a little too fine ſpun. I had ſo much that thought of it myſelf, that I ſaid the ſame thing of it to ſome of my friends, before it was printed, and told them, that upon that account I judged it beſt to leave it out, but they perſuaded me to the contrary. When the connexion of the parts of my ſubject brought me to the conſideration of power, I had no deſign to meddle with the queſtion of liberty, but barely purſued my thoughts in the contemplation of that power in man, of chooſing, or preferring, which we call the will, as far as they would lead me, without any the leaſt biaſs to one ſide, or other; or if there was any leaning in my mind, it was rather to the contrary ſide of that, where I found myſelf at the end of my purſuit. But doubting that it bore a little too hard upon man's liberty, I ſhewed it to a very ingenious but profeſſed Arminian, and deſired him, after he had conſidered it, to tell me his objections, if he had any, who frankly confeſſed he could carry it no farther. I confeſs, I think there might be ſomething ſaid, which with a great many men would paſs for a ſatisfactory anſwer to your objection; but it not ſatisfying me, I neither put it into my book, nor ſhall now into my letter. If I have put any fallacy on myſelf, in all that deduction, as it may be, and I have been ready to ſuſpect it myſelf, you will do me a very acceptable kindneſs to ſhew it me, that I may reform it. But if you will argue for, or againſt, liberty from conſequences, I will not undertake to anſwer you. For I own freely to you the weakneſs of my underſtanding, that though it be unqueſtionable, that there is omnipotence and omniſcience in God, our maker, and I cannot have a clearer perception of any thing, than that I am free; yet I cannot make freedom in man conſiſtent with omnipotence and omniſcience in God, though I am as fully perſuaded of both, as of any truths I moſt firmly aſſent to. And, therefore I have long ſince given off the conſideration of that queſtion, reſolving all into this ſhort concluſion; that if it be poſſible for God to make a free agent, then man is free, though I ſee not the way of it.

IN the objection you raiſe about ſpecies, I fear you are fallen into the ſame difficulty, I often found myſelf under, when I was writing on that ſubject, where I was very apt to ſuppoſe diſtinct ſpecies I could talk of, without names. For pray, ſir, conſider what it is you mean, when you ſay, that “ we can no “ more doubt of a ſparrow's being a bird, and a horſe's being a beaſt, than we “ can of this colour being black, and t'other white,” &c. but this, that the combination of ſimple ideas, which the word, bird, ſtands for, is to be found in that particular thing we call a ſparrow. And therefore, I hope I have no where ſaid, “ there is no ſuch ſort of creatures in nature, as birds;” if I have, it is both contrary to truth and to my opinion. This I do ſay, that there are real conſtitutions in things, from whence theſe ſimple ideas flow, which we obſerve combined in them. And this I farther ſay, that there are real diſtinctions and differences in thoſe real conſtitutions, one from another; whereby they are diſtinguiſhed one from another, whether we think of them, or name them, or no: But that that whereby we diſtinguiſh and rank particular ſubſtances into ſorts, or genera and ſpecies, is not thoſe real eſſences, or internal conſtitutions, but ſuch combinations of ſimple ideas, as we obſerve in them. This I deſigned to ſhew, in lib. iii. c. 6. If, upon your peruſal of that chapter again, you find any thing contrary to this, I beg the favour of you to mark it to me, that I may correct it, for it is not what I think true. Some parts of that third book, concerning words, though the thoughts were eaſy and clear enough, yet coſt me more pains to expreſs, than all the reſt of my eſſay. And therefore, I ſhall not much wonder, if there be in ſome places of it obſcurity and doubtfulneſs. It would be a great kindneſs from my readers, to oblige me, as you have done, by telling me any thing they find amiſs; for the printed book being more for others uſe, than my own, it is fit I ſhould accommodate it to that, as much as I can; which truly is my intention.

THAT which you propoſe, of turning my eſſay into a body of logick and metaphyſicks, accommodated to the uſual forms, though I thank you very kindly for it, and plainly ſee in it the care you have, of the education of young ſcholars, which is a thing of no ſmall moment; yet I fear I ſhall ſcarce find time to do it, you have cut out other work for me, more to my liking, and I think of more uſe. Beſides that, if they have, in this book of mine, what you think the matter of theſe two ſciences, or what you will call them; I like the method it is in, better than that of the ſchools, where I think it is no ſmall prejudice to knowledge, that predicaments, predicables, &c. being univerſally, in all their ſyſtems, come to be looked on, as neceſſary principles, or unqueſtionable parts of knowledge, juſt as they are ſet down there. If logick be the firſt thing to be taught young men, after grammar, as is the uſual method, I think yet it ſhould be nothing but propoſition and ſyllogiſm. But that being in order to their diſputing exerciſes in the univerſity, perhaps I may think thoſe may be ſpared too. Diſputing being but an ill (not to ſay the worſt) way to knowledge. I ſay this not as pretending to change, or find fault with, what publick allowance and eſtabliſhed practice has ſettled in univerſities; but to excuſe myſelf to you from whom I cannot allow myſelf to differ, without telling you the true reaſons of it. For I ſee ſo much knowledge, candor, and the marks of ſo much good will to mankind in you, that there are few men, whoſe opinion I think ought to have ſo much authority with me as yours. But, as to the method of learning, perhaps I may entertain you more at large hereafter; only now let me aſk you, ſince you mention logick and metaphyſicks in relation to my book, whether either of thoſe ſciences may ſuggeſt to you any new heads, fit to be inſerted into my eſſay, in a ſecond edition?

YOU have done too much honour to me in the recommendation I ſee you have given to my book, and I am the more pleaſed with it, becauſe I think it was not done out of kindneſs to one ſo much a ſtranger to you as I then was. But yet, pray do not think me ſo vain that I dare aſſume to myſelf almoſt any part of, what you ſay of me in your laſt letter. Could I find in myſelf any reaſon you could have to flatter me, I ſhould ſuſpect you reſolved to play the courtier a little. But I know what latitude civil and well-bred men allow themſelves with great ſincerity, where they are pleaſed, and kindneſs warms them. I am ſenſible of the obligation, and in return ſhall only tell you, that I ſhall ſpeedily ſet myſelf to obey your commands in the laſt part of your letter. I beg your pardon for treſpaſſing ſo much on your patience, and am,

SIR,

your moſt humble and moſt obliged ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, Dublin, March 2, $169\frac{2}{3}$.

YOurs of Jan. 20. came to my hands, juſt as I lay down on a bed of ſickneſs, being a ſevere cholick, that held me nigh five weeks, and brought me very weak; this was the more grievous to me, in that it hindered me from giving that ready anſwer to your letters, which I deſired; being very covetous, on all opportunities, of keeping up a correſpondence with one, for whom I had ſo great a reſpect. I am now, God be thanked, pretty well recovered; but yet weak, and have not yet ſtirred abroad. I know the bare ſignifying this to you is ſufficient in my excuſe; ſo that, relying on your pardon, I proceed to anſwer your laſt.

AND firſt, ſir, believe me, that whatever reſpect I have at any time uſed to you, has been the ſincere thoughts of my heart, and not the vain compliments,

that

that uſually paſs between courtiers; and, how extravagant ſoever, are looked upon as the effects of good breeding, and paſs only as ſuch, by licence. I think I know a worthy man when I meet him, and they are ſo rare in the world, that no honour is too great for thoſe that are ſuch. And I muſt plainly ſay it to your ſelf, that ſo much humanity, candor, condeſcenſion, and good nature, joined with ſo great judgment, learning, and parts, I have not met with in any man living, as in the author of the "Eſſay concerning Humane "Underſtanding." You ſo favourably entertain all men's objections, you are ſo deſirous to hear the ſenſe of others, you are ſo tender in differing from any man, that you have captivated me beyond reſiſtance. What you propoſe to add in thoſe places, which I intimated to you, as ſeemingly repugnant to unwary readers, pag. 270. and 314, 315, is abundantly ſufficient; unleſs you may think it convenient (for the prevention of all manner of ſcruple, and to ſhew your readers, that you are aware of the objection, that may be raiſed againſt theſe paſſages) to add in the margin a little note to that purpoſe, ſpecifying the ſeeming repugnancy that was in the firſt edition, and that for the clearing thereof, you have thus farther illuſtrated it in this. But this, as every thing elſe, I propoſe with all ſubmiſſion to your better judgment. Mentioning the marginal note to you minds me to intimate, that I ſhould think it convenient in your next edition, to expreſs the abſtract or content of each ſection in the margin, and to ſpare (if you think fit) the table of contents at the latter end of the book, though I think both may do beſt. I can aſſure you, for my own reading, and conſulting your book, I have put the table of contents to their reſpective ſections throughout the whole.

I AM fully convinced, by the arguments you give me, for not turning your book into the ſcholaſtick form of logick and metaphyſicks; and I had no other reaſon to adviſe the other, but merely to get it promoted the eaſier in our univerſity; one of the buſineſſes of which places is to learn according to the old forms. And this minds me to let you know the great joy and ſatisfaction of mind I conceived, on your promiſe of the method of learning; there could nothing be more acceptable to me, than the hopes thereof, and that on this account: I have but one child in the world, who is now nigh four years old, and promiſes well; his mother left him to me very young, and my affections (I muſt confeſs) are ſtrongly placed on him: it has pleaſed God, by the liberal proviſions of our anceſtors, to free me from the toiling cares of providing a fortune for him; ſo that my whole ſtudy ſhall be to lay up a treaſure of knowledge in his mind, for his happineſs both in this life and the next. And I have been often thinking of ſome method for his inſtruction, that may beſt obtain the end I propoſe. And now, to my great joy, I hope to be abundantly ſupplied by your method. And my brother has ſometimes told me, that, whilſt he had the happineſs of your acquaintance at Leyden, you were upon ſuch a work, as this I deſire; and that too, at the requeſt of a tender father, for the uſe of his only ſon. Wherefore, good ſir, let me moſt earneſtly intreat you, by no means to lay aſide this infinitely uſeful work, 'till you have finiſhed it; for it will be of vaſt advantage to all mankind, as well as particularly to me, your entire friend. And, on this conſideration of uſefulneſs to mankind, I will preſume again to remind you of your "diſcourſe of morality;" and I ſhall think myſelf very happy, if by putting you on the thought, I ſhould be the leaſt occaſion of ſo great good to the world. What I have more to ſay, relating to your book, is of little or no moment; however, you ſo readily entertain all men's thoughts of your works, that, futile as mine are, you ſhall have a remark or two more from me.

BUT firſt to your query, whether I know any new heads from logick or metaphyſicks to be inſerted in the ſecond edition of your eſſay: I anſwer, I know none, unleſs you think it may not do well to inſiſt more particularly, and at large, on "æternæ veritates, and the principium individuationis." Concerning the firſt, you have ſome touches, pag. 281. §. 31. p. 323. §. 14. p. 345. §. 14. and concerning the latter, p. 28. §. 4. p. 40. §. 12.

PAG. 96. ſect. 9. you aſſert, what I conceive is an error in fact, viz. “ That “ a man's eye can diſtinguiſh a ſecond of a circle, whereof its ſelf is the center.” Whereas it is certain, that few men's eyes can diſtinguiſh leſs than 30 ſeconds, and moſt not under a minute, or 60 ſeconds, as is manifeſt from what Mr. Hook lays down in his animadverſions, on the firſt part of Hevelii machina cœleſtis, p. 8, 9, &c. but this, as I ſaid before, is only an error in fact, and affects not the doctrine laid down in the ſaid ſection.

PAG. 341. ſect. 2. you ſay, “ the exiſtence of all things without us (except “ only of God) is had by our ſenſes.” And p. 147, ſect. 33, 34, 35, 36. you ſhew how the idea, we have of God, is made up of the ideas, we have gotten by our ſenſes. Now this, though no repugnancy; yet, to unwary readers, may ſeem one, and therefore perhaps may deſerve a fuller expreſſion. To me it is plain, that in pag. 341. you ſpeak barely of the exiſtence of a God; and in p. 147. you ſpeak of the ideas, that are ingredient in the complex idea of God; that is, p. 147. you ſay, “ that all the ideas, ingredient in the idea “ of a God, are had from ſenſe;” and p. 341. you only aſſert, “ that the ex- “ iſtence of this God, or that really there are united in one being all theſe “ ideas, is had, not from ſenſe, but demonſtration.” This to me ſeems your ſenſe, yet perhaps every reader may not ſo readily conceive it; and, therefore, poſſibly you may think this paſſage, p. 341. worth your farther conſideration and addition.

I WILL conclude my tedious lines with a jocoſe problem, that, upon diſcourſe with ſeveral, concerning your book and notions, I have propoſed to divers very ingenious men, and could hardly ever meet with one, that, at firſt daſh, would give me the anſwer to it, which I think true, till by hearing my reaſons they were convinced. It is this. “ Suppoſe a man born blind, and now adult, “ and taught by his touch to diſtinguiſh between a cube and a ſphere (ſuppoſe) “ of ivory, nighly of the ſame bigneſs, ſo as to tell when he felt one and t'other, “ which is the cube, which the ſphere. Suppoſe then, the cube and ſphere “ placed on a table, and the blind man to be made to ſee; query,” “ whe- “ ther by his ſight, before he touched them, he could now diſtinguiſh and tell, “ which is the globe, which the cube?” I anſwer, not; for though he has “ obtained the experience of how a globe, and how a cube affects his touch; yet “ he has not yet attained the experience, that what affects his touch, ſo or ſo, “ muſt affect his ſight ſo or ſo; or that a protuberant angle in the cube, that “ preſſed his hand unequally, ſhall appear to his eye, as it does in the cube.” But of this enough; perhaps you may find ſome place in your eſſay, wherein you may not think it amiſs to ſay ſomething of this problem.

I AM extremely obliged to you for Mr. Boyle's book of the air, which lately came to my hands. It is a vaſt deſign, and not to be finiſhed but by the united labours of many heads, and indefatigably proſecuted for many years; ſo that I deſpair of ſeeing any thing complete therein. However, if many will lend the ſame helping hands that you have done, I ſhould be in hopes: and certainly there is not a chapter in all natural philoſophy of greater uſe to mankind than what is here propoſed. I am,

Worthy Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, London, 28 Mar. 1693.

YOUR ſilence, that ſpared me a great deal of fear and uneaſineſs, by concealing from me your ſickneſs, 'till it was well over, is abundantly made amends for, by the joy it brings me, in the news of your recovery. You have given me thoſe marks of your kindneſs to me, that you will not think it ſtrange, that I count you amongſt my friends, and with thoſe, deſiring to live with the eaſe and freedom of a perfect confidence, I never accuſe them to myſelf of neglect, or coldneſs, when I fail to hear from them, ſo ſoon as I expected or deſired: though had I known you ſo well before as I do now, ſince your laſt letter, I ſhould not have avoided being in pain upon account of your health.

I CANNOT at all doubt the ſincerity of any thing you ſay to me; but yet, give me leave to think, that it is an exceſs of kindneſs alone could excuſe it from looking like compliment. But I am convinced you love your friends extremely, where you have made choice of them, and then believe you can never think, nor ſpeak too well of them. I know not whether it belongs to a man, who gets once in print, to read in his book, that it is perfect, and that the author is infallible. Had I had ſuch an opinion of my own ſufficiency before I writ, my Eſſay would have brought me to another, and given me ſuch a ſight of the weakneſs of my underſtanding, that I could not fail to ſuſpect myſelf of error and miſtake, in many things I had writ, and to deſire all the light I could get from others to ſet me right. I have found you one of the likelieſt to afford it me; your clearneſs and candor gave me the confidence to aſk your judgment, and I take it for no ſmall aſſurance of your friendſhip that you have given it me, and have condeſcended to adviſe me of the printer's faults, which gives me hopes you have not concealed any, you have obſerved in the work itſelf. The marginal ſummaries you deſire, of the paragraphs, I ſhall take care to have added, were it only for your ſake, but I think too, it will make the book the more uſeful.

THAT requeſt of your's you preſs ſo earneſtly upon me, makes me bemoan the diſtance you are from me, which deprives me of the aſſiſtance I might have from your opinion and judgment, before I ventured any thing into the publick. 'Tis ſo hard to find impartial freedom in one's friends, or an unbiaſſed judgment any where, that amongſt all the helps of converſation and acquaintance, I know none more wanted, nor more uſeful, than ſpeaking freely and candidly one's opinion, upon the thoughts and compoſitions of another, intended for the preſs. Experience has taught me, that you are a friend of this rank, and therefore I cannot but heartily wiſh that a ſea between us did not hinder me from the advantage of this good office. Had you been within reach I ſhould have begged your ſevere examination of what is now gone to the printer, at your inſtance; I had rather I could have ſaid upon your peruſal, and with your correction. I am not, in my nature a lover of novelty, nor contradiction; but my notions in this treatiſe, have run me ſo far out of the common road and practice, that I could have been glad to have had them allowed by ſo ſober a judgment as yours, or ſtopped, if they had appeared impracticable, or extravagant, from going any farther. That which your brother tells you, on this occaſion, is not wholly beſides the matter. The main of what I now publiſh, is but what was contained in ſeveral letters to a friend of mine, the greateſt part whereof were writ out of Holland. How your brother came to know of it, I have clearly forgot, and do not remember that ever I communicated it to any body there. Theſe letters, or at leaſt ſome of them, have been ſeen by ſome of my acquaintance here, who would needs perſuade me 'twould be of uſe to publiſh them; your impatience to ſee them, has not, I aſſure you, ſlackened my hand, or kept me in ſuſpenſe: and I wiſh now they were out, that you might the ſooner ſee them, and I the ſooner have your opinion of them. I know not yet, whether I ſhall ſet my name to this diſcourſe, and therefore ſhall deſire you to conçeal it. You ſee I make you my confeſſor, for you have made yourſelf my friend.

The faults of the preſs are, I find, upon a ſedate reading over of my book, infinitely more than I could have thought; thoſe, that you have obſerved, I have corrected, and return you my thanks; and, as far as I have gone in my review, have added and altered ſeveral things, but am not yet got ſo far as thoſe places you mark, for the "æternæ veritates, and principium individuationis," which I ſhall conſider, when I come to them, and endeavour to ſatisfy your deſire. "Malebranche's hypotheſis of ſeeing all things in God," being that from whence I find ſome men would derive our ideas, I have ſome thoughts of adding a new chapter, wherein I will examine it, having, as I think, ſomething to ſay againſt it, that will ſhew the weakneſs of it very clearly. But I have ſo little love to controverſy, that I am not fully reſolved. Some other additions I have made, I hope will not diſpleaſe you, but I wiſh I could ſhew them you, before they are in print; for I would not make my book bigger, unleſs it were to make it better.

I thank you for adviſing me of the error about ſight, for indeed it was a great one in matter of fact, but it was in the expreſſion, for I meant a minute, but, by miſtake, called $\frac{1}{60}$ of a degree, a ſecond. Your ingenious problem will deſerve to be publiſhed to the world.

The ſeeming contradiction between what is ſaid p. 147. and p. 341. is juſt as you take it, and I hope ſo clearly expreſſed, that it cannot be miſtaken, but by a very unwary reader, who cannot diſtinguiſh between an idea in the mind, and the real exiſtence of ſomething out of the mind, anſwering that idea. But I heartily thank you for your caution, and ſhall take care how to prevent any ſuch miſtake, when I come to that place. My humble ſervice to your brother. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

John Locke.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

SIR, Dublin, April 18, 1693.

I Have lately received farther teſtimonies of your kindneſs and friendſhip to me, in your laſt of March 28. which brings withal the welcome news, of your having committed your work of education to the preſs; than which, I know not any thing, that I ever expected with a more earneſt deſire. What my brother told me, relating to that treatiſe, he had from yourſelf in Holland; but perhaps you might have forgot, what paſſed between you on that occaſion. I perceive you fear the novelty of ſome notions therein may ſeem extravagant; but, if I may venture to judge of the author, I fear no ſuch thing from him. I doubt not, but the work will be new and peculiar, as his other performances; and this it is that renders them eſtimable and pleaſant. He that travels the beaten roads may chance, indeed, to have company; but he that takes his liberty, and manages it with judgment, is the man that makes uſeful diſcoveries, and moſt beneficial to thoſe that follow him. Had Columbus never ventured farther than his predeceſſors, we had yet been ignorant of a vaſt part of our earth, preferable (as ſome ſay) to all the other three. And, if none may be allowed to try the ocean of philoſophy, farther than our anceſtors, we ſhall have but little advancements, or diſcoveries, made in the mundus intellectualis; wherein, I believe, there is much more unknown, than what we have yet found out.

I SHOULD very much approve of your adding a chapter in your eſſay, concerning Malebranche's hypotheſis. As there are enthuſiaſms in divinity; ſo there are in philoſophy; and as one proceeds from not conſulting, or miſapprehending the book of God; ſo the other from not reading and conſidering the book of nature. I look upon Malebranche's notions, or rather Plato's, in this particular, as perfectly unintelligible. And if you will engage in a philoſophick controverſy, you cannot do it with more advantage, than in this matter. What you lay down, concerning our ideas and knowledge, is founded and confirmed by experiment and obſervation, that any man may make in himſelf, or the children he converſes with, wherein he may note the gradual ſteps, that we may make in knowledge. But Plato's fancy has no foundation in nature, but it is merely the product of his own brain.

I KNOW it is none of your buſineſs to engage in controverſy, or remove objections; ſave only ſuch as ſeem immediately to ſtrike at your own poſitions; and therefore I cannot inſiſt upon what I am now going to mention to you. However I will give you the hint, and leave the conſideration thereof to your own breaſt. The 10th chapter of your ivth book, is a moſt exact demonſtration of the exiſtence of a God. But perhaps it might be more full, by an addition againſt the eternity of the world, and that all things have not been going on in the ſame manner, as we now ſee them, ab æterno. I have known a pack of philoſophical atheiſts, that rely much on this hypotheſis; and even Hobbs himſelf does ſomewhere alledge (if I am not forgetful, it is his book de corpore, in the chapter de univerſo) "that the ſame arguments, which are brought "againſt the eternity of the world, may ſerve as well againſt the eternity of the "Creator of the world." I am,

Honoured SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, devoted ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, London, 15 July, 1693.

I Had not been ſo long, before I had acknowledged the favour of your laſt, had not I a deſign to give you, at large, an account of ſome alterations I intended to make, in the chapter of power, wherein I ſhould have been very glad you had ſhewed me any miſtake. I myſelf, not being very well ſatisfied, by the concluſion I was led to, that my reaſonings were perfectly right, reviewed that chapter again with great care, and by obſerving only the miſtake of one word (viz. having put things for actions, which was very eaſy to be done in the place where it is, viz. p. 123. as I remember, for I have not my book by me, here in town) I got into a new view of things, which, if I miſtake not, will ſatisfy you, and give a clearer account of humane freedom than hitherto I have done, as you will perceive by the ſummaries of the following ſections of that chapter.

§. 28. Volition is the ordering of ſome action by thought.
§. 29. Uneaſineſs determines the will.
§. 30. Will muſt be diſtinguiſhed from deſire.
§. 31. The greater good in view, barely conſidered, determines not the will. The joys of heaven are often neglected.
§. 32. Deſire determines the will.
§. 33. Deſire is an uneaſineſs.
§. 34. The greateſt preſent uneaſineſs uſually determines the will, as is evident in experience. The reaſons.
§. 35. Becauſe uneaſineſs being a part of unhappineſs, which is firſt to be removed in our way to happineſs.

§. 36. Be-

§. 36. Becauſe uneaſineſs alone is preſent.
§. 37. The uneaſineſs of other paſſions have their ſhare with deſire.
§. 38. Happineſs alone moves the deſire.
§. 39. All abſent good not deſired, becauſe not neceſſary to our happineſs.
§. 40. The greateſt uneaſineſs does not always determine the will, becauſe we can ſuſpend the execution of our deſires.

THIS ſhort ſcheme may perhaps give you ſo much light into my preſent hypotheſis, that you will be able to judge of the truth of it, which I beg you to examine, by your own mind. I wiſh you were ſo near, that I could communicate it to you at large, before it goes to the preſs. But it is ſo much too long for a letter, and the preſs will be ſo ready to ſtay for it, before it is finiſhed, that I fear I ſhould not be able to have the advantage of your thoughts, upon the whole thread of my deduction. For I had much rather have your corrections, whilſt they might contribute to make it receive your approbation, than flatter myſelf before-hand that you will be pleaſed with it.

I HOPE, ere this, you have received from Mr. —— that which I promiſed you, the beginning of the ſpring. I muſt deſire your opinion of it without reſerve, for I ſhould not have ventured, upon any other condition, to have owned, and preſented to you ſuch a trifle. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, Auguſt 12, 1693.

YOURS of July 15. came to my hands about a fortnight ſince; and I had, ere this, acknowledged the favour thereof, but that I waited the arrival of your much deſired piece, of education, which came not to me 'till about three days ago. I immediately ſet myſelf to read it, as all things from its author, with the utmoſt attention; and I find it anſwerable to the higheſt expectations I had of it. And ſince, with your uſual modeſty you are pleaſed to require my thoughts more particularly, concerning it, I ſhall with all freedom, but at the ſame time with all deference, propoſe them to you, not doubting of your favourable interpretation and pardon, where you ſee it needful. And firſt, in general, I think you propoſe nothing in your whole book, but what is very reaſonable, and very practicable, except only in one particular, which ſeems to bear hard on the tender ſpirits of children, and the natural affections of parents: 'tis pag. 117, 118. where you adviſe, "that a child ſhould never be ſuffered to have what he craves, or ſo much as ſpeaks for, much leſs if he cries for it." I acknowledge what you ſay in explaining this rule, ſect. 101. in relation to natural wants, eſpecially that of hunger, may be well enough allowed: but in ſect. 102. where you come to apply it to "wants of fancy and affectation," you ſeem too ſtrict and ſevere. You ſay indeed, "this will teach them to ſtifle their deſires, and to practiſe modeſty and temperance;" but for teaching theſe virtues, I conceive we ſhall have occaſions enough, in relation to their hurtful deſires, without abridging them ſo wholly, in matters indifferent and innocent, that tend only to divert and pleaſe their buſy ſpirits. You allow indeed, "that, 'twould be inhumanity to deny them thoſe things, one perceives would delight them;" if ſo, I ſee no reaſon why, in a modeſt way, and with ſubmiſſion to the wills of their ſuperiors, they may not be allowed to declare what will delight them. No, ſay you; "but in all wants of fancy and affectation, they ſhould never, if once declared, be hearkened to,

" or complied with." This I can never agree to, it being to deny that liberty between a child and its parents, as we deſire, and have granted us, between man and his Creator. And, as in this caſe, man is allowed to declare his wants, and with ſubmiſſion to recommend his requeſts to God; ſo I think children may be allowed by their parents, or governors. And as between the creature and the Creator all manner of repining upon denial, or diſappointment, is forbidden; ſo, in the caſe of children, all frowardneſs or diſcontent, upon a refuſal, is ſeverely to be reprimanded. But thus far I agree with you, in the whole, that whether it be in wants natural, or fanciful, that they expreſs their deſires, in a froward, humourſome manner, there they ſhould be ſurely denied them. A farther reaſon for my allowing children a liberty of expreſſing their innocent deſires, is, that the contrary is impracticable; and you muſt have the children almoſt moped for the want of diverſion and recreation, or elſe you muſt have thoſe about them ſtudy nothing all day, but how to find employment for them; and how this would rack the invention of any man alive, I leave you to judge. And beſides, were it an eaſy taſk for any adult perſon to ſtudy the fancy, the unaccountable fancy, and diverſion of children, the whole year round; yet it would not prove delightful to a child, being not his own choice. But this, you'll ſay, is what you would have imprinted on them, that they are not to chooſe for themſelves; but why not, in harmleſs things, and plays or ſports, I ſee no reaſon. In all things of moment let them live by the conduct of others wiſer than themſelves.

THIS, ſir, is all, that in your whole book I ſtick at; to all the reſt I could ſubſcribe. And I am not a little pleaſed, when I conſider that my own management of my own little one has hitherto been agreeable, in the main, to your rules, ſave only in what relates to his hardy breeding, which I was cautious in, becauſe he is come from a tender and ſickly mother; but the child himſelf is hitherto (God be thanked) very healthful, though not very ſtrong.

THE rules you give for the correcting of children, and implanting in their minds an early ſenſe of praiſe or diſpraiſe, of repute and diſhonour, are certainly very juſt.

THE contrivances you propoſe for teaching them to read and write, are very ingenious. And becauſe I have practiſed one much of the ſame nature, I'll venture to deſcribe it. " 'Tis by writing ſyllables and words in print-hand, on the " face of a pack of cards, with figures or cyphers adjoined to each word; by " which I can form twenty ſeveral ſorts of games, that ſhall teach children both " to read and count at the ſame time; and this with great variety." One thing more I ſhall venture to add, to what you direct concerning writing; that is, I will have my ſon taught ſhort-hand; I do not mean to that perfection as to copy a ſpeech from the mouth of a ready ſpeaker, but to be able to write it readily, for his own private buſineſs. Believe me, ſir, 'tis as uſeful a knack as a man of buſineſs, or any ſcholar can be maſter of, and I have found the want of it myſelf, and ſeen the advantage of it in others, frequently.

YOU are certainly in the right of it, relating to the manner of acquiring languages, French, Latin, &c. and in what you lay down concerning grammar-ſchools, themes, verſes, and other learning. But above all, what you direct, in every particular, for the forming of children's minds, and giving them an early turn to morality, virtue, religion, &c. is moſt excellent.

AND I can only ſay in general, that I can give no better proof of my liking your book in all theſe precepts, than by a ſtrict obſervance of them, in the education of my own ſon; which I ſhall purſue (God willing) as exactly as I can. One thing I fear, I ſhall be at a loſs in, that is a tutor agreeable to the character you preſcribe. But in this neither ſhall my endeavours be wanting, though I leave him the worſe eſtate, to leave him the better mind.

I COULD heartily have wiſhed you had been more particular in naming the authors you would adviſe gentlemen to read, and be converſant in, in the ſeveral parts of learning you recommend to their ſtudy. Had you done this, I know no logick, that deſerves to be named, but the eſſay of human underſtanding.

So that I fear you would rather have left that head open, than recommended your own work.

THE laſt thing I ſhall take notice of, is what mightily pleaſes me, it being the very thought of my own mind, theſe many years; which is, "your recommending a manual trade to all gentlemen." This I have ever been for, and have wondered how it comes to paſs, that it is ſo generally neglected; but the lazy, effeminate luxurioußneſs, that overruns the nation, occaſions the neglect thereof. Painting I have ever deſigned for my ſon, but you have raiſed two objections againſt it, that are not eaſily anſwered, eſpecially its taking up ſo much time, to attain a maſtery in it.

I HAVE now given you my opinion of your book, and now I am obliged to thank you for ſending me a preſent, which I ſo highly value.

As to that part of your letter, relating to the alterations you have made, in your eſſay, concerning man's liberty, I dare not venture, upon thoſe ſhort hints you give me, to paſs my opinion. But now, that you have diſcovered it to me, I plainly perceive the miſtake of ſect. 28. p. 123. where you put thing, for action. And I doubt not, but in your next edition, you will fully rectify this matter. And I could adviſe you to haſten that edition with what ſpeed you can, leſt foreigners undertake a tranſlation of your firſt, without your ſecond thoughts. Thus they have ſerved me, by tranſlating into Latin, and printing my Dioptricks in Holland, when I have now by me a tranſlation of my own of that work, with many amendments and large additions.

PRAY, ſir, let me beg the favour of your correſpondence, as frequently as you can, for nothing is more acceptable to

Your moſt obliged humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, Oates, 23. Aug. 1693.

YOURS of Auguſt 12. which I received laſt night, eaſed me of a great deal of pain, your ſilence had for ſome time put me in; for you muſt allow me to be concerned for your health, as for a friend that I could not think in danger, or a diſeaſe, without a concern and trouble, ſuitable to that great eſteem and love I have for you. But you have made me amends plentifully, by the length and kindneſs, and, let me add too, the freedom of your letter. For the approbation, you ſo largely give to my book, is the more welcome to me, and gives me the better opinion of my method, becauſe it has joined with it your exception to one rule of it; which I am apt to think, you your ſelf, upon ſecond thoughts, will have removed, before I ſay any thing to your objections. It confirms to me, that you are the good natured man I took you for: and I do not at all wonder, that the affection of a kind father ſhould ſtartle at it, at firſt reading, and think it very ſevere, that children ſhould not be ſuffered to expreſs their deſires; for ſo you ſeem to underſtand me. And ſuch a reſtraint, you fear, "would be apt to moap them, and hinder their diverſion." But, if you pleaſe to look upon the place, and obſerve my drift, you will find that they ſhould not be indulged, or complied with, in any thing, their conceits have made a want to them, as neceſſary to be ſupplied. What you ſay, "that children would be moaped, for want of diverſion and recreation, or elſe "we muſt have thoſe about them ſtudy nothing all day, but how to find im"ployment for them; and how this would rack the invention of any man li"ving, you leave me to judge," ſeems to intimate, as if you underſtood that children ſhould do nothing, but by the preſcription of their parents, or tutors, chalking out each action of the whole day, in train to them. I hope my words expreſs no ſuch thing, for it is quite contrary to my ſenſe, and I think would be uſeleſs tyranny in their governors, and certain ruin to the children. I am ſo much for recreation, that I would, as much as poſſible, have all they do be made ſo. I think recreation as neceſſary to them as their food, and that nothing can be recreation, which does not delight. This, I think, I have ſo expreſſed, and when you have put that together, judge whether I would not have them have the greateſt part of their time left to them, without reſtraint, to divert themſelves, any way they think beſt, ſo it be free from vicious actions, or ſuch as may introduce vicious habits. And therefore, if they ſhould aſk to play, it could be no more interpreted a want of fancy, than if they aſked for victuals, when hungry; though, where the matter is well ordered, they will never need to do that. For when they have either done what their governor thinks enough, in any application to what is uſually made their buſineſs, or are perceived to be tired with it, they ſhould of courſe be diſmiſſed to their innocent diverſions, without ever being put to aſk for it. So that I am for the full liberty of diverſion, as much as you can be, and, upon a ſecond peruſal of my book, I do not doubt but you will find me ſo. But being allowed that, as one of their natural wants, they ſhould not yet be permitted to let looſe their deſires, in importunities for what they fanſy. Children are very apt to covet what they ſee thoſe, above them in age, have, or do, to have, or do the like, eſpecially if it be their elder brothers and ſiſters. Does one go abroad? The other ſtrait has a mind to it too. Has ſuch an one new, or fine clothes, or play-things? They, if you once allow it them, will be impatient for the like; and think themſelves ill dealt with, if they have it not. This being indulged, when they are little, grows up with their age, and with that enlarges itſelf to things of greater conſequence, and has ruined more families than one in the world. This ſhould be ſuppreſſed, in its very firſt riſe, and the deſires you would not have encouraged, you ſhould not permit to be ſpoken, which is the beſt way for them to ſilence them to themſelves. Children ſhould, by conſtant uſe, learn to be very modeſt in owning their deſires, and careful not to aſk any thing of their parents, but what they have reaſon to think their parents will approve of. And a reprimand, upon their ill bearing a refuſal, comes too late, the fault is committed and allowed, and if you allow them to aſk, you can ſcarce think it ſtrange, they ſhould be troubled to be denied; ſo that you ſuffer them to engage themſelves in the diſorder, and then think the fitteſt time for a cure, and, I think, the ſureſt and eaſieſt way is prevention. For we muſt take the ſame nature to be in children, that is in grown men; and how often do we find men take ill to be denied what they would not have been concerned for, if they had not aſked? But I ſhall not enlarge any farther in this, believing you and I ſhall agree in the matter; and indeed it is very hard, and almoſt impoſſible to give general rules of education, when there is ſcarce any one child, which in ſome caſes ſhould not be treated differently from another. All that we can do, in general, is only to ſhew what parents and tutors ſhould aim at, and leave to them the ordering of particular circumſtances, as the caſe ſhall require.

ONE thing give me leave to be importunate with you about: You ſay, your ſon is not very ſtrong; to make him ſtrong, you muſt uſe him hardly, as I have directed; but you muſt be ſure to do it, by very inſenſible degrees, and begin an hardſhip, you would bring him to, only in the ſpring. This is all the caution needs be uſed. I have an example of it in the houſe I live in, where the only ſon of a very tender mother was almoſt deſtroyed by a too tender keeping. He is now, by a contrary uſage, come to bear wind and weather, and wet in his feet; and the cough, which threatened him, under that warm and cautious management, has left him, and is now no longer his parents conſtant apprehenſion, as it was.

I AM of your mind, as to ſhort hand. I my ſelf learned it, ſince I was a man, but had forgot to put it in, when I writ, as I have, I doubt not, overſeen a thouſand other things, which might have been ſaid, on this ſubject. But it was only, at firſt, a ſhort ſcheme for a friend, and is publiſhed to excite others to treat it more fully.

I

I know not whether it would be uſeful to make a catalogue of authors to be read by a young man, or whether it could be done, unleſs one knew the child's temper, and what he was deſigned to.

My eſſay is now very near ready for another edition, and upon review of my alterations, concerning what determines the will, in my cool thoughts I am apt to think them to be right, as far as my thoughts can reach, in ſo nice a point, and in ſhort is this. Liberty is a power to act or not to act, accordingly as the mind directs. A power to direct the operative faculties to motion, or reſt, in particular inſtances, is that which we call the will. That, which in the train of our voluntary actions determines the will to any change of operation, is ſome preſent uneaſineſs, which is, or at leaſt is always accompanied with, that of deſire. Deſire is always moved by evil to fly it; becauſe a total freedom from pain always makes a neceſſary part of our happineſs. But every good, nay every greater good, does not conſtantly move deſire, becauſe it may not make, or may not be taken to make, any neceſſary part of our happineſs; for all that we deſire is only to be happy. But though this general deſire of happineſs operates conſtantly and invariably in us; yet the ſatisfaction of any particular deſire, can be ſuſpended from determining the will to any ſubſervient action, till we have maturely examined, whether the particular apparent good we then deſire, make a part of our real happineſs, or be conſiſtent, or inconſiſtent with it. The reſult of our judgment, upon examination, is what ultimately determines the man, who could not be free, if his will were determined by any thing but his own deſire, guided by his own judgment. This, in ſhort, is what I think of this matter; I deſire you to examine it by your own thoughts. I think I have ſo well made out the ſeveral particulars, where I treat them at large, that they have convinced ſome, I have ſhewn them to here, who were of another mind; and therefore how much ſoever contrary to the received opinion, I think I may publiſh them; but I would firſt have your judicious and free thoughts, which I much rely on; for you love truth for itſelf, and me ſo well, as to tell it me without diſguiſe.

You will herewith receive a new chapter "of identity and diverſity," which, having writ, only at your inſtance, it is fit you ſhould ſee and judge of, before it goes to the preſs. Pray ſend me your opinion of every part of it. You need not ſend back the papers, but your remarks on the paragraphs you ſhall think fit, for I have a copy here.

You deſired me too to enlarge more particularly about eternal verities, which, to obey you, I ſet about, but upon examination, find all general truths are eternal verities, and ſo there is no entering into particulars; though, by miſtake, ſome men have ſelected ſome, as if they alone were eternal verities. I never, but with regret, reflect on the diſtance you are from me, and am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

John Locke.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Honoured SIR, Dublin, Sept. 16, 1693.

I HAVE your's from Oates of Aug. 23. with your chapter of identity and diverſity; and I acknowledge my ſelf extremely obliged to you, for being at all that thought, on my account. However, I repent not of the trouble I gave you therein, ſeeing the effects thereof, ſuch clear reaſoning, and profound judgment, that convinces and delights at once. And I proteſt, Sir, it is to me the hardeſt taſk in the world, to add any thing to, or make any remarks upon,

what

what you deliver therein; every thing, you write therein, is delivered with ſuch convincing reaſon, that I fully aſſent to all. And to make remarks, where I have no room to ſay any thing, would pleaſe neither you, nor my ſelf. And to ſhew you that I would not wholly rely on my own examination of your chapter, I imparted it to others, deſiring their cenſure of it; but ſtill with the ſame event, all acknowledged the clearneſs of the reaſoning, and that nothing more was left to be ſaid on the ſubject.

THE anſwer you make, to what I writ on your thoughts of education, does fully ſatisfy me. But I aſſure you, Sir, I was not the only perſon ſhocked at that paſſage. I find ſeveral ſtumble at it, as taking little play-things, that children are very apt to deſire and aſk for, to be matters of fancy and affectation, within your rule. But ſeeing, in your laſt letter, you confine deſires of fancy and affectation to other matters, I am ſatisfied in this buſineſs.

I CAN ſay no more to the ſcheme you lay down, of man's liberty, but that I believe it very juſt, and will anſwer in all things. I long to ſee the ſecond edition of your eſſay; and then, if any thing offer I'll give you my thoughts more fully.

I AM very ſenſible how cloſely you are engaged, till you have diſcharged this work off your hands; and therefore I will not venture, till it be over, to preſs you again to what you have promiſed in the buſineſs of man's life, morality. But you muſt expect that I ſhall never be forgetful of that, from which I propoſe ſo great good to the world, and ſo much ſatisfaction to

Your moſt entirely affectionate, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, Dublin, Dec, 23, 1693.

I HAVE now read over your eſſay of human underſtanding a third time, and always make new diſcoveries therein, of ſomething profound. I ſhould ſet upon it again, but that I will wait for your next edition, which I hope, by this time, is almoſt finiſhed. The uſual ſatisfaction I take, in reading all things that come from you, made me lately again run over your chapter of identity and diverſity; concerning the juſtneſs whereof, I have yet the ſame opinion as formerly. But one thought ſuggeſted itſelf to me, which on my firſt reading did not occur. It relates to ſect. 22. wherein the reaſon you give, why the law may juſtly puniſh a ſober man, for what he did when drunk, or a waking man, for what he did when walking in his ſleep, though it be true and full in the caſe of the night walker; yet I conceive it not ſo full, in the caſe of the drunken man. For drunkenneſs is itſelf a crime, and therefore no one ſhall alledge it an excuſe of another crime. And in the law we find, "that killing a man, by chance-medley, is not capital;" yet if I am doing an unlawful act, as ſhooting at a deer in a park, to ſteal it, and by chance-medley I kill a man unawares, this is capital; becauſe the act, wherein I was engaged, and which was the occaſion of this miſchief, was in itſelf unlawful, and I cannot plead it in excuſe. In the caſe of the night-walker, your anſwer is true, full, and ſatisfactory; but that in the drunkard's caſe is ſomewhat ſhort. The night walking is a ſort of diſtemper, not to be helped, or prevented, by the patient. But drunkenneſs is a deliberate act, which a man may eaſily avoid and prevent. Moreover, whatever the law appoints in this caſe, I think were I on the jury of one, who walking in his ſleep had killed another, I ſhould not violate a good conſcience, if I acquitted him; for he is certainly, during thoſe fits, "non compos mentis;" and it were eaſy to diſtinguiſh, by circumſtances, how far he counterfeited, or not.

YOU will very much oblige me, by a line or two, to let me know how forward your work is, and what other things you have on the anvil before you;

amongſt which, I hope you will not forget your "thoughts on morality." For I am obliged to proſecute this requeſt to you, being the firſt, I preſume, that moved you in it.

THERE is a gentleman in this town, one captain Henry Monk, a nigh relation of the Albemarles, who tells me he has been known to you long ago; and on all occaſions mentions you with the higheſt reſpects. He deſired me, the other day, to give you his moſt humble ſervice. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Honoured SIR, Oates, 19 Jan.—93-4.

I CAN take it for no other, than a great mark of your kindneſs to me, that you ſpend ſo much of your time, in the peruſal of my thoughts, when you have ſo much better of your own to improve it. To which you add this farther obligation, that you read my book for my inſtruction, ſtill taking notice to me of what you judge amiſs in it. This is a good office, that ſo few in the world perform, in the way that you do, that it deſerves my particular acknowledgment. And I own myſelf no leſs beholden to you, when I differ from you, than when, convinced by your better judgment, you give me opportunity to mend, what before was amiſs; your intention being that, to which I equally, in both caſes, owe my gratitude.

YOU doubt, whether my anſwer be full in the caſe of the drunkard. To try whether it be or no, we muſt conſider what I am there doing. As I remember (for I have not that chapter here by me) I am there ſhewing that puniſhment is annexed to perſonality, and perſonality to conſciouſneſs: how then can a drunkard be puniſhed for what he did, whereof he is not conſcious? To this I anſwer, human judicatures juſtly puniſh him, becauſe the fact is proved againſt him; but want of conſciouſneſs cannot be proved for him. This you think not ſufficient, but would have me add the common reaſon, that drunkenneſs being a crime, one crime cannot be alledged in excuſe for another. This reaſon, how good ſoever, cannot, I think, be uſed by me, as not reaching my caſe for what has this to do with conſciouſneſs? Nay, it is an argument againſt me, for if a man may be puniſhed for any crime, which he committed when drunk, whereof he is allowed not to be conſcious, it overturns my hypotheſis. Your caſe of ſhooting a man by chance, when ſtealing a deer, being made capital, and the like, I allow to be juſt; but then, pray conſider, it concerns not my argument; there being no doubt of conſciouſneſs in that caſe, but only ſhews, that any criminal action infects the conſequences of it. But drunkenneſs has ſomething peculiar in it, when it deſtroys conſciouſneſs; and ſo the inſtances, you bring, juſtify not the puniſhing of a drunken fact, that was totally and irrecoverably forgotten, which the reaſon, that I give, being ſufficient to do, it well enough removed the objection, without entering into the true foundation of the thing, and ſhewing how far it was reaſonable, for human juſtice, to puniſh a crime of a drunkard, which he could be ſuppoſed not conſcious of, which would have uſeleſly engaged me in a very large diſcourſe, and an impertinent digreſſion. For I aſk you, if a man, by intemperate drinking, ſhould get a fever, and in the frenzy of his diſeaſe (which laſted not, perhaps, above an hour) committed ſome crime, would you puniſh him for it? If you would not think this juſt, how can you think it juſt to puniſh him, for any fact committed in a drunken frenzy, without a fever? Both had the ſame criminal cauſe,

cauſe, drunkenneſs, and both committed without conſciouſneſs. I ſhall not enlarge any farther into other particular inſtances, that might raiſe difficulties about the puniſhing, or not puniſhing, the crime of an unconſcious, drunken man, which would not eaſily be reſolved, without enquiring into the reaſon, upon which human juſtice ought to proceed in ſuch caſes, which was beyond my preſent buſineſs to do. Thus, Sir, I have laid before you the reaſons, why I have let that paſſage go, without any addition made to it. I deſire you to lay by your friendſhip to me, and only to make uſe of your judgment in conſidering them. And if you are ſtill of opinion, that I need give the reaſon too, that one crime cannot be alledged in excuſe of another, I beg the favour of you to let me know it as ſoon as you can, that I may add what is neceſſary in this place, amongſt the errata, before my book comes out, which advances now apace, and I believe there are by this time, near 150 pages of it printed. And now, Sir, though I have not agreed with your opinion in this point; yet I beſeech you, believe I am as much obliged to your kindneſs in it as if you had ſhewn me what, upon your reaſon, had appeared to me the groſſeſt miſtake; and I beg the favour of you, whenever you caſt your eye upon any of my writings, to continue and communicate to me your remarks.

YOU write to me, as if ink had the ſame ſpell upon me, that mortar, as the Italians ſay, has upon others, that when I had once got my fingers into it, I could never afterwards keep them out. I grant, that methinks I ſee ſubjects enough, which way ever I caſt my eyes, that deſerve to be otherwiſe handled, than I imagine they have been; but they require abler heads, and ſtronger bodies than I have, to manage them. Beſides, when I reflect on what I have done, I wonder at my own bold folly, that has ſo far expoſed me, in this nice and critical, as well as quick-ſighted and learned, age. I ſay not this to excuſe a lazy idleneſs, to which I intend to give up the reſt of my few days. I think every one, according to what way providence has placed him in, is bound to labour for the publick good, as far as he is able, or elſe he has no right to eat. Under this obligation of doing ſomething, I cannot have a ſtronger to determine me what I ſhall do, than what your deſires ſhall engage me in. I know not whether the attempt will exceed my ſtrength. But there being ſeveral here, who join with you to preſs me to it; (I received a letter with the ſame inſtance, from two of my friends at London, the laſt poſt) I think, the firſt leiſure I can get to myſelf, I ſhall apply my thoughts to it; and however I may miſs my aim, will juſtify myſelf in my obedience to you, and ſome others of my ingenious friends.

I AM exceedingly obliged to captain Monk, for his kind remembrance, and to you for ſending it me, and letting me know he is alive. I have as I ought, all the eſteem for him, that you know ſo modeſt and good a man deſerves. Pray, when you ſee him, preſent my humble ſervice to him, and let him know that I am extremely glad to hear that he is well, and that he has not forgot me, and ſhould be much more ſo, to ſee him here again in England. Pray, give my humble ſervice to your brother. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt faithful ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Honoured S I R, Dublin, Febr. 17, 1693-4.

I AM ſo very ſenſible of the great caution, and deep conſideration you uſe, before you write any thing, that I wonder at my own hardineſs, when I venture to object any thing againſt your poſitions. And when I read your anſwers to any of ſuch my objections, I much more admire at my own weakneſs in making them. I have a new inſtance of this, in your laſt of January 18. which came not to this place before yeſterday. This has moſt abundantly ſatiſfied me, in the doubt I lay under, concerning the caſe of a drunken man; which you have cleared up to me, in three words, moſt convincingly. So that I think you have no reaſon in the leaſt to alter that paragraph, unleſs you may think it convenient to expreſs that matter a little plainer. Which I think, indeed, your laſt letter to me does better than your twenty ſecond ſection of that chapter. That ſection runs thus;

22. “ But is not a man, drunk and ſober, the ſame perſon? Why elſe is he puniſhed for the fact he commits, when drunk, though he be never afterwards conſcious of it? Juſt as much the ſame perſon, as a man that walks, and does other things in his ſleep, is the ſame perſon, and is anſwerable for any miſchief, he ſhall do in it. Human laws puniſh both with a juſtice ſuitable to their way of knowledge; becauſe, in theſe caſes, they cannot diſtinguiſh certainly what is real, what counterfeit. And ſo the ignorance in drunkenneſs, or ſleep, is not admitted as a plea,” &c.

Now I conceive, that which makes the expreſſion herein not ſo very clear, is, ſuitable to their way of knowledge; Some will be apt to miſtake the word, their, to refer to the drunken, or ſleeping man, whereas it refers to the laws, as if you had ſaid, “ ſuitable to that way of knowledge, or information, which the laws have eſtabliſhed to proceed by.”

This, in your letter, is very manifeſt in a few words. There you ſay, “ puniſhment is annexed to perſonality, perſonality to conſciouſneſs. How then can a drunkard be puniſhed for what he did, whereof he is not conſcious? To this I anſwer, human judicatures juſtly puniſh him, becauſe the fact is proved againſt him, but want of conſciouſneſs cannot be proved for him.” This, Sir, is moſt full in the caſe, you are there treating of. So I have nothing more to offer in that matter.

Only give me leave to propoſe one queſtion more to you, though it be foreign to the buſineſs you are upon, in your chapter of identity. How comes it to paſs, that want of conſciouſneſs cannot be proved for a drunkard, as well as for a frantick? One, methinks, is as manifeſt as the other; and if drunkenneſs may be counterfeit, ſo may a frenzy. Wherefore to me it ſeems, that the law has made a difference in theſe two caſes, on this account, viz. “ That drunkenneſs is commonly incurred, voluntarily and premeditately; whereas a frenzy is commonly without our conſent, or impoſſible to be prevented.” But enough of this.

I should not have troubled you with this, but that according to your uſual candor and goodneſs, you ſeemed to deſire my farther thoughts thereon, as ſpeedily as I could. I am,

Moſt worthy S I R,

your moſt obliged, humble ſervant,

Will. Molyneux.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, London, 26 May, 1694.

THE ſlowneſs of the preſs [illegible] ſo long retarded my anſwer to your laſt obliging letter, that my book, which is now printed and bound, and ready to be ſent to you, muſt be an excuſe for my long ſilence. By the obedience I have paid to you, in the index and ſummaries, ordered according to your deſires, you will ſee it is not want of deference to you, or eſteem of you, that has cauſed this neglect. And the profit, I have made by your reflections, on ſeveral paſſages of my book, will, I hope, encourage you to the continuance of that freedom, to a man who can diſtinguiſh between the cenſures of a judicious friend, and the wrangling of a peeviſh critick. There is nothing more acceptable to me, than the one, nor more, I think, to be ſlighted than the other. If therefore, as you ſeem to reſolve, you ſhall throw away any more of your time in a peruſal of my eſſay; judge, I beſeech you, as ſeverely as you can, of what you read. I know you will not forſake truth to quarrel with me; and, whilſt you follow her, you will always oblige me, by ſhewing me my miſtakes, or what ſeems to you to be ſo. You will find in this ſecond edition, that your advice, at any time, has not been thrown away upon me. And you will ſee by the errata, that though your laſt came a little too late; yet that could not hinder me from following what you ſo kindly, and with ſo much reaſon ſuggeſted.

I AGREE with you, that drunkenneſs being a voluntary defect, want of conſciouſneſs ought not to be preſumed in favour of the drunkard. But frenzy, being involuntary, and a misfortune, not a fault, has a right to that excuſe, which certainly is a juſt one, where it is truly a frenzy. And all that lyes upon human juſtice is, to diſtinguiſh carefully between what is real, and what counterfeit in the caſe.

MY book, which I deſire you to accept from me, is put into Mr. Churchill, the bookſeller's hand, who has told me he will ſend it in a bale of books, the next week, to Mr. Dobſon, a bookſeller in caſtle-ſtreet Dublin, and I have ordered him to ſend with it, a copy of the additions and alterations which are printed by themſelves, and will help to make your former book uſeful to any young man, as you will ſee (is deſigned) by the concluſion of the epiſtle to the reader. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, June 2, 1694.

I Am highly obliged to you for the favour of your laſt, of May 26, which I received yeſterday. It brought me the welcome news of the ſecond edition of your eſſay being publiſhed; and that you have favoured me with a copy, which I ſhall expect with ſome impatience; and when I have peruſed it, I ſhall, with all freedom, give you my thoughts of it.

AND now that you have cleared your hands of your ſecond edition, I hope you may have leiſure to turn your thoughts to the ſubject, I have ſo often propoſed to you; but this, you will ſay, is a cruelty in me, that no ſooner you are rid of one trouble, but I ſet you on another. Truly, ſir, were I ſenſible it could be a trouble to you, I ſhould hardly preſume ſo far on your goodneſs; but I know thoſe things are ſo eaſy and natural to your mind, that they give you no pain in the production. And I know alſo, ſuch is your univerſal love of mankind, that you count nothing troubleſome, that tends to their good, in a matter of ſo great concernment as morality.

I HAVE formerly told you what care I propoſed to take in the education of my only child. I muſt now beg your pardon, if I trouble you in a matter, wherein I ſhall be at a loſs without your aſſiſtance. He is now five years old, of a moſt towardly and promiſing diſpoſition; bred exactly, as far as his age permits, to the rules you preſcribe, I mean as to forming his mind, and maſtering his paſſions. He reads very well, and I think it time now to put him forward to ſome other learning. In order to this I ſhall want a tutor for him, and indeed this place can hardly afford me one to my mind. If, therefore, you know any ingenious man that may be proper for my purpoſe, you would highly oblige me, by procuring him for me. I confeſs the encouragement I can propoſe to ſuch an one is but moderate, yet perhaps there may be ſome found, that may not deſpiſe it. He ſhould eat at my own table, and have his lodging, waſhing, firing and candlelight in my houſe, in a good, handſome apartment; and beſides this, I ſhould allow him 20 l. per ann. His work for this ſhould be only to inſtruct three, or four boys, in Latin, and ſuch other learning, as you recommend in your book; I ſay three, or four boys, becauſe perhaps I may have a relation's child, or two; one who is my ſiſter's ſon, I have always and do intend to keep, as a companion to my own ſon; and of more I am uncertain. But if there be one, or two, that will be no great addition to his trouble, conſidering, that perhaps their parents may recompenſe that by their gratuities. I mention to you, of the languages, only Latin, but, if I could obtain it, I ſhould be glad, he were alſo maſter of the French. As to his other qualifications, I ſhall only ſay in general, I could wiſh them ſuch, as you would deſire in a tutor, to inſtruct a young gentleman, as you propoſe in your book. I would have him, indeed, a good man, and a good ſcholar; and I propoſe very much ſatisfaction to myſelf, in the converſation of ſuch a one. And becauſe a man may be cautious of leaving his native ſoil, and coming into a ſtrange country, without ſome certainty of being acceptable to thoſe that ſend for him, and of ſome continuance and ſettlement, I can ſay, that I deſign him to ſtay with my ſon, to his ſtate of manhood: whether he go into the univerſity, or travel, or whatever other ſtate of life he may take to. And if perhaps on trial, for ſome time, he or I may not like each other, I do promiſe to bear his charges both to and from me, ſo that he ſhall be no loſer by his journey.

I BEG your anſwer to this, at your leiſure; and if any ſuch preſent, be pleaſed to let me know of him what particulars you can, as his parentage, education, qualifications, diſpoſition, &c. with what other particulars you pleaſe to mention; and accordingly I ſhall write to you farther about it.

IN the mean time, I beſeech you to pardon this trouble given you by,

Honoured SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt obliged, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, London, 28 June, 1694.

SINCE the receipt of yours of the ſecond inſtant, I have made what enquiry I can, for a tutor, for your ſon; the moſt likely, and the beſt recommended that I have met with, you will have an account of from himſelf, in the incloſed, to which I need add little but theſe two things; 1ſt, that Mr. Fletcher, who is a good judge, and a perſon, whoſe word I can rely on, gave me a very good character of him, both as to his manners and abilities, and ſaid he would be anſwerable for him: the other is, that however it comes to paſs, the

the Scotch have now here a far greater reputation for this ſort of employment, than our own country-men. I am ſorry it is ſo, but I have of late found it, in ſeveral inſtances.

I hope, by this time, the ſecond edition of my book, which I ordered for you, and a printed copy of the additions, are come to your hands. I wiſh it were more anſwerable to the value, you place on it, and better worth your acceptation. But as I order the matter, methinks I make it a hard bargain to you, to pay ſo much time and pains, as muſt go to the reading it over, though it were more ſlightly than we ſeem agreed, when you promiſe, and I expect your obſervations on it. There appears to me ſo little material in the objections, that I have ſeen in print againſt me, that I have paſſed them all by, but one gentleman's, whoſe book not coming to my hand, 'till thoſe parts of mine were printed that he queſtions, I was fain to put my anſwer in the latter end of the epiſtle.

I WISH the endeavours I have uſed, to procure you a tutor for your ſon, may be as ſucceſsful as I deſire. 'Tis a buſineſs of a great concernment to both you and your ſon; but governors, that have right thoughts concerning education, are hard to be found. 'Tis happy for your ſon, that a good part of it is to be under your eye. I ſhall be very glad, if in this or any other occaſion, I may be able to do you any ſervice; for with great ſincerity and reſpect I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

My moſt honoured friend, Dublin, July 28, 1694.

FOR ſo you have publickly allowed me to call [*] you; and it is a title wherein I boaſt more than in maces, or parliament-robes. By this you may find I have received the ſecond edition of your eſſay, which I prize as an ineſtimable treaſure of knowledge. 'Tis but a week ſince it came to me; and I have yet only looked over thoſe parts, which are newly added, particularly that of liberty, the alterations wherein, I take to be moſt judiciouſly made; and now I think that whole chapter ſtands ſo well put together, and the argumentation is ſo legitimate, that nothing can ſhake it. I was mightily pleaſed to find therein a rational account of what I have often wondered at, viz. "why men ſhould content themſelves to ſtay in this life for ever, "though at the ſame time they will grant, that in the next life they expect "to be infinitely happy?" Of this you give ſo clear an account in the 44th ſection of your xxi. chapter, book II. that my wonder no longer remains. That candid receſſion from your former hypotheſis, which you ſhew in this chapter, where truth required it, raiſes in me a greater opinion (if poſſible) of your worth than ever. This is rarely to be found amongſt men, and they ſeem to have ſomething angelical, that are ſo far raiſed above the common pitch.

IN time I ſhall give you my farther thoughts of the other parts of your book, where any thing occurs to me. But, at preſent, I can only pour out my thanks to you, for the favourable character, under which you have tranſmitted me to poſterity, pag. 67. My only concern is, that I can pretend to none of it, but that of your friend; and this I ſet up for, in the higheſt degree. I ſhould think myſelf happy, had I but half the title to the reſt.

I AM extremely obliged to you for the trouble you took on you, in my laſt requeſt, about a tutor for my ſon. I received your letter with Mr. Gibbs's incloſed; to which I returned an anſwer, addreſſed to himſelf. The import whereof was, "that I had ſome offers made to me, in this place, relating to that "matter,

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[*] See Mr. Locke's Eſſay of Human Underſtanding, 2d Edit. p. 68.

“matter, to which I thought I ſhould hearken, at leaſt, ſo far as to make ſome trial. That I was loth to divert him from his good intentions to the miniſtry, and therefore I could not encourage him to undertake ſo long a journey, on ſuch uncertainties on both ſides, &c.” I am,

My moſt highly eſteemed friend,

Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,

Will. Molyneux.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

SIR, Oates, Sept. 3, 1694.

I Have ſo much the advantage in the bargain, if friendſhip may be called one, that whatſoever ſatisfaction you find in yourſelf, on that account, you muſt allow in me, with a large over-plus. The only riches I have valued, or laboured to acquire, has been the friendſhip of ingenious and worthy men, and therefore you cannot blame me, if I ſo forwardly laid hold of the firſt occaſion, that opened me a way to yours. That I have ſo well ſucceeded in it, I count one of my greateſt happineſſes, and a ſufficient reward for writing my book, had I no other benefit by it. The opinion you have of it, gives me farther hopes, for it is no ſmall reward to one, who loves truth, to be perſuaded that he has made ſome diſcoveries of it, and any ways helped to propagate it to others. I depend ſo much upon your judgment and candor, that I think myſelf ſecure in you, from peeviſh criticiſm, or flattery; only give me leave to ſuſpect, that kindneſs and friendſhip do ſometimes carry your expreſſions a little too far, on the favourable ſide. This, however, makes me not apprehend you will ſilently paſs by any thing, you are not thoroughly ſatisfied of, in it. The uſe I have made of the advertiſements I have received from you, of this kind, will ſatisfy you that I deſire this office of friendſhip from you, not out of compliment, but for the uſe of truth, and that your animadverſions will not be loſt upon me. Any faults you ſhall meet with, in reaſoning, in perſpicuity, in expreſſion, or of the preſs, I deſire you to take notice of, and ſend me word of. Eſpecially if you have any where any doubt; for I am perſuaded, that, upon debate, you and I cannot be of two opinions; nor I think, any two men, uſed to think with freedom, who really prefer truth to opiniatrety, and a little fooliſh vain-glory, of not having made a miſtake.

I shall not need to juſtify what I have ſaid of you, in my book: the learned world will be vouchers for me; and that in an age, not very free from envy and cenſure. But you are very kind to me, ſince for my ſake you allow yourſelf to own that part, which I am more particularly concerned in, and permit me to call you my friend, whilſt your modeſty checks at the other part of your character. But aſſure your ſelf, I am as well perſuaded of the truth of it, as of any thing elſe in my book, it had not elſe been put down in it. It only wants a great deal more I had to ſay, had that been a place to draw your picture at large. Herein I pretend not to any peculiar obligation above others, that know you. For though perhaps I may love you better than many others; yet I conclude, I cannot think better of you than others do.

I am very glad you were provided of a tutor nearer home, and it had this particular good luck in it, that otherwiſe you had been diſappointed, if you had depended on Mr. Gibbs; as a Letter I writ to you from London about it, I hope, acquainted you. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt humble ſervant,

John Locke.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, Oates, 23 Nov. 1694.

YOU ſpeak of my book in ſuch terms, that had I not convincing arguments, that you are not a man of compliments, I ſhould a little ſuſpect your civility bordered very much on them, in this caſe. But there are ſo few of them to be found, that you think you cannot ſpeak too highly of the endeavours of one, who purſues truth unbiaſſedly, and chooſes not his opinions firſt, and then ſeeks arguments to ſupport them. Upon that account I admit of whatever you pleaſe to ſay; but withal give me leave to aſſure you, that in the performance itſelf, I ſee nothing but what any one might have done, who would have ſat down to it, with the ſame love of truth and indifferency, that I did. However, I cannot but be pleaſed that you think ſo well of it: For whether your friendſhip to me bribes your judgment, or whether your good opinion of my eſſay adds to your kind thoughts of the author; I find my account both ways, and ſhould think myſelf well rewarded for my pains in this ſingle purchace. But, ſir, will you not pardon ſo lawful a deſire, in one that loves you, if I aſk, "ſhall I never have the happineſs to ſee you in "England?"

Mr. CHURCHILL, my bookſeller, ſends me words by the laſt poſt, that he has ſent you the ſix copies, that you ſent for, and advice of it. I ſent to him a project of a new reduction of the year by Dr. Wood, to be ſent with the copy of my eſſay to you. The author gave me it himſelf, and I thought it might poſſibly pleaſe you, if you had not ſeen it before. This, with the ſupernumerary cuts I ordered him to ſend you, will, with the books, I hope, come ſafe to your hands. The mentioning of thoſe cuts puts me in mind again of your civility, which I ſee ſtudies all manner of ways of expreſſing itſelf.

You ſee, by this liberty I take with you, that I am paſt terms of compliment with you, that is, I uſe you as one I look upon to be my friend, with a freedom of good offices, either to receive, or do them, as it happens. Look upon me as ſuch, I beſeech you, and believe that I am, with the utmoſt ſincerity,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate friend, and moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, Dec. 18, 1694.

YOURS of November 23, found me labouring under a ſharp fever, which has held me this month paſt, but I am now, God be thanked, pretty well recovered. I am obliged to you for the earneſt deſire you expreſs of ſeeing me in England. But, as to that particular, the truth is thus; laſt ſummer I deſigned to make a journey, on purpoſe to pay my reſpects to you, and for no other errand; but my reſolutions were not ſo fixed as to give you any intimations thereof. For, indeed, the ſtate of my health was ſo very uncertain, that I was very miſtruſtful, whether I ſhould be able to undertake the journey. However, I thought to make an eſſay of my ſtrength in our own country; ſo that ſome buſineſs calling me about threeſcore miles from this city, the fatigue was ſo troubleſome to me, that I was quite diſcouraged from thinking of England, that ſeaſon. I have now had another pull-back, by my preſent ſickneſs, ſo that I cannot yet well tell how to think of the other ſide of the water. This only I will aſſure you, that the firſt entire health God is pleaſed to beſtow on me, ſhall be employed in a journey towards you; there being nothing, I ſo earneſtly covet, as the perſonal acquaintance of one, for whom I have ſo great a reſpect and veneration, and to whom I am ſo highly obliged for many favours.

THERE is a very worthy perſon, Dr. St. George Aſhe, provoſt of the college here, lately gone from hence to London; he is a great admirer, and zealous promoter of your writings in this college. He deſired from me a letter of recommendation to you, but I fear your being in the country will hinder his deſigned happineſs, in your converſation. He ſtays in London theſe three, or four months, to come, in which time, if your buſineſs call you to the city, you will hear of him, either at your lodging at Mr. Pawlin's (where perhaps he will leave the place of his reſidence) or at Mr. Tucker's, in the ſecretary's office at Whitehall, where a penny-poſt letter will find him out.

I THANK you for the care you have taken, to ſend me the books and ſculptures, which I hope to receive in good time, having advice thereof already from Mr. Churchill. I am,

Worthy S I R,

Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured S I R, Dublin, January 15, 169$\frac{4}{5}$.

I HAVE received the ſix copies of your Book, and thank you for the care you have taken about them. I acknowledge myſelf likewiſe obliged to you for your preſent of Dr. Wood's almanack, tho' it was not new to me, having received the favour of one from the author himſelf, when accomptant general here in Ireland, many years ago. 'Tis a very pretty project, but, I believe, 'twill hardly ever be practiſed; becauſe men think what they have already, ſufficiently accurate for the common uſes of life, and are hardly brought from what they have uſed, ſo long as they have done the common Julian account, unleſs prevailed upon by ſome ſuch potent authority as the church, which abrogated the Julian, and eſtabliſhed the Gregorian kalendar.

THE ſculptures alſo I received, and thank you for them. I ſhall do them all the honour, that outward ornament can give them. And I heartily wiſh I had more effectual ways of ſhewing my reſpects, which I think I can never do ſufficiently.

~~I HAVE~~ ever thought that an elegant tranſlation of your eſſay into Latin, would be highly acceptable to foreigners, and of great uſe in thoſe countries, whoſe minds lye yet captivated in verboſe, diſputative philoſophy, and falſe reaſoning; I therefore preſume to mention it to you, that tho' your own leiſure may not permit you to perform it yourſelf, you may think of putting ſome one on it, that under your eye may do it correctly. And were I not perſuaded that your own eye and correction were abſolutely requiſite herein, I would venture to make a bold propoſal, to have it done by ſome one in this place, whom I ſhould reward for his labour herein. And this I do, not that I think you may not, with a great deal of eaſe, employ one yourſelf in this matter, but merely that herein I may have an opportunity of doing ſo much good in the world. You ſee, ſir, what a veneration I have for your writings, and therefore you will pardon me, If I deſire from you "ſub amicitiæ teſſarâ," the names of what books you have publiſhed. I remember once I propoſed to you the like requeſt, and you were ſilent to it. If it were, that you deſignedly conceal them, I acquieſce; but perhaps it proceeded from your curſory paſſing over that part of my letter, which makes me venture again on the ſame requeſt. And now that your thoughts are at liberty from that eſſay, you will give me leave, with all ſubmiſſion, to mind you of what you once told me you would think of, viz. of demonſtrating morals. I am ſure, as no hand could perform it better: ſo no age ever required it more than ours.

I DO heartily wiſh you an happy, ſucceeding year; and may it end with us happier than the laſt paſt. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt obliged humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, Oates, 8 March, $169\frac{4}{5}$.

YOU will, I fear, think me frozen up with this long winter, or elſe with a negligence, colder than that, having two very obliging letters of your's by me, the one ever ſince January, the other February laſt, I make you no anſwer to either, 'till thus far in March. The truth is, expecting, ever ſince I received your laſt letter, an account from London, concerning ſomething I had a mind to put into my letter, and after writing four times about it, being yet delayed, I can forbear no longer to return you my thanks, and to beg your pardon, that I have been ſo ſlow in it. If you interpret it right, you will look upon it as the effect of a friendſhip, got paſt formalities, and that has confidence enough to make bold with you, where it is without neglect of you, or prejudice to either. I was not a little rejoiced with the news you ſent me, in the firſt of your letters, of your ſafe recovery of a fever. Had I known it, before the danger was over, that you had been ill, it would have been no ſmall fright and pain to me. For I muſt aſſure you, that amongſt all the friends your kindneſs, or worth, has procured, there is not any one, who values you more than I do, or does more intereſt himſelf in all your concerns. This makes me, that tho' I have a long time extremely deſired to ſee you, and propoſe to myſelf an infinite ſatisfaction in a free converſation with you, yet what you tell me, that you were coming laſt ſummer into England, to make me a viſit, makes me dread the ſatisfaction of my own wiſhes. And methinks I ought not to purchaſe one of the greateſt happineſſes I can propoſe to myſelf, at ſo dear and dangerous a rate. I have received many and great obligations from you before, but they were ſuch, as though I had no title to, I thought I might accept from one whom I love, and therefore was glad to find kind to me. But when I reflect on the length of the way, and the ſea between us, the danger of the one, and the fatigue of both, and your no very robuſt conſtitution, as I imagine, I cannot conſent you ſhould venture ſo much for my ſake. If any harm ſhould happen to you in the journey, I could never forgive it myſelf, to be the occaſion of ſo great a loſs to the world and myſelf. And if you ſhould come ſafe, the greatneſs of the hazard, and an obligation out of all proportion, to what I either ought to receive, or was capable to return, would overwhelm me with ſhame, and hinder my enjoyment. And yet, if I may confeſs my ſecret thoughts, there is not any thing which I would not give, that ſome other unavoidable occaſion would draw you into England. A rational free-minded man, tied to nothing but truth, is ſo rare a thing, that I almoſt worſhip ſuch a friend; but when friendſhip is joined to it, and theſe are brought into a free converſation, where they meet, and can be together; what is there can have equal charms? I cannot but exceedingly wiſh for that happy day, when I may ſee a man I have ſo often longed to have in my embraces. But yet, though it would endear the gift to receive it from his kindneſs, I cannot but wiſh rather that fortune alone would throw him into my arms.

THIS cold winter has kept me ſo cloſe a priſoner within doors, that 'till yeſterday, I have been abroad but once theſe three months, and that only a mile in in a coach. And the inability I am in, to breathe London air, in cold weather, has hindered me yet from the happineſs of waiting on Dr. Aſhe; but I hope to get to London, before he leaves it, that I may, to a perſon whom you have an eſteem for, pay ſome parts of the reſpects I owe you. I had laſt week the honour of a viſit from an ingenious gentleman, a member of your college at Dublin, lately returned from Turkey. He told me he was a kinſman of your's; and, tho' his other good qualities might have made him welcome any where, he was not, you may be ſure, the leſs welcome to me, for being known and related to you. He ſeems to me to have been very diligent and curious in making obſervations, whilſt he has been abroad, and more inquiſitive than moſt of our people, that go into thoſe parts. And, by the diſcourſe I had with him, the little time we were together, I promiſe myſelf we ſhall have a more exact account of thoſe parts, in what I hope he intends to publiſh, than hitherto is extant. Dr. Huntington, who was formerly at Aleppo, and is my old acquaintance, and now my neighbour in this country, brought Mr. Smith hither with him, from his houſe. But yet I muſt acknowledge the favour to you, and deſire you to thank him for it, when he returns to Dublin. For the friendſhip he knew you had for me, was, I take it, the great inducement, that made him give himſelf the trouble of coming ſix, or ſeven, miles in a dirty country.

You do ſo attack me on every ſide, with your kindneſs to my book, to me, to my ſhadow, that I cannot but be aſhamed I am not in a capacity to make you any other acknowledgment, but in a very full and deep ſenſe of it. I return you my thanks for the corrections you have ſent me, which I will take all the care of I can, in the next edition, which, my bookſeller tells me, he thinks, will be this ſummer. And if any other fall under your obſervation, I ſhall deſire the continuance of your favour in communicating them.

I must own to you, that I have been ſolicited from beyond ſea, to put my eſſay into Latin; but you gueſs right, I have not the leiſure to do it. It was once tranſlated by a young man in Holland into Latin, but he was ſo little maſter of the Engliſh, or Latin tongue, that when it was ſhewed me, which he did not, 'till he had quite done it, I ſatisfied him that it would be very little for his credit to publiſh it, and ſo that was laid by. Since that, my bookſeller was, and had been for ſome time, ſeeking for a tranſlator, whom he would have treated with, to have undertaken it, and have ſatisfied for his pains. But a little before the coming of your letter, he writ me word he had been diſappointed, where he expected to have found one, who would have done it, and was now at a loſs. So that what you call a bold, is not only the kindeſt, but the moſt ſeaſonable propoſal you could have made. You underſtand my thoughts, as well as I do myſelf, and can be a fit judge, whether the tranſlator has expreſſed them well in Latin, or no, and can direct him, where to omit, or contract any thing, where you think I have been more large than needed. And though in this I know you intend, as you ſay, ſome good to the world; yet I cannot but take it as a very particular obligation to myſelf, and ſhall not be a little ſatisfied to have my book go abroad into the world, with ſtrokes of your judicious hand to it. For, as to omitting, adding, altering, tranſpoſing any thing in it, I permit it wholly to your judgment. And if there be any thing in it defective, or which you think may be added with advantage to the deſign of the whole work, if you will let me know, I ſhall endeavour to ſupply that defect the beſt I can. The chapter of identity and diverſity, which owes its birth wholly to your putting me upon it, will be an encouragement to you to lay any the like commands upon me. I have had ſome thoughts myſelf, that it would not be poſſibly amiſs to add, in lib. iv. chap. 18. ſomething about Enthuſiaſm, or to make a chapter of it by itſelf. If you are of the ſame mind, and that it will not be foreign to the buſineſs of my eſſay, I promiſe you, before the tranſlator, you ſhall employ, ſhall be got ſo far, I will ſend you my thoughts on that ſubject, ſo that it may be put into the Latin edition. I have alſo examined P. Malebranche's opinion concerning " ſeeing all things

" in God" and to my own ſatisfaction laid open the vanity, inconſiſtency, and unintelligibleneſs of that way of explaining human underſtanding. I have gone almoſt, but not quite through it, and know not whether I now ever ſhall finiſh it, being fully ſatisfied myſelf about it. You cannot think how often I regret the diſtance that is between us; I envy Dublin for what I every day want in London. Were you in my neighbourhood you would every day be troubled with the propoſal of ſome of my thoughts to you. I find mine generally ſo much out of the way of the books I meet with, or men led by books, that were I not conſcious to myſelf that I impartially ſeek truth, I ſhould be diſcouraged from letting my thoughts looſe, which commonly lead me out of the beaten track. However I want ſomebody near me to whom I could freely communicate them, and without reſerve lay them open. I ſhould find ſecurity and eaſe in ſuch a friend as you, were you within diſtance. For your judgment would confirm and ſet me at reſt, where it approved, and your candor would excuſe what your judgment corrected, and ſet me right in. As to your requeſt, you now repeat to me, I deſire you to believe that there is nothing in your letters, which I paſs over ſlightly, or without taking notice of; and if I formerly ſaid nothing to it, think it to be, that I thought it the beſt way of anſwering a friend, whom I was reſolved to deny nothing that was in my power. There are ſome particular obligations that tie me up in the point, and which have drawn on me ſome diſpleaſure for a time, from ſome of my friends, who made me a ſomewhat like demand. But I expect to find you more reaſonable, and give you this aſſurance, that you ſhall be the firſt, that ſhall be ſatisfied in that point. I am not forgetful of what you ſo kindly put me upon. I think no body ought to live only to eat and drink, and count the days he ſpends idly. The ſmall remainder of a crazy life, I ſhall, as much as my health will permit, apply to the ſearch of truth, and ſhall not neglect to propoſe to myſelf thoſe, that may be moſt uſeful. My paper is more than done, and, I ſuppoſe, you tired, and yet I can ſcarce give off. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt faithful, humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, March 26, 1695.

THE concern you expreſs for my welfare, is extremely obliging; and I never prized my health ſo much, as ſince thereby I am enabled to enjoy your correſpondence and friendſhip. But whatever becomes of me and my carcaſe, I can heartily wiſh you had one more eaſy, healthful and ſtrong. For I know mankind in general is intereſted in you; whereas I am ſure to fall unlamented to all, ſave a few, particular friends.

I UNDERSTAND my kinſman has enjoyed that, which I have earneſtly longed for. He tells me by letter, the great obligations he bears you, for the civilities you ſhewed him, and deſires me to acknowledge them.

I AM very glad to find your eſſay like to ſuffer a third impreſſion; 'tis a good ſign, and ſhews the world not ſo averſe to truth, when fairly laid open. To have truth prevail, the only way is calmly and meekly, to publiſh it, and let it ſhift for itſelf; " magna res eſt veritas & prævalebit;" 'twill make its own party good, without fire and faggot, which never promoted, but, I am ſure, has often ſtifled it.

THIS encourages me, with more vigour, to promote the tranſlation of your work, and to own myſelf infinitely obliged to you, that you are pleaſed ſo readily to comply with the offer I made you, in my laſt. Yeſterday I ſent for an ingenious

genious young man of the college, here, to diſcourſe with him about it. The reſult was, he would make an eſſay, and ſhew it me, and accordingly would proceed or deſiſt. But then, he tells me that he cannot ſet himſelf fully to it, 'till towards the latter end of May; for he deſigns to ſtand candidate for a fellowſhip in the college, which, by the removal of the provoſt, is to be diſpoſed of, about next Trinity-Sunday; and in the mean time, he is to prepare himſelf for the examination they undergo, on that occaſion. I ſhall ſee his firſt attempt the next week, and ſhall give you an account. As to any alterations to be made by me, I ſhould be very cautious of meddling therein; I know the whole work has already undergone ſo exact a judgment, that there is no room left for amendments. However, if any ſuch offer, after your approbation of them, I ſhould venture to inſert them.

I MUST freely confeſs, that if my notion of enthuſiaſm agrees with yours, there is no neceſſity of adding any thing concerning it, more than by the bye, and in a ſingle ſection in chap. 18. lib. 4. I conceive it to be no other than a religious ſort of madneſs, and compriſes not in it any mode of thinking, or operation of the mind, different from what you have treated of, in your eſſay. 'Tis true indeed, the abſurdities men embrace, on account of religion, are moſt aſtoniſhing; and if, in a chapter of enthuſiaſm, you endeavour to give an account of them, it would be very acceptable. So that (on ſecond thoughts) I do very well approve of what you propoſe therein, being very deſirous of having your ſentiments on any ſubject.

“ PERE MALEBRANCHE's chapter of ſeeing all things in God,” was ever to me abſolutely unintelligible; and unleſs you think a polemick diſcourſe in your eſſay (which you have hitherto avoided therein) may not be of a piece with the reſt, I am ſure it highly deſerves to be expoſed, and is very agreeable to the buſineſs of your work. I would, therefore, humbly propoſe it to you to conſider of doing ſomething therein. Pere Malebranche has many curious notions, and ſome as erroneous and abſurd. 'Tis a good while, ſince I read him, but I am now turning him over a ſecond time; he is moſtly platonick, and in ſome things, almoſt enthuſiaſtical. I am,

Honoured dear SIR,

Your moſt obliged, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, Oates, April 26, 1695.

YOU look with the eyes, and ſpeak the language of friendſhip, when you make my life of much more concern to the world than your own. I take it, as it is, for an effect of your kindneſs, and ſo ſhall not accuſe you of compliment; the miſtakes and over-valuings of good will being always ſincere, even when they exceed what common truth allows. This on my ſide, I muſt beg you to believe, that my life would be much more pleaſant and uſeful to me, if you were within my reach, that I might ſometimes enjoy your converſation, and, upon twenty occaſions, lay my thoughts before you, and have the advantage of your judgment. I cannot complain, that I have not my ſhare of friends of all ranks, and ſuch, whoſe intereſt, aſſiſtance, affection, and opinions too, in fit caſes, I can rely on. But methinks, for all this, there is one place vacant, that I know no body that would ſo well fill as yourſelf, I want one near me to talk freely with, “ de quolibet ente;” to propoſe to, the extravagancies that riſe in my mind; one with whom I would debate ſeveral doubts and queſtions, to ſee what was in them. Meditating by one's ſelf is like digging in the mine; it often, perhaps, brings up maiden earth, which never came near the light before; but, whether it contain any metal in it, is never ſo well tried, as in converſation with a knowing, judicious friend, who carries

about

about him the true touch-ſtone, which is love of truth, in a clear-thinking head. Men of parts and judgment the world uſually gets hold of, and by a great miſtake (that their abilities of mind are loſt, if not employed in the purſuit of wealth, or power) engages them in the ways of fortune and intereſt, which uſually leave but little freedom, or leiſure of thought, for pure, diſintereſted truth. And ſuch, who give themſelves up frankly, and in earneſt, to the full latitude of real knowledge, are not every where to be met with. Wonder not therefore, that I wiſh ſo much for you, in my neighbourhood; I ſhould be too happy in a friend of your make, were you within my reach. But yet, I cannot but wiſh that ſome buſineſs would once bring you within diſtance, and 'tis a pain to me to think of leaving the world, without the happineſs of ſeeing you.

I DO not wonder that a kinſman of yours ſhould magnify civilities that ſcarce deſerve that name; I know not wherein they conſiſted, but in being glad to ſee one, that was any ways related to you, and was himſelf a very ingenious man; either of thoſe was a title to more than I did, or could ſhew him. I am ſorry I have not yet had an opportunity to wait on him in London, and I fear he ſhould be gone, before I am able to get thither. This long winter, and cold ſpring, has hung very heavy upon my lungs, and they are not yet in a caſe to be ventured in London-air, which muſt be my excuſe for not waiting upon him, and Dr. Aſhe, yet.

THE third edition of my eſſay is already, or will be ſpeedily in the preſs. But what, perhaps, will ſeem ſtranger, and poſſibly pleaſe you better, an abridgment is now making (if it be not already done) by one of the univerſity of Oxford, for the uſe of young ſcholars, in the place of an ordinary ſyſtem of logick. From the accquaintance I had of the temper of that place, I did not expect to have it get much footing there. But ſo it is, I ſome time ſince received a very civil letter from one wholly a ſtranger to me there, concerning ſuch a deſign, and, by another from him ſince, I conclude it near done. He ſeems to be an ingenious man, and he writes ſenſibly about it, but I can ſay nothing of it 'till I ſee it, and he, of his own accord, has offered that it ſhall wholly be ſubmitted to my opinion, and diſpoſal of it. And thus, ſir, poſſibly, that which you once propoſed, may be attained to, and I was pleaſed with the gentleman's deſign for your ſake.

YOU are a ſtrange man, you oblige me very much, by the care you take to have it well tranſlated, and you thank me for complying with your offer. In my laſt, as I remember, I told you the reaſon, why it was ſo long before I writ, was in expectation of an anſwer from London, concerning ſomething I had to communicate to you: it was in ſhort this, I was willing to know what my bookſeller would give for a good Latin copy; he told me at laſt, twenty pounds. His delay was, becauſe he would firſt have known what the tranſlator demanded. But I forced him to make his propoſal, and ſo I ſend it you, to make what uſe of it you pleaſe. He ſince writ me word, that a friend of his at Oxford would, in ſome time, be at leiſure to do it, and would undertake it. I bid him excuſe himſelf to him, for that it was in hands I approved of, and ſome part of it now actually done. For I hope the eſſay (he was to ſhew you the next week, after you writ to me laſt) pleaſed you. Think it not a compliment, that I deſire you to make what alterations you think fit. One thing particularly you will oblige me and the world in, and that is, in paring off ſome of the ſuperfluous repetitions, which I left in, for the ſake of illiterate men, and the ſofter ſex, not uſed to abſtract notions and reaſonings. But much of this reaſoning will be out of doors, in a Latin tranſlation. I refer all to your judgment, and ſo am ſecure it will be done as is beſt.

WHAT I ſhall add concerning enthuſiaſm, I gueſs, will very much agree with your thoughts, ſince yours jump ſo right with mine, about the place, where it is to come in. I have deſigned it for chap. 18. lib. iv, as a falſe principle of reaſoning, often made uſe of. But, to give an hiſtorical account of the various ravings, men have embraced for religion, would I fear, be beſides my purpoſe, and be enough to make an huge volume.

My opinion of P. Malebranche agrees perfectly with yours. What I have writ, concerning "ſeeing all things in God," would make a little treatiſe of itſelf. But I have not quite gone through it, for fear I ſhould, by ſome body or other, be tempted to print it. For I love not controverſies, and have a perſonal kindneſs for the author. When I have the happineſs to ſee you, we will conſider it together, and you ſhall diſpoſe of it.

I think I ſhall make ſome other additions to be put into your Latin tranſlation, and particularly concerning the connexion of ideas, which has not, that I know, been hitherto conſidered, and has, I gueſs, a greater influence upon our minds, than is uſually taken notice of. Thus, you ſee, I make you the confident of my reveries; you would be troubled with a great many more of them, were you nearer. I am,

Honoured SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

SIR, Dublin, May 7, 1695.

I AM extremely pleaſed to underſtand, by yours of April 26, that we are to expect an abridgment of your work, from a judicious hand in Oxford; 'tis what I always thought might be of good uſe in the univerſities, where we yet want another ſort of language, than what has hitherto prevailed there, to the great hindrance of ſcience.

As to the tranſlation, that is going on here, 'tis undertaken by one Mr. William Mullart, a ſenior bachelor in the college. He has the repute of an ingenious, and learned, young man, and I hope he may perform it well. I here incloſe a ſpecimen of his performance, concerning which I deſire you would give me your thoughts, before he proceed much farther. This only may be hinted, that when he is better acquainted with the work, and your language, and has entered farther into it, 'tis probable his tranſlation may be better, more eaſy and natural. He propoſes to finiſh it in half a year, or nine months at fartheſt; for he cannot wholly diſengage himſelf from ſome other ſtudies. I perceive your bookſeller is reſolved to ſhare with me, in the good I thought to do the world, by beſtowing on it this tranſlation. And ſince he is ſo generous as to have it ſo, I will by no means be the tranſlator's hindrance, in partaking of the bookſeller's proffer; and, at the ſame time, to engage his diligence the more, I will increaſe the reward conſiderably, that I may not wholly miſs of the good deſign, I firſt propoſed to myſelf. If you encourage the tranſlator to go forward, you may be pleaſed to tranſmit to me the additions you deſign; as that of enthuſiaſm, connexion of ideas, and what elſe you have.

And now, with redoubled force, I ſend back to you the complaints you make for our diſtance. I cannot but hope, that Providence has yet in ſtore for me ſo much happineſs, on this ſide the grave, and if it have not, I ſhall think I have miſſed the greateſt temporal good, my mind was ever ſet on. But I ſtill ſay, I live in hopes, the accompliſhment whereof would be the greateſt ſatiſfaction to

Your moſt cordially affectionate, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Were it not too nigh approaching to vanity, I could tell you of the extraordinary effects, your method of education has had, on my little boy.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, Oates, 2 July, 1695.

DID I not aſſure myſelf, that our friendſhip were grown beyond ſuſpicion or compliment, I ſhould think I ſhould have need to make excuſes to you for my long ſilence; but I know you will credit me, when I tell you it has been neither forgetfulneſs, nor negligence. The ſpecimen of the tranſlation you ſent me, gave me ſome reaſon to apprehend, that Mr. Mullart's ſtyle would lay too great a burden on your kindneſs, by often needing the correction of your hand, to make it expreſs my ſenſe, with that clearneſs and eaſineſs, which I know you deſire. My bookſeller therefore having before told me of one, who had offered to undertake the tranſlation of my eſſay, I have been ever ſince endeavouring to get from him a ſpecimen, that I might ſend it you, and have your opinion, which is like to do beſt; that ſo, if this man had a talent that way, you might be eaſed of the trouble, which your friendſhip to me, and zeal to the work, I foreſee, is likely to lay upon you. But, having the laſt poſt received this account from Mr. Churchill, that the gentleman propoſed, is in the country, and muſt have a book ſent him down, on purpoſe, before we can expect to ſee any thing from him, and this being all to be managed by a third hand, who is not every day to be met with; I have reſolved to loſe no more time, on that thought, but accepting of your kind offer, put that whole matter into your hands, to be ordered as you ſhall think beſt, and ſhall ſpend no more time in other enquiries, ſince the gentleman you propoſe, will (as I remember you told me) be about this time at leiſure to ſet himſelf in earneſt to it. There is one thing I would offer, which may be of advantage to him and the work too, and that is, that he would conſtantly and ſeduloully read Tully, eſpecially his Philoſophical works, which will inſenſibly work him into a good Latin ſtyle. I have heard it reported of Biſhop Sanderſon, that being aſked, how he came to write Latin ſo well, as appears in the treatiſes he publiſhed in that tongue? he anſwered, "by ordering his ſtudies "ſo, that he read over all Tully's works every year." I leave it to you, whether you will think fit to mention this to Mr. Mullart.

THE abridgment of my eſſay is quite finiſhed. It is done by a very ingenious man of Oxford, a maſter of arts, very conſiderable for his learning and virtue, who has a great many pupils. It is done with the ſame deſign you had in view, when you mentioned it. He has generally (as far as I could remember) made uſe of my words, he very civilly ſent it me, when it was done, and, upon looking it over, I gueſs you will approve of it, and think it well done. It is in Mr. Churchill's hands, and will be printed, as ſoon as the third edition of my eſſay, which is now in the preſs, is printed off.

I AM extremely glad to hear, that you have found any good effects of my method on your ſon. I ſhall be glad to know the particulars; for though I have ſeen the ſucceſs of it, in a child of the Lady, in whoſe houſe I am, (whoſe mother has taught him Latin, without knowing it herſelf, when ſhe began) yet I would be glad to have other inſtances; becauſe ſome men, who cannot endure any thing ſhould be mended in the world, by a new method, object, I hear, that my way of education is impracticable. But this I can aſſure you, that the child above-mentioned, but nine years old in June laſt, has learned to read and write very well; is now reading Quintus Curtius with his mother, underſtands geography and chronology very well, and the Copernican ſyſtem of our vortex; is able to multiply well, and divide a little: and all this, without ever having had one blow for his book. The third edition is now out, I have ordered Mr. Churchill to ſend you one of them, which I hope he has done before this. I expect your opinion of the additions, which have much increaſed the bulk of the book. And though I think all, that I have ſaid, right, yet you are the man I depend on, for a fair and free cenſure, not inclined either to flatter, or quarrel. You know not of what value a knowing man, that is a ſincere lover of truth, is, nor how hard to be found; wonder not thereſore, if I place a great part of my happineſs in your friendſhip, and wiſh every day, you were my neighbour; you would then find what uſe I ſhould make of it. But, not to complain of what cannot be remedied, pray let me have all the advantage I can, at this diſtance. Read the additions, and examine them ſtrictly, for I would not willingly miſlead the world. Pray let me know, whether the Doctor, your brother, has any children; when he has, I count I owe him one of my books of education.

With my treatiſe of education, I believe you will receive another little one concerning intereſt and coinage. It is one of the fatherleſs children, which the world lay at my door; but, whoever be the author, I ſhall be glad to know your opinion of it.

And now I muſt mightily bemoan the loſs of an happineſs, which you deſigned me, and I through great misfortune miſſed. The impreſſions of the laſt ſevere winter on my weak lungs, and the ſlow return of warm weather this ſpring, confined me ſo long to the country, that I concluded Dr. Aſhe would be gone, before I ſhould get to town, and I ſhould loſe the honour of ſo deſired an acquaintance. However, as ſoon as I was got to London, I enquired of Mr. Churchill, who told me Dr. Aſhe was lately in town, and he promiſed me, as I deſired him, that he would enquire whether he was ſtill there, and where he lodged. He returned me no anſwer, and I (through a multitude of buſineſs) forgot to enquire again, for ſome few days. Upon the firſt thought of it again, I went to the ſecretary's office at Whitehall, and not finding Mr. Tucker there, I went to his houſe, who told me that Dr. Aſhe was that very morning gone out of town. The miſſing of him thus unluckily, when he had been within my reach, very much vexed me, and it looked, as if fortune had a mind ſenſibly to croſs me, in what ſhe knew I was extremely deſirous of. I enquired too for Mr. Smith, but he, I heard, was gone to Flanders, before I came to town. It would have been more than ordinary ſatisfaction to me, to have converſed and made an acquaintance, with ſo eſteemed a friend of yours, as Dr. Aſhe. I ſhall not be at quiet, 'till ſome buſineſs brings you into England to repair this loſs, and brings me a ſatisfaction to the moſt earneſt of all my deſires. My decaying health does not promiſe me any long ſtay in this world, you are the only perſon in it, that I deſire to ſee once, and to converſe ſome time with, before I leave it. I wiſh your other occaſions might draw you into England, and then let me alone, to huſband our time together; I have laid all that in my head already. But I talk my deſires and fancies, as if they were in view; I wiſh you all manner of happineſs, and am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt faithful ſervant,

John Locke.

Pray preſent my humble ſervice to Dr. Aſhe, and excuſe my misfortunate loſs to him.

When you conſider the length of this, you will find my late ſilence was not from a ſparingneſs of ſpeech, or backwardneſs to talk with you; I have more reaſon now to beg your pardon for my talkativeneſs, than ſilence.

The additions, I intend to make, ſhall be ſent time enough for the tranſlator.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

SIR, Dublin, Auguſt 24, 1695.

I Deferred my anſwer all this while, to yours of July 2, (which I received ſome weeks ago) in expectation of the books you have been pleaſed to order for me; but hitherto they are not arrived, and I would not omit my duty

duty any longer, leſt the buſineſs of our enſuing parliament ſhould give me a farther hindrance. The univerſity has done me the honour to chooſe me as one of their repreſentatives; and tho' I cannot pretend to do them any great ſervice; yet it ſhall not be for want of conſtant attendance on their buſineſs, which will take up moſt of my time, 'till the ſeſſion is ended.

I AM now at a great loſs what apology to make you, for the diſappointment you are at laſt like to receive, in the tranſlation of your eſſay. But to a candid and ingenuous man the beſt excuſe is a plain narrative of the matter of fact.

THE gentleman, whom I formerly mentioned to you, Mr. Mullart, went into the country, about the middle of laſt June, and returned about a fortnight ago. When he went away, he aſſured me, he would make a conſiderable progreſs in the work, in a month or ſix weeks time; but he was taken ill for about a fortnight, and, at his return, I found he had ſcarce done four pages of the book. I found alſo (as you rightly ſurmiſed) that his ſtyle will hardly anſwer expectation; but this difficulty, I thought, might be overcome by time and application. But what to ſay to his very ſlow performance I cannot tell, or whether it may anſwer your, or your bookſeller's deſigns. But that, which moſt of all diſcourages me, is, that the young man himſelf ſeems not very fond of the undertaking, but has fixed his thoughts on another purſuit. I formerly told you, how he deſigned for a fellowſhip, had any at that time happened vacant, as there did none. But very lately there are two fellowſhips become void, and a third like to be ſo, before the time of ſitting for them, which is next June 1696; and he tells me plainly, he muſt endeavour to get one of them; and that there will be at leaſt five competitors, if not ſix, who are all his ſeniors; and therefore, he muſt uſe his utmoſt diligence, application and ſtudy in the intermediate time, to fit himſelf for the examination they undergo; and this, he ſays, will take up ſo much of his time, that he knows not, whether he ſhall have any to ſpare for the tranſlation.

I CANNOT well tell which way next to turn myſelf in this affair. I have but one anchor more, and that is not at hand immediately to uſe. There is a gentleman of my acquaintance, the greateſt maſter of ſtyle of any I have known, who, I am confident, would perform this work to your utmoſt ſatisfaction; but he is not, at preſent, in town, and when he comes, (which, I expect may be about Michalemas next, as I have it from himſelf) I make ſome doubt, whether his own avocations will permit him to undertake this. He is chancellor of the dioceſe of Down and Connor, and has alſo a private work of his own, in Latin, now fitting for the preſs, which he permits to run through my hands, as he goes on with it. When he comes to town, I will move him in it, if you will give me leave, and you ſhall know the event.

I AM mightily pleaſed that your eſſay is abridged, tho' for my own reading, I would not part with a ſyllable of it. However, others may not have ſo much leiſure, as to ſet on a large book, and for ſuch the abridgment may be uſeful. 'Tis to me no ſmall argument of the curious genius of the Engliſh nation, that a work, ſo abſtract as yours, ſhould now ſuffer three impreſſions in ſo ſhort a time.

I HAVE already ſo much experience of your method of education, that I long to ſee your third edition. And ſince you put me upon it, (to whom I can refuſe nothing in my power) I will give you a ſhort account of my little boy's progreſs under it.

HE was ſix years old about the middle of laſt July. When he was but juſt turned five, he could read perfectly well; and on the globes could have traced out, and pointed at all the noted parts, countries, and cities of the world, both land and ſea. And by five and an half could perform many of the plaineſt problems on the globe, as the longitude and latitude, the antipodes, the time with them and other countries, &c. and this by way of play and diverſion, ſeldom called to it, never chid, or beaten for it. About the ſame age, he could read any number of figures, not exceeding ſix places, break it as you pleaſe by cyphers, or zero's. By the time he was ſix, he could manage a compaſs, ruler and pencil, very prettily, and perform many little geometrical tricks, and advanced to writing and arithmetick; and has been about three months at Latin, wherein his tutor obſerves, as nigh as he can, the method preſcribed by you. He can read a gazette, and, in the large maps of Sanſon, ſhews moſt of the remarkable places, as he goes along, and turn to the proper maps. He has been ſhewn ſome dogs diſſected, and can give ſome little account of the grand traces of anatomy. And as to the formation of his mind, which you rightly obſerve to be the moſt valuable part of education: I do not believe that any child had ever his paſſions more perfectly at command. He is obedient and obſervant to the niceſt particular, and at the ſame time ſprightly, playful, and active.

But I will ſay no more, this may be tireſome to others, however pleaſing to myſelf.

I HAVE ſome thoughts of ſeeing England next ſpring or ſummer, but the time I cannot prefix, as yet, till I ſee how our affairs are like to go in parliament, and whether we are like to have another ſeſſion, and when. T'other day I chanced to mention your name accidentally to his excellency, my lord Capel, who thereupon expreſſed himſelf with the utmoſt reſpect and eſteem for you. I am,

Honoured SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, London, 16 Nov. 1695.

THOUGH there be no man in the world, that I ſo much long to ſee as you; yet your laſt letter, of the ſecond inſtant, makes me afraid of your coming. Your kindneſs and expreſſion in my favour, has painted me ſo in your fancy, that I ſhall unavoidably fall many degrees in your eſteem, when you find me come ſo much ſhort of what you expected; "paratus eſt mihi "magnus adverſarius, expectatio," as I remember, Tully ſomewhere ſays. One thing only I have to ſatisfy myſelf, viz. that, whatever I may want of thoſe qualities, you aſcribe to me, I have one that helps mightily to cover defects, and make one acceptable, without the recommendation of great perfections, I mean friendſhip, true and ſincere. This I can boaſt of to you, this I can bid you expect, and tell you, you ſhall not be deceived. Come then, but come with this reſolution, that you will be content, that ſhall make up to you all thoſe fine things, which you imagine before-hand in a man, whom you will really find a plain, honeſt, well-meaning man, who unbiaſſedly ſeeks truth, though it be but a very ſmall part of it he has yet diſcovered.

I AM very glad you approve of the additions to the third edition of my education: you are a father, and are concerned not to be deceived, and therefore I expect you will not flatter me in this point. You ſpeak ſo well of that you have, that I ſhall take care to have another of thoſe treatiſes of intereſt and coinage ſent to you. The affair of our money, which is in a lamentable ſtate, is now under debate here, what the iſſue will be, I know not; I pray for a good one. I find every body almoſt looks on it as a myſtery; to me there appears to be none at all in it. 'Tis but ſtripping it of the cant, which all men, that talk of it, involve it in, and there is nothing eaſier: lay by the arbitrary names of pence and ſhillings, and conſider and ſpeak of it as grains, and ounces of ſilver, and 'tis as eaſy as telling of twenty.

I HAD a great deal more to ſay to you, in anſwer to this, and two other obliging letters I am indebted to you for: But I am ſent for into the country by an expreſs. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt affectionate ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, Oates, 20 Nov. 1695.

BEFORE I left London, I gave order that the book you deſired, about intereſt and money, ſhould be ſent you by the firſt opportunity. But it is to you I ſend it, and not to any body elſe; you may give it, to whom you pleaſe, for 'tis yours, as ſoon as you receive it; but pray do not give it to any body in my name, or as a preſent from me. And, however you are pleaſed to make me a compliment, in making me the author of a book, you think well of; yet you may be ſure I do not own it to be mine, 'till you ſee my name to it.

YOU, I ſee, are troubled there about your money, as well as we are here; though, I hope, you are not ſo deep in that diſeaſe, as we are. A little before his Majeſty's return, the lords juſtices here had this matter under conſideration, and amongſt others, were pleaſed to ſend to me, for my thoughts about it. This is too publickly known here, to make the mentioning of it to you appear as vanity in me. The paper, I here incloſe, would ſeem a ſtrange thing, did I not tell you the occaſion of my writing it. And, ſince ſome of my friends here perſuade me, it gives ſome light to that which the ſtates-man you mention, thinks ſo profound a myſtery, I have taken the liberty to ſend it to you, either to open that matter a little farther to you, or that you may ſhew me the miſtakes and defects of it. But pray, whatever uſe you make of it, conceal my name.

I WRIT to you from London, juſt as I was leaving the town in haſte, in anſwer to yours of the ſecond inſtant. You muſt impute the faults of that, to the hurry and diſturbance I was then in. I am not much more at leiſure or at quiet now; but ſhame will not ſuffer me to be ſilent any longer, under the obligation of two other letters I have by me of yours, unanſwered.

I CANNOT read yours of the 24th of Auguſt laſt, without finding new marks of your kindneſs to me, in the concern you therein expreſs to get a good hand, for the tranſlating my eſſay. I think, at laſt, you have got a better than I could have expected. I deſigned to have brought Mr. Churchill and him together, and ſettled that matter, before I left London; but I was ſo unexpectedly called thence, that I left that, and ſeveral other buſineſſes, undone. But I took order with Mr Churchill, my bookſeller, to go to him; he is a reaſonable man, and, I doubt not, but it will be taken care of, as well as if I were there. I think the abridgment is near, if not quite printed; but I had not the time, or memory, to enquire, after my haſty ſummons into the country. I was told too, when I was in town, that ſome body is printing againſt it; if it be a fair enquirer, I ſhall be glad, if a wrangling diſputant, I ſhall not mind him.

MR. BURRIDGE is the man you ſpeak him to be, in yours of September 19. Had I ſtaid in London, I think I ſhould have been able to have procured him ſome particulars would have been of uſe to him, in his deſign. Some of them I have taken care he ſhould receive, notwithſtanding my abſence. But perhaps they might have been more, could I have ſtayed till more of my acquaintance

quaintance were come to town. I am now in an houſe of ſorrow and buſineſs, which hinders me from that freedom I would be in, when I write to you. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,

John Locke.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

SIR, Dublin, December 24, 1695.

I Am aſhamed to ſay, that I have two of yours before me unanſwered.

Yours of Nov. 20. brought me a paper, which, of all things I have ever ſeen on that ſubject, I moſt highly admire. You have therein revealed the whole myſtery of money, exchange, trade, &c. which have hitherto been wrapped up in unintelligible cant, I believe, partly out of knavery, partly out of ignorance. You gave me liberty to make what uſe of it I pleaſed, and therefore I ventured to give a copy of it to his excellency, my lord deputy Capel, rather than the book of intereſt and coinage, which I thought might be too long for his preſent peruſal, in his multitude of buſineſs. But I can tell you, that your admirable perſpicuity of writing is ſo clearly different from all the world, and almoſt peculiar to yourſelf; that in vain you expect to be concealed, in any thing that comes from you. For I aſſure you, in ſome diſcourſe I had with his excellency, no longer ago than yeſterday, concerning the buſineſs of money; he aſked me (without any occaſion given him from me) whether I had ever ſeen Mr. Locke's book of intereſt, &c. for he has formerly known (as I think I have told you) that I had the happineſs of your acquaintance; I replied to his lordſhip, that I had ſeen ſuch a book, but that it did not bear your name in it: he anſwered me: the printer preſented it to him as yours; and beſides (ſays he) all the world knows Mr. Locke's way of writing; and, if I may gueſs, I believe the paper you gave me a few days ago, came from Mr. Locke; pray, did it not? I told his excellency I was under ſome obligation to conceal the author. That's enough (ſays he) I am ſure 'tis his, and will put his name to it, and lay it up among my choiceſt papers.

I have lately received three ſmall prints from London, concerning the ſubject of money. They were incloſed in a blank wrapper, and franked to me by Sir Walter Yonge, Bart. a gentleman whom I never ſaw, and have no manner of acquaintance with. I wonder how he comes to confer an obligation on me ſo ſuitable and agreeable to my preſent thoughts. If you have any hand in this favour to me, be pleaſed to accept of my thanks, and to expreſs the ſame to Sir Walter. The titles of thoſe papers are,

"Sir W. Petty's Quantulumcunque, concerning money."

"A letter from an Engliſh merchant at Amſterdam, to his friend at "London, concerning the trade and coin of England."

"Some queſtions anſwered, relating to the badneſs of the now ſilver coin "of England."

I hear Mr. Lowndes of the treaſury has publiſhed ſomething on that ſubject, and that Mr. Flamſtead has anſwered him, in a tract he calls Five, not ſix.

I wish I could ſee them both, and ſhall beg the favour of you, if this letter finds you at London, to get them beaten pretty cloſe, wrapped up in folds, and directed to me, unleſs they be much too bulky for the poſt. You need not have them franked, for our letters come to us ſo, as we are of the parliament here.

I herewith ſend you incloſed the copy of a letter from an ingenious man, on the problem which you have honoured with a place in pag. 67. of your eſſay.

eſſay. You will find thereby, that what I ſay, of its puzzling ſome ingenious men is true: and you will eaſily diſcover by what falſe ſteps this gentleman is led into his error. The letter was communicated to me, by the party to whom it was writ, Dr. Quayl. And the writer of the letter, Mr. Edw. Synge, is the author of a little book called the Gentleman's Religion, which is vended as yours. The gentleman is on a ſecond part, which he will ſhew me, before he ſends it to the preſs. But this is only between our ſelves, and the bookſeller, who has been lately informed of thus much already. For tho' the book ſhews not that freedom of thought, as you or I, perhaps may expect; yet it ſhews enough to incenſe his own herd againſt him, for there is little of myſtery, or enthuſiaſtic in it, and yet the author is a clergy-man. And you know that, in a writer on a religious ſubject, 'tis an high offence, even to be ſilent on thoſe obſtruſe points. The clergy are not diſſatisfied only, with thoſe that plainly oppoſe them, but are enraged alſo, even at thoſe that omit zealouſly to advance them; as we have had a late inſtance in him, that writes againſt the reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity.

I SHOULD be mighty glad to hear that Mr. Burridge had ſet upon tranſlating your eſſay: I believe he will do it well.

I SHALL alſo be very much obliged by any information you give me, of whatſoever is done, or doing by your ſelf, or others, relating to your works, of which there is none a more devoted admirer, than the excellent author's

Moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. SYNGE to Dr. QUAYL.

Dear SIR, Corke, Septemb. 6. 1695.

MR. Molyneux's ingenious queſtion, of which you gave me an account at Mr. Luke's yeſterday, has run ſo much in my mind ever ſince, that I could ſcarce drive it out of my thoughts. To be revenged on you therefore for putting my brains in ſuch a ferment, I have reſolved to be ſo impertinent, as to ſend you the reſult of my meditations upon the ſubject.

THE caſe is this: a man born perfectly blind has a globe and a cube given into his hands, and inſtructed, as much as he is capable of, in the notion of each of theſe figures, and the difference between them. Let us now ſuppoſe this man ſuddenly to be endowed with the ſenſe of ſeeing, and the queſtion is, "whether, the globe and the cube being placed before his eyes, he would be "able, by his ſight alone, and without touching them, to tell which was the "globe, and which the cube?"

For the better underſtanding of what I ſhall ſay on this queſtion, I deſire you to take notice, that I call every notion of any thing, which a man entertains, an idea; but that notion only, which a man entertains of a viſible thing, as it is viſible, I call an image.

THIS being premiſed, I lay down theſe propoſitions.

1. A MAN born blind may have a true (though perhaps not a perfect) idea of a globe and of a cube, and of ſome difference, which is between them.

THIS evidently appears, becauſe he will certainly be able, by his touch, to diſtinguiſh them one from the other.

2. A MAN, who has ever been perfectly blind, and whilſt he ſo remains, can have no image in his mind, either of a cube, or a globe.

THIS, in my opinion, is very evident, becauſe there is no paſſage but the organs of ſight (of which we ſuppoſe him to be deprived) for ſuch an image to enter: and I take it for granted, that ſuch images are not innate in men's apprehenſions.

3. Such a man, as ſoon as he is endowed with the ſenſe of ſeeing, will immediately have a different image in his mind, of a globe, and of a cube, as ſoon as they are expoſed to his ſight.

This muſt needs be ſo, if his ſight, and the organs thereof be ſuch as ours, which we ſuppoſe.

4. And if immediately, upon the ſight of the globe and cube, there be grounds enough for ſuch a perſon clearly to perceive the agreement, and the difference, between his pre-conceived ideas, and newly conceived images of thoſe figures, then may he be able to know which is the globe, and which the cube, without touching them again after he has ſeen them.

For the agreement which he may find between his idea and his image of a globe, and the difference of the idea of a globe, from the image of a cube (& ſic vice verſa) will be a ſufficient direction to him. (If, I ſay, there be ſufficient ground immediately to perceive the ſaid agreement and difference.)

5. The idea which ſuch a blind man muſt needs, by his touch alone, form of a globe, will be this, that it is a body which is exactly alike on all ſides.

For let him roll it, as often as he will, between his hands, and he can find no manner of difference between the one ſide and the other.

6. Part of the idea, which ſuch a man muſt needs, by his touch, conceive of a cube, will be, that it is a body which is not alike in every part of its ſuperficies.

For in one part he feels a ſmooth flat, in another the ſharp point of an angle, and in a third a long ridge, which reaches from one angle to another.

7. The image, which at the firſt ſight ſuch a man will form of a globe, muſt needs repreſent it as a body, which is alike on all ſides, which conſequently muſt be agreeable to the idea, which he before had of it, and different from that idea, which he had of a cube.

For turn a globe ten thouſand ways, and it ſtill carries the ſame aſpect, if it be all of the ſame colour, which we now ſuppoſe.

8. The image, which upon the firſt view ſuch a man will frame of a cube, muſt needs be this, that it is a body, which is not alike in all the parts of its ſuperficies, which conſequently muſt be agreeable to the idea, which before he had of it, and different from that idea, which he had of a globe.

For a cube does not carry the ſame aſpect, when it is expoſed to our ſight in different poſitions.

Since then the image, which ſuch a man would have of a globe, would be agreeable to the idea, which before he had conceived of it, and different from that idea, which before he had entertained of a cube ("& ſic vice verſa") it follows, that by his ſight alone he might be able to know, which was the globe, and which the cube.

I have no more, but to wiſh you a good journey, and tell you, that if you call me impertinent for ſending you my thoughts upon ſuch a ſpeculation, I will retort, and tell that it was yourſelf who put the queſtion to

Your moſt affectionate friend, and faithful ſervant,

Edw. Synge.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Sir, Dublin, March 14, 169$\frac{5}{6}$.

As nothing is more pleaſing to me than a letter from you; ſo my concern is not little, when in ſo long a time I have wanted that ſatisfaction; and more eſpecially ſo, when I have reaſon to fear it may proceed from your indiſpoſition in health. The laſt letter I had from Mr. Churchill intimated to me, that you were not well, and I have not yet received any account to the contrary; ſo that my fears daily increaſe upon me, and I ſhall be very uneaſy, 'till I receive the glad tidings of your recovery and ſafety.

MR. LOWNDES's book about our coin, and yours againſt him (which I underſtand you have ſent me, and for which I moſt heartily thank you) are not yet arrived; when they come, you ſhall hear farther from me concerning them.

I HAVE lately received a letter from Mr. Burridge, who is gone down to his cure in the country; he takes all opportunities of thanking you for the civil reception you gave him; and, as it was upon my recommendation, I muſt alſo thank you for my ſhare in the favour. He tells me he has read over your eſſay carefully, and has juſt ſet upon the tranſlation thereof; but he has not yet ſent me any ſpecimen thereof, when he does, you ſhall receive it forthwith from me. I doubt not but he will perform it to your ſatisfaction; there is not a man in Ireland, but himſelf, for whom I dare promiſe ſo boldly in this matter. One thing he intimates to me, which I muſt needs mention to you, as being ſo agreeable to the apprehenſions I have always had of the excellent author of the eſſay, to whom I have ſometimes preſumed to propoſe it, viz. that he would write a book of offices, or moral philoſophy. I give you Mr. Burridge's own words, who goes on, "the fine ſtrokes, which he has frequently in his eſſay, "make me think he would perform it admirably. I wiſh you would try his "inclinations; you may aſſure him, I will chearfully undertake the tranſla-"tion of it, afterwards."

THUS you ſee, ſir, how you are attacked on all ſides; I doubt not but you have as frequent ſolicitations from your friends in England. I will, at this time, add nothing more to the troubleſome importunity. Only, on this occaſion I will venture to tell you, that I have a deſign on Mr. Burridge, to get him, by degrees, to tranſlate all the books you have written, and will give leave for. I am,

Honoured SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, Oates, 30 March, 1696.

THOUGH I have been very ill this winter, not without ſome apprehenſions of my life, yet I am aſhamed that either that, or buſineſs that has took up more of my time, than my health could well allow, ſhould keep me ſo long ſilent, to a man ſo kindly concerned to hear from me. 'Twas more than once, that I reſolved on the next poſt, but ſtill ſomething or other came between; and I more readily yielded to delays, in hopes to hear ſomething from you, concerning my anſwer to Mr. Lowndes. If this be a fault in me, it is ſuch an one, that I am guilty of, to nobody but my friends. Perhaps the running from ceremony, or punctuality, towards thoſe, whom I look on as my ſure friends, that is, myſelf, may ſometimes carry me a little too far to the other ſide. But if you diſapprove of it, I ſhall only ſay, it is an ill effect of a very good cauſe; and beg you to believe, that I ſhall never be tardy in writing, ſpeaking, or doing, whenever I ſhall think it may be of any moment to the leaſt intereſt of yours.

THE buſineſs of our money has ſo near brought us to ruin, that, 'till the plot broke out, it was every body's talk, every body's uneaſineſs. And, becauſe I had played the fool to print about it, there was ſcarce a poſt wherein ſome body, or other, did not give me freſh trouble about it. But now the parliament has reduced guineas to two and twenty ſhillings a piece after the 10th inſtant, and prohibited the receipt of clipped money, after the 4th of May next. The bill has paſſed both houſes, and, I believe, will ſpeedily receive the royal aſſent. Though I can never bethink any pains, or time of mine, in the ſervice of my country, as far as I may be of any uſe; yet I muſt own to you, this,

this, and the like ſubjects, are not thoſe, which I now reliſh, or that do, with moſt pleaſure, employ my thoughts; and therefore ſhall not be ſorry, if I eſcape a very honourable employment, with a thouſand pounds a year ſalary annexed to it, to which the King was pleaſed to nominate me, ſome time ſince. May I have but quiet and leiſure, and a competency of health to perfect ſome thoughts my mind is ſometimes upon, I ſhould deſire no more for myſelf in this world, if one thing were added to it, viz. you in my neighbourhood. You cannot imagine, how much I want ſuch a friend within diſtance, with whom I could confer freely "de quolibet ente," and have his ſenſe of my reveries, and his judgment to guide me.

I AM aſhamed to receive ſo many thanks, for having done ſo little for a man who came recommended to me by you. I had ſo little opportunity to ſhew the civility, I would have done, to Mr. Burridge, that I ſhould not know how to excuſe it to you, or him, were not he himſelf a witneſs of the perpetual hurry I was in, all the time I was then in town. I doubt not at all of his performance in the tranſlation of my book, he has undertaken. He has underſtanding, and Latin, much beyond thoſe, who uſually meddle with ſuch works. And I am ſo well ſatisfied, both of his ability, and your care, that the ſending me a ſpecimen I ſhall look on, as more than needs. As to a "treatiſe of morals," I muſt own to you, that you are not the only perſons (you and Mr. Burridge, I mean) who have been for putting me upon it; neither have I wholly laid by the thoughts of it. Nay, I ſo far incline to comply with your deſires, that I, every now and then, lay by ſome materials for it, as they occaſionally occur, in the rovings of my mind. But when I conſider, that a book of offices, as you call it, ought not to be ſlightly done, eſpecially by me, after what I have ſaid of that ſcience, in my eſſay; and that "nonumque "prematur in annum," is a rule more neceſſary to be obſerved in a ſubject of that conſequence, than in any thing Horace ſpeaks of; I am in doubt, whether it would be prudent, in one of my age and health, not to mention other diſabilities in me, to ſet about it. Did the world want a rule, I confeſs there could be no work ſo neceſſary, nor ſo commendable. But the goſpel contains ſo perfect a body of ethicks, that reaſon may be excuſed from that enquiry, ſince ſhe may find man's duty, clearer and eaſier in revelation, than in herſelf. Think not this the excuſe of a lazy man, though it be, perhaps, of one, who having a ſufficient rule for his actions, is content therewith, and thinks he may, perhaps, with more profit to himſelf, employ the little time and ſtrength he has in other reſearches, wherein he finds himſelf more in the dark.

YOU put too great a value on my writings, by the deſign you own on Mr. Burridge, in reference to them. I am not to flatter myſelf, that becauſe they had the good luck to paſs pretty well here, amongſt Engliſh readers, that therefore they will ſatisfy the learned world, and be fit to appear in the learned language. Mr. Wynne's abſtract of my eſſay is now publiſhed, and I have ſent order to Mr. Churchill to ſend you one of them. Thus far in anſwer to yours of the 14th of March. I come now to that of the 24th of December.

MY lord deputy and you did too great honour to the paper I ſent you, and to me, upon that account. I know too well the deficiency of my ſtyle, to think it deſerves the commendations you give it. That which makes my writings tolerable, if any thing, is only this, that I never write for any thing but truth, and never publiſh any thing to others, which I am not fully perſuaded of myſelf, and do not think that I underſtand. So that I never have need of falſe colours to ſet off the weak parts of an hypotheſis, or of obſcure expreſſions, or the aſſiſtance of artificial jargon, to cover an error of my ſyſtem, or party. Where I am ignorant (for what is our knowledge) I own it. And though I am not proud of my errors; yet I am always ready and glad to be convinced of any of them. I think there wants nothing, but ſuch a preference of truth to party-intereſt and vain-glory, to make any body out-do me, in what you ſeem ſo much to admire.

THOUGH Sir Walter Yonge be an intimate friend of mine, yet I can aſſure you, I know nothing of thoſe three prints he franked to you, and ſo have no title to any part of your thanks.

I SEE by Mr. S.'s anſwer, to that which was originally your queſtion, how hard it is, for even ingenious men to free themſelves from the anticipations of ſenſe. The firſt ſtep towards knowledge is to have clear and diſtinct ideas; which I have juſt reaſon, every day more and more, to think few men ever have, or think themſelves to want; which is one great cauſe of that infinite jargon and nonſenſe, which ſo peſters the world. You have a good ſubject to work on; and therefore, pray let this be your chief care, to fill your ſon's head with clear and diſtinct ideas, and teach him, on all occaſions, both by practice and rule, how to get them, and the neceſſity of it. This, together with a mind active and ſet upon the attaining of reputation and truth, is the true principling of a young man. But to give him a reverence for our opinions, becauſe we taught them, is not to make knowing men, but pratling parrots. I beg your pardon for this liberty; it is an expreſſion of good will, and not the leſs ſo, becauſe not within the preciſe forms of good breeding. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, Dublin, June 6, 1696.

'TIS a melancholy thought to me, that ſince I have had the happineſs of your correſpondence, there has hardly happened a year, when both you and I have not made it an apology, for our long ſilence, that we have been indiſpoſed in our health; yet it has pleaſed God, that ſo it has been, and ſo it is on my ſide at preſent. About four years and an half ago I was firſt ſeized by a violent cholick, which then ſo weakned me, that, to this time, I lye ſo far under the effects thereof, as upon any cold to be very apt to relapſe into the ſame. And ſo it has been with me, for a while paſt; but now, God be thanked, I am again well recovered. I had not otherwiſe ſo long deferred my anſwer to yours of March 30th, which, after a long ſilence, brought me the aſſurance of your health, and therewith no ſmall ſatisfaction; having before that, entertained ſome painful thoughts of your indiſpoſition, from ſome rumours I had heard. But, I find, heaven is not yet ſo angry with us, as to take you from amongſt us.

AND now I moſt heartily congratulate you, both on the recovery of your health, and on the honourable preferment you have lately received from his Majeſty. In your writings concerning money, you have given ſuch demonſtrative proofs of your reach, even in the buſineſs of the world, that I ſhould have wondered, had the King overlooked you. And I do as much wonder, that, after what you have publiſhed on that ſubject, there ſhould remain the leaſt doubt with any man, concerning that matter. But, I fanſy, 'tis only thoſe, who are prejudiced by their intereſt, that ſeem to be diſſatisfied; ſuch as bankers, &c. who make a prey of the people's ignorance in this great affair. But, I think, you have cleared up the myſtery, and made it ſo plain to all men's capacities, that England will never fall again into the like inconveniences. 'Till you writ, we uſed money as the Indians do their wampompeek, it ſerved us well enough for buying and ſelling, and we were content and heeded it no farther; but for the intimate nature, affections, and properties thereof, we did no more underſtand them than the Indians their ſhells.

I HAVE read over Mr. Wynne's abridgment of your eſſay. But I muſt confeſs to you, I was never more ſatisfied with the length of your eſſay, than ſince I have ſeen this abridgment; which, though done juſtly enough, yet falls ſo ſhort of that ſpirit, which every where ſhews itſelf in the original, that nothing can be more different. To one already verſed in the eſſay, the abridgment ſerves as a good remembrancer; but, I believe, let a man, wholly unacquainted with the former, begin to read the latter, and he will not ſo well reliſh it. So that how deſirous ſoever I might have formerly been, of ſeeing your eſſay put into the form of a logick for the ſchools, I am now fully ſatisfied, I was in an error; and muſt freely confeſs to you, that I wiſh Mr. Wynne's abridgment had been yet undone. That ſtrength of thought and expreſſion, that every where reigns throughout your works, makes me ſometimes wiſh them twice as long.

I FIND, by ſome little pieces I have lately met with, that you are the reputed author of The reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity; whether it be really ſo, or not, I will not preſume to enquire, becauſe there is no name to the book; this only I will venture to ſay, on that head, that whoever is the author, or vindicator thereof, he has gotten as weak an adverſary in Mr. Edwards, to deal with, as a man could wiſh; ſo much unmannerly paſſion, and Billingſgate language, I have not ſeen any man uſe. In ſo much, that were Mr. Edwards to defend the beſt cauſe in the world, ſhould he do it in that manner, he would ſpoil it. Were an angel of heaven to juſtify a truth, with virulence and heat, he would not prevail.

AND now, my ever honoured friend, with much reluctance, I am to tell you, that I cannot be ſo happy this ſummer as to ſee you in England. 'Tis needleſs to trouble you with a long detail of the reaſons hereof; but what between my own private affairs, and a little place I have in the publick, ſo it is, and I cannot help it. But as a ſmall repair to myſelf, of this diſappointment, I ſhall beg the favour of you to admit a young gentleman, whom I ſhall ſend to you within a while, only to look on you, and afterwards to look on a picture of yours, which, I hear, is at Mr. Churchill's. The young gentleman's name is Howard, a modeſt and ingenious youth, and excellently ſkilled both in the judicious and practical part of painting; for his advancement wherein, he is now kept at London, and deſigns ſoon for Italy. He is eldeſt brother to my brother's wife, of a good fortune and family. If, by his report, I underſtand that that picture of yours at Mr. Churchill's be an excellent piece, and like you, he will procure it to be finely copied for me, and I may ſave you the trouble of ſitting; but if it prove otherwiſe, and be not worth copying, I will then make it my requeſt to you, that, at your leiſure, you would ſpare me ſo many hours time, as to ſit for ſuch a hand, as Mr. Howard ſhall procure to take your picture. This I thought fit to intimate to you before-hand, that when he waits on you, you may be forewarned of his buſineſs.

I DOUBT not, but by this time, you have heard of our lord deputy Capel's death. We are now under a moſt unſettled government, and our eyes are fixed on England for relief. Some here wiſh for your noble patron, my lord Pembroke, and go ſo far as to ſay, that he will be the man. I am confident we ſhould be happy under one that favoured you; and if there be any thing in this report, you would highly favour me, by letting his lordſhip know, that here he will find me, amongſt ſeveral others. that are your admirers; for that I reckon the moſt advaatageous character I can come, recommended under, to his lordſhip.

MR. BURRIDGE has been lately ſo taken up with his eccleſiaſtick affairs in the country, that (as he writes me word) he has hitherto made little farther progreſs in the tranſlation of the eſſay, but he promiſes now to ſet about it earneſtly. I wiſh you would give me your free opinion of what I have already ſent you thereof.

I FEAR your publick buſineſs will, in ſome meaſure, take you off from your more retired thoughts, by which the world were gainers every day. But, good ſir, let me intreat you, that, at your leiſure hours, you would think on, and ſend a line to

Your moſt affectionate, and humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, London, 2 July 1696.

I CANNOT, without great trouble, hear of any indiſpoſition of yours: your friendſhip, which heaven has beſtowed on me, as one of the greateſt bleſſings I can enjoy, for the remainder of my life, is what I value at ſo high a rate, that I cannot conſider myſelf within danger of loſing a perſon, every way ſo dear to me, without very great uneaſineſs of mind.

THUS far I got, when I ſat down to write to you, about a month ſince, as you will ſee, by the date at the top; buſineſs, and a little excurſion into the country, has hindered me ever ſince. Were you a man I only cared to talk with, out of civility, I ſhould ſooner anſwer your letters. But, not contenting myſelf with ſuch a formal correſpondence with you, I cannot find in my heart to begin writing to you, 'till I think I ſhall have time to talk a great deal, and pour out my mind to a man, to whom I make ſure I can do it with freedom; his candor and friendſhip allows that, and I find I know not what pleaſure in doing it. I promiſed myſelf abundance of pleaſure this ſummer, in ſeeing you here, and the diſappointment is one of the moſt ſenſible I could have met with, in my private concerns: and the occaſion, that robbed me of that ſatisfaction, frights me. I have, I thank God, now as much health, as my conſtitution will allow me to expect. But yet if I will think like a reaſonable man, the flattery of my ſummer vigour ought not to make me count beyond the next winter, at any time for the future. The laſt ſat ſo heavy upon me, that it was with difficulty I got through it; and you will not blame me, if I have a longing to ſee and embrace a man I eſteem and love ſo much, before I leave this ſilly earth; which, when the conveniences of life are moderately provided for, has nothing of value in it equal to the converſation of a knowing, ingenious, and large-minded friend, who ſincerely loves and ſeeks truth.

WHEN I took pen in hand to continue this letter, I had yours of March and June laſt before me, with a deſign to anſwer them. But my pen run on, as you ſee, before I could get leave of my forward thoughts, to come to what was my chief buſineſs, viz. to read again, and anſwer thoſe kind letters of yours.

THAT of March 28. brought me a ſample of Mr. Burridge's tranſlation: upon my reading of it, I began to correct it, after my faſhion, and intended to have gone through that, and ſo all the reſt of the ſheets, as they came to my hand: but ſome other more preſſing occaſion interrupted me, and now I am paſt all hopes to have any leiſure at all, to do any thing more to it in that kind, and muſt wholly leave it to his and your care. When I ſay your care, I do not make ſo ill an uſe of your kindneſs, as to expect you ſhould look it over, and correct it; but I doubt not, but you have ſuch an intereſt in your college, that you can have the aſſiſtance of ſome able man there to do it. The ſubject itſelf, and my way of expreſſing my thoughts upon them, may, I doubt not, but be different from the genius of the Latin tongue, and therefore I ſhould not think it amiſs, if Mr. Burridge would take more liberty to quit the ſcheme and phraſe of my ſtyle, and ſo he takes but my ſenſe, to comply more with the turn and manner of Tully's philoſophical language. For ſo he has but my ſenſe, I care not how much he neglects my words; and whether he expreſſes my thoughts, you are as good a judge as I, for I think you as much maſter of them. I ſay this to excuſe you from the trouble of ſending his papers over to me, as he diſpatches them; for in my preſent circumſtances I ſhall hardly have time ſo much as to peruſe them. Pray, when you ſee, or ſend to him, give him my humble ſervice.

THOUGH your colick has done me no ſmall prejudice, yet I am much more angry with it, upon the account of thoſe inconveniences it has made you ſuffer. I know you are in ſkilful, as well as careful hands, under the care of your brother, and it could not be adviſeable in any one to draw you from them. The colick is ſo general a name for pains in the lower belly, that I cannot from thence pretend to make any judgment of your caſe; but it can be no harm to adviſe

viſe you to aſk him, whether he does not think that the drinking of our Bath waters may be uſeful to you in your caſe. I know thoſe waters mightily ſtrengthen thoſe parts.

YOUR congratulation to me I take as you meant, kindly, and ſeriouſly, and it may be, it is what another would rejoice in: but, if you will give me leave to whiſper truth without vanity, in the ear of a friend, 'tis a preferment which I ſhall get nothing by, and I know not whether my country will, tho' that I ſhall aim at, with all my endeavours.

RICHES may be inſtrumental to ſo many good purpoſes, that it is, I think, vanity, rather than religion or philoſophy to pretend to contemn them. But yet they may be purchaſed too dear. My age and health demand a retreat from buſtle and buſineſs, and the purſuit of ſome enquiries, I have in my thoughts, makes it more deſirable than any of thoſe rewards, which publick employments tempt people with. I think the little I have enough, and do not deſire to live higher, or die richer than I am. And therefore you have reaſon rather to pity the folly, than congratulate the fortune, that engages me in the whirlpool.

'TIS your pre-occupation, in favour of me, that makes you ſay what you do of Mr. Wynne's abridgment; I know not, whether it be that, or any thing elſe, that has occaſioned it; but I was told ſome time ſince, that my eſſay began to get ſome credit in Cambridge, where I think for ſome years after it was publiſhed, it was ſcarce ſo much as looked into. But now, I have ſome reaſon to think it is a little more favorably received there, by theſe two queſtions held there this laſt commencement; viz. "probabile eſt animam non ſemper cogitare:" and, "idea Dei non eſt innata."

WHAT you ſay of the reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity, gives me occaſion to aſk your thoughts of that treatiſe, and alſo how it paſſes amongſt you there; for here, at its firſt coming out, it was received with no indifferency, ſome ſpeaking of it with great commendation, but moſt cenſuring it, as a very bad book. What you ſay of Mr. Edwards is ſo viſible, that I find all the world of your mind.

THIS is now a third ſitting before I finiſh this letter, whereby, I fear, I ſhall give you an ill picture of myſelf. By the reading of the next paragraph of your obliging letter of June 6, I am mightily comforted to find that it is not want of health (as it run into my head by a ſtrong impreſſion, I found remained in my mind, from the colick mentioned in the beginning of your letter) but buſineſs, that keeps me this year from the happineſs of your company. This is much more tolerable to me than the other, and though I ſuffer by it, yet I can bear it the better, whilſt there is room to hope it may be ſuch, that both you and your country may receive advantage by it. Mr. Howard, whom I was reſolving yeſterday morning to enquire after, prevented me by a viſit he made me, wherein he gave me an account he had received a letter from you, ſince his return from Cambridge. That which you deſire of me, as the chief reaſon of affording me his acquaintance, is what I cannot refuſe, and yet it cauſes in me ſome confuſion to grant. If the original could do you any ſervice, I ſhall be glad; but to think my picture worth your having, would carry too much vanity with it, to allow my conſent, did not the ſkill of the painter often make amends for the meanneſs of the ſubject, and a good pencil frequently make the painted repreſentation of more value than the real ſubſtance. This may probably be my caſe. Mr. Howard is a very pretty young gentleman, and I thank you for his acquaintance. I wiſh it lay in my power to do him any ſervice, whilſt he is here. If the length of my letter could be an excuſe for the ſlowneſs of its coming, I have certainly made a very ample apology; though I ſatisfy myſelf neither in being ſilent ſo long, nor in tiring you with talking ſo much now; but 'tis from an heart wholly devoted to you. I am,

Aug. 4, 1696.
SIR,
Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,
JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, London, 12 Sept. 1696.

COULD the painter have made a picture of me, capable of your converſation, I ſhould have ſat to him with more delight, than ever I did any thing in my life. The honour you do me, in giving me thus a place in your houſe, I look upon as the effect of having a place already in your eſteem and affection; and that made me more eaſily ſubmit to what methought looked too much like vanity in me. Painting was deſigned to repreſent the gods, or the great men that ſtood next to them. But friendſhip, I ſee, takes no meaſure of any thing, but by itſelf; and where it is great and high, will make its object ſo, and raiſe it above its level. This is that which has deceived you into my picture; and made you put ſo great a compliment upon me; and I do not know what you will find to juſtify your ſelf to thoſe, who ſhall ſee it in your poſſeſſion. You may, indeed tell them, the original is as much yours as the picture; but this will be no great boaſt, when the man is not more conſiderable than his ſhadow. When I looked upon it, after it was done, methought it had not that countenance I ought to accoſt you with. I know not whether the ſecret diſpleaſure I felt whilſt I was ſitting, from the conſideration that the going of my picture brought us no nearer together, made me look grave: but this I muſt own, that it was not without regret, that I remembered that this counterfeit would be before me, with the man, that I ſo much deſired to be with, and could not tell him, how much I longed to put myſelf into his hands, and to have him in my arms. One thing pray let it mind you of, and when you look on it at any time, pray believe, that the colours of that face on the cloth, are more fading and changeable than thoſe thoughts, which will always repreſent you to my mind, as the moſt valuable perſon in the world, whoſe face I do not know, and one whoſe company is ſo deſirable to me, that I ſhall not be happy 'till I do.

THOUGH I know how little ſervice I am able to do; yet my conſcience will never reproach me, for not wiſhing well to my country, by which I mean Engliſhmen, and their intereſt every where. There has been, of late years, a manufacture of linen, carried on in Ireland, if I miſtake not; I would be glad to learn from you the condition it is in; and, if it thrives not, what are the rubs and hindrances that ſtop it. I ſuppoſe you have land very proper to produce flax and hemp, why could there not be enough, eſpecially of the latter, produced there to ſupply his Majeſty's navy? I ſhould be obliged, by your thoughts about it, and how it might be brought about. I have heard there is a law requiring a certain quantity of hemp to be ſown every year: If it be ſo, how comes it to be neglected? I know you have the ſame publick aims for the good of your country that I have, and therefore, without any apology, I take this liberty with you. I received an account of your health, and your remembrance of me, not long ſince by Mr. Howard, for which I return you my thanks. I troubled you with a long letter about the beginning of the laſt month, and am,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, Dublin, Sept. 26, 1696.

I HAVE now before me two of yours, one of Auguſt the 4th, and t'other of the 12th inſtant. I had ſooner anſwered the former, but that I waited to give you an account of the farther progreſs of the tranſlation, which Mr. Burridge faithfully promiſed me; and I lately underſtand from him, that he has gone

gone through the three firſt chapters of the firſt book. I muſt confeſs, his avocations are many, and therefore his progreſs is not ſo quick as I could deſire. But I am ſure he will accompliſh it, and that well too; and Mr. Churchill has told him that you ſay, "ſat cito, ſi ſat bene:" and he is very well pleaſed, that you give him time.

I DO not wonder that your eſſay is received in the univerſities, I ſhould indeed have wondered with indignation at the contrary; "magna eſt veritas & prævalebit." We may expect a liberty of philoſophizing in the ſchools; but that your doctrine ſhould be ſo ſoon heard out of our pulpits, is what is much more remarkable. He that, even ten years ago, ſhould have preached, that, "idea Dei non eſt innata," had certainly drawn on him the character of an atheiſt; yet now we find Mr. Bentley very large upon it, in his ſermons at Mr. Boyle's lectures, ſerm. 1. p. 4. and ſerm. 3. p. 5. and Mr. Whiſton, in his new theory of the earth, p. 128.

MENTIONING theſe books minds me to intimate to you, that theſe ingenious authors agree exactly with you, in a paſſage you have in your thoughts of education, p. 337. 3d. edit. §. 192. "That the phænomenon of gravitation cannot be accounted for, by mere matter and motion, but ſeems an immediate law of the divine will ſo ordering it." And you conclude that ſection thus, "reſerving to a fitter opportunity, a fuller explication of this hypotheſis, and the application of it to all the parts of the deluge, and any difficulties can be ſuppoſed in the hiſtory of the flood." This ſeems to imply, that you have ſome thoughts of writing on that ſubject; it would be a mighty ſatisfaction to me, to know from you the certainty thereof. I ſhould be very glad alſo to hear what the opinion of the ingenious is concerning Mr. Whiſton's book.

As to the "Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity," I do not find but 'tis very well approved of here, amongſt candid, unprejudiced men, that dare ſpeak their thoughts. I'll tell you what a very learned and ingenious prelate ſaid to me, on that occaſion: I aſked him, whether he had read that book, and how he liked it? He told me, very well; and that if my friend Mr. Locke writ it, 'twas the beſt book he ever laboured at; but, ſays he, if I ſhould be known to think ſo, I ſhould have my lawns torn from my ſhoulders. But he knew my opinion aforehand, and was, therefore, the freer to commit his ſecret thoughts in that matter to me.

I AM very ſorry I can give you no better an account of the linen manufactures of late years ſet up in Ireland, than what follows.

ABOUT the year 1692. (I think) one Monſ. Du Pin came to Dublin from England, and here, by the King and Queen's letter, and patents thereon, he ſet up a royal corporation, for carrying on the linen manufacture in Ireland. Into this corporation many of the nobility and gentry were admitted, more for their countenance and favour to the project, than for any great help could be expected, either from their purſes, or heads, to carry on the work. Du Pin himſelf was nominated under-governor, and a great buſtle was made about the buſineſs; many meetings were held, and conſiderable ſums advanced to forward the work, and the members promiſed themſelves prodigious gains; and this expectation prevailed ſo far (by what artifices I cannot tell) as to raiſe the value of each ſhare to 40 or 50 pounds, tho' but five pounds was paid by each member, at firſt, for every ſhare he had. At length artificers began to be ſet at work, and ſome parcels of cloth were made, when on a ſudden there happened ſome controverſy between the corporation here in Ireland, and ſuch another corporation eſtabliſhed in England, by London undertakers, and in which Du Pin was alſo a chief member. Much time was ſpent in managing this diſpute, and the work began in the mean time to flag, and the price of the ſhares to lower mightily.

BUT, ſome little time before this controverſy happened, ſome private gentlemen and merchants, on their own ſtock, without the authority of an incorporating patent, ſet up a linen manufacture at Drogheda, which promiſed, and thrived very well at firſt; and the corporation of Dublin perceiving this, began to quarrel with them alſo, and would never let them alone 'till they embodied with them. Theſe quarrels and controverſies (the particulars whereof I can give you no account of, for I was not engaged amongſt them, and I can get no one that was, who can give any tolerable account of them; I ſay, they) grew ſo high, and Du Pin began to play ſuch tricks, that all were diſcouraged, and withdrew, as faſt as they could. So that now all is blown up, and nothing of this kind is carried on, but by ſuch as, out of their own private purſes, ſet up looms and bleaching yards. We have many of theſe in many parts of Ireland; and, I believe, no country in the world is better adapted for it, eſpecially the north. I have as good diaper, made by ſome of my tenants, nigh Armagh, as can come to a table, and all other cloth for houſhold uſes.

As to the law for the encouraging the linen manufacture, 'tis this. In the 17th and 18th of Car. II. there was an act of parliament made, "obliging all landlords and tenants to ſow ſuch a certain proportion of their holdings with flax, under a great penalty on both, on failure; and impowering the ſheriffs to levy 20 pounds, in each of their reſpective counties, to be diſtributed at the quarter-ſeſſions, yearly, to the three perſons, who ſhould bring in the three beſt webs of linen cloth, of ſuch a length and breadth, 10 l. to the firſt, 6 l. to the ſecond, and 4 l. to the third." This, whilſt it laſted, was a great encouragement to the country people, to ſtrive to out-do each other, and it produced excellent cloth, all over the kingdom; but then it was but temporary, only for twenty years from paſſing the act, and is now expired. But that part of the act, "ordaining landlords and tenants to ſow flax," is perpetual; and I can give no reaſon, why 'tis not executed; only this I can ſay, that the tranſgreſſion is ſo univerſal, and the forfeiture thereon to the King is ſo ſevere, that if it were enquired into, I believe all the eſtates in Ireland would be forfeited to his Majeſty. So that now the multitude of ſinners is their ſecurity. This ſtatute you will find amongſt the Iriſh acts, 17 & 18 Car. II. chap. 9.

ENGLAND, moſt certainly, will never let us thrive by the woollen trade; this is their darling miſtreſs, and they are jealous of any rival. But I ſee not that we interfere with them, in the leaſt, by the linen trade. So that that is yet left open to us to grow rich by, if it were well eſtabliſhed and managed, but by what means this ſhould be, truly I dare not venture to give my thoughts. There is no country has better land, or water, for flax and hemp, and I do verily believe, the navy may be provided here, with ſailing and cordage, cheaper by far than in England. Our land is cheaper, victuals for workmen is cheaper, and labour is cheaper, together with other neceſſaries for artificers.

I KNOW not in what manner to thank you for the trouble you have been at, in ſitting for your picture, on my account. 'Tis a favour of that value, that I acknowledge myſelf extremely obliged to you for it; and therefore I could not think that the expreſſions concerning it in your laſt belonged to me, did they come from one leſs ſincere than yourſelf. "Painting, 'tis true, was deſigned to repreſent the gods, and the great men, that ſtand next them;" and therefore it was, that I deſired your picture. This, Sir, is the real and ſincere thought of

Your moſt obliged, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, Jan. 5, 169$^{5}_{6}$.

'TIS now three months, ſince I ventured to trouble you with a letter; you may ſee thereby that I have a regard to the publick buſineſs you are engaged in; but I have not been all this while without the ſatiſfaction of hearing that you are well; for, as all my friends know that I have the moſt reſpectful concern for you in the world; ſo they are not wanting, on all opportunities, from t'other ſide the water, to give me the acceptable tidings of your welfare. I have lately received a letter from Mr. Howard, that obliges me to make his acknowledgments, for the favours he has received from you. This I can hardly do, without complaining of him at the ſame time, for not yet ſending me your picture; but I ſuppoſe, by this time, 'tis on the road hither, and I forgive him; and, with all gratitude imaginable, return you my thanks on this account.

THE incloſed piece of natural hiſtory, I am deſired by my brother to preſent to you, with his moſt affectionate, humble ſervice. If upon peruſing it, you think it may deſerve it, you may ſend it by the penny-poſt to the royal-ſociety, to fill up an empty page in the tranſactions. There is nothing to recommend it, but its being exactly true, and an account of a non-deſcript animal. Formerly I had a conſtant correſpondence with the ſecretary of the ſociety, but of late it has failed; and therefore we take the liberty of ſending this through your hands.

I HAVE lately met with a book here of Monſ. Le Clerc's, called, the cauſes of incredulity, done out of French. 'Tis the ſame Le Clerc that writes ontologia and dedicates it to you. I find thereby, you are his acquaintance and friend; I ſhould be very glad, you would be pleaſed to give me ſome account of that gentleman, and his circumſtances in the world, if you know them. To me he ſeems an impartial and candid enquirer after truth, and to have the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity, in that his book. The reaſon, why I enquire after him, is, becauſe I ſuppoſe him one of the refugees from France, and perhaps he may receive ſome encouragement to come into this kingdom. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, Febr. 3, 169$\frac{6}{7}$.

AS I had reaſon to rejoice on the nation's account, when you were firſt put on publick buſineſs; ſo I find, on my own particular, I had cauſe to lament; for ſince that time (to my great concern) your letters have been leſs frequent, and the ſatisfaction I had in them abundantly diminiſhed. Were I aſſured of the confirmed ſtate of your health, I could more patiently ſubmit to this; but knowing your ſickly diſpoſition, a month's ſilence puts me in pain for you, and I am very uneaſy under the apprehenſions of any danger that may attend you: favour me therefore, good ſir, though it were but by a line or two, in the crowd of your buſineſs; for that itſelf would be ſome contentment to me, in the want of thoſe noble philoſophical thoughts, which ſometimes you were pleaſed to communicate to me.

And now, ſir, I ſhall beg a favour of you a little out of our common road of correſpondence. We have here lately received the certainty of Mr. Methwin's being declared our lord chancellor; and truly, ſir, all moderate and good men, I find, are very well pleaſed at it. I ſuppoſe, by your intereſt and acquaintance with my lord keeper of England, you have an acquaintance, likewiſe, with Mr. Methwin; and I beg the favour of you to mention me to him, as your devoted friend and ſervant. I am ſure, if he knows you rightly, I cannot be repreſented to him under a more advantageous character; and I know this will give me admittance to his graces, which I deſire, more as I hear he is a good, than a great man; and being one of the maſters in chancery here, 'tis natural to covet the favour of him, under whom I am to act.

I HAVE lately met with a book of the Biſhop of Worceſter's concerning the Trinity. He takes occaſion therein to reflect on ſome things in your eſſay;

but truly, I think, with no great ſtrength of reaſon. However, he being a man of great name, I humbly propoſe it to you, whether you may not judge it worth your while to take notice of what he ſays, and give ſome anſwer to it, which will be no difficult taſk. I do not pretend hereby that an anſwer on purpoſe for that end only, ſhould be framed by you, I think it not of that moment; but perhaps you may find ſome accidental occaſion of taking notice thereof, either in the next edition of your eſſay, or ſome other diſcourſe, you may publiſh hereafter.

I HAVE not yet received the ſatisfaction of having your likeneſs before me, and have therefore lately writ a very diſcontented letter about it to Mr. Howard. A great man here told me, I ſomething reſembled you in countenance; could he but aſſure me of being like you in mind too, 'twould have been the eternal honour and boaſt of

Your moſt devoted, humble ſervant,

and entirely affectionate friend,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

I FIND, by a book I lately light on, of Mr. Norris's, that Mr. Maſham and my ſon agree in one odd circumſtance of life, of having both their mothers blind; for my wife loſt her ſight above twelve years before ſhe dyed, and I find my lady Maſham is in the ſame condition.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, Oates, 22 Feb. 169$\frac{5}{6}$.

I FEAR you will be of an opinion, that I take my picture for myſelf, and think you ought to look no farther, ſince that is coming to you, or is already with you. Indeed we are ſhadows much alike, and there is not much difference in our ſtrength and uſefulneſs. But yet I cannot but remember, that I cannot expect my picture ſhould anſwer your letters to me, pay the acknowledgments I owe you, and excuſe a ſilence as great, as if I were nothing but a piece of cloth overlay'd with colours I could lay a great deal of the blame on buſineſs, and a great deal on want of health. Between theſe two I have had little leiſure, ſince I writ to you laſt. But all that will bear no excuſe to myſelf, for being three letters in arrear, to a perſon whom I the willinglieſt hear from, of any man in the world, and with whom I had rather entertain myſelf, and paſs my hours in converſation, than with any one that I know. I ſhould take it amiſs, if you were not angry with me, for not writing to you all this while; for I ſhould ſuſpect you loved me not ſo well as I love you, if you could patiently bear my ſilence. I hope it is your civility makes you not chide me. I promiſe you, I ſhould have grumbled cruelly at you, if you had been half ſo guilty as I have been. But if you are angry a little, pray be not ſo very much, for if you ſhould provoke me any way, I know the firſt ſight of a letter from you, would allay all my choler immediately; and the joy of hearing you were well, and that you continued your kindneſs to me, would fill my mind, and leave me no other paſſion. For, I tell you truly, that ſince the receipt of your letter in September laſt, there has ſcarce a day paſſed, I am ſure not a poſt, wherein I have not thought of my obligation and debt to you, and reſolved to acknowledge it to you, though ſomething or other has ſtill come between to hinder me. For you would have pitied me, to ſee how much of my time was forced from me this winter in the country (where my illneſs confined me within doors) by crowds of letters, which were therefore indiſpenſably to be anſwered, becauſe they were from people, whom either I knew not, or cared not for, or was not willing to make bold with; and ſo you, and another friend I have in Holland, have been delayed, and put laſt, becauſe you are my friends, beyond ceremony and formality. And I reſerved myſelf for you, when I was at leiſure, in the eaſe of thoughts to enjoy. For that you may not think you have been paſſed over by a peculiar neglect, I mention to you another very good friend of mine, of whom I have now by me a letter, of an ancienter date than the firſt of your three, yet unanſwered.

HOWEVER, you are pleaſed, out of kindneſs to me, to rejoice in yours of September 26. that my notions have had the good luck to be vented from the pulpit, and particularly by Mr. Bentley; yet that matter goes not ſo clear as you imagine. For a man of no ſmall name, as you know Dr. S——— is, has been pleaſed to declare againſt my doctrine of no innate ideas, from the pulpit in the Temple, and, as I have been told, charged it with little leſs than atheiſm. Though the doctor be a great man, yet that would not much fright me, becauſe I am told, that he is not always obſtinate againſt opinions, which he has condemned more publickly, than in an harangue to a Sunday's auditory. But that 'tis poſſible he may be firm here, becauſe 'tis alſo ſaid, he never quits his averſion to any tenet, he has once declared againſt, 'till change of times bringing change of intereſt, and faſhionable opinions open his eyes and his heart, and then he kindly embraces what before deſerved his averſion and cenſure. My book crept into the world about ſix or ſeven years ago, without any oppoſition, and has ſince paſſed amongſt ſome for uſeful, and, the leaſt favourable, for innocent. But, as it ſeems to me, it is agreed by ſome men, that it ſhould no longer do ſo. Something, I know not what, is at laſt 'ſpied out in it, that is like to be troubleſome, and therefore it muſt be an ill book, and be treated accordingly. 'Tis not that I know any thing in particular, but ſome things that have happened at the ſame time together, ſeem to me to ſuggeſt this: what it will produce time will ſhew. But, as you ſay in that kind letter, "magna eſt veritas & prævalebit;" that keeps me at perfect eaſe in this, and whatever I write; for as ſoon as I ſhall diſcover it not to be truth, my hand ſhall be the forwardeſt to throw it in the fire.

YOU deſire to know, what the opinion of the ingenious is, concerning Mr. Whiſton's book. I have not heard any one of my acquaintance ſpeak of it, but with great commendation, as I think it deſerves. And truly, I think he is more to be admired, that he has laid down an hypotheſis, whereby he has explained ſo many wonderful, and, before, inexplicable things in the great changes of this globe, than that ſome of them ſhould not go eaſily down with ſome men, when the whole was entirely new to all. He is one of thoſe ſort of writers, that I always fanſy ſhould be moſt eſteemed and encouraged. I am always for the builders, who bring ſome addition to our knowledge, or at leaſt ſome new thing to our thoughts. The finders of faults, the confuters and pullers down, do not only erect a barren and uſeleſs triumph upon human ignorance, but advance us nothing in the acquiſition of truth. Of all the motto's I ever met with, this writ over a water-work, at Cleve, beſt pleaſed me, "natura omnes fecit judices, paucos artifices."

I THANK you for the account you gave me of your linen manufacture. Private knavery, I perceive, does there, as well as here, deſtroy all publick good works, and forbid the hope of any advantages by them, where nature plentifully offers what induſtry would improve, were it but rightly directed, and duly cheriſhed. The corruption of the age gives me ſo ill a proſpect of any ſucceſs, in deſigns of this kind, never ſo well laid, that I am not ſorry my ill health gives me ſo juſt a reaſon to deſire to be eaſed of the employment I am in.

YOURS of the 5th of January, which brought with it that curious and exact deſcription of that non-deſcript animal, found me here under the confinement of my ill lungs; but knowing buſineſs of ſeveral kinds would make it neceſſary for me to go to London, as ſoon as poſſible, I thought it better to carry it thither myſelf, than ſend it at random to the royal ſociety. Accordingly, when I went up to town, about a fortnight hence, I ſhewed it to Dr. Sloane, and put it into his hands, to be communicated to the royal ſociety; which he willingly undertook; and, I promiſe myſelf it will be publiſhed in their next tranſactions. Dr. Sloane is a very ingenious man, and a very good friend of mine; and, upon my telling him that your correſpondence with the ſecretary of the ſociety had

had been of late interrupted, he readily told me, that, if you pleaſed, he would take it up, and be very glad, if you would allow him the honour of a conſtant correſpondence with you.

You ſhew your charitable and generous temper, in what you ſay concerning a friend of mine in Holland, who is truly all that you think of him. He is married there, and has ſome kind of ſettlement; but I could be glad, if you in Ireland, or I here (tho' of the latter ſay nothing to others) could get him a prebendary of 100 or 200 l. per annum, to bring him over into our church, and to give him eaſe, and a ſure retreat to write in, where, I think, he might be of great uſe to the Chriſtian world. If you could do this, you would offer him a temptation would ſettle him amongſt us; if you think you cannot, I am never the leſs obliged to you, for offering to one, whom you take to be a friend of mine, what you are able. If he ſhould miſs the effect, yet I have ſtill the obligation to you.

When yours of the 3d inſtant met me in London, when I was there lately, I was rejoiced at my journey, though I was uneaſy in town, becauſe I thought my being there, might give me an opportunity to do you ſome little ſervice, or at leaſt ſhew you my willingneſs to do it. To that purpoſe I went twice or thrice to wait upon Mr. Methwin, though he be a perſon, in whoſe company I remember not that I was ever but once in my life. I miſſed him, by good luck, both times, and my diſtemper increaſed ſo faſt upon me, that though I went to London with an intention to make ſome ſtay there, yet I was forced away in eight days, and had not an opportunity to ſee Mr Methwin at all. You will, perhaps, wonder to hear me call my miſſing of him good luck; but ſo I muſt always call that which any way favours my deſign of ſerving you, as this did. For hereupon I applied myſelf to a friend of mine, who has an intereſt in him, and one, to whom your worth and friendſhip to me is not unknown, who readily undertook all I deſired on your behalf. And I promiſe myſelf, from thence, that you will find Mr. Methwin will be as deſirous of your acquaintance, as you are of his.

You will, in a little time, ſee that I have obeyed, or rather anticipated a command of yours, towards the latter end of your laſt letter. What ſentiments I have, of the uſage I have received, from the perſon you there mention, I ſhall ſhortly more at large acquaint you. What ſte ſays, is, as you obſerve, not of that moment much to need an anſwer; but the ſly deſign of it I think neceſſary to oppoſe; for I cannot allow any one's great name a right to uſe me ill. All fair contenders for the opinions they have, I like mightily; but there are ſo few, that have opinions, or at leaſt ſeem, by their way of defending them, to be really perſuaded of the opinions they profeſs, that I am apt to think, there is in the world a great deal more ſcepticiſm, or at leaſt want of concern for truth, than is imagined. When I was in town, I had the happineſs to ſee Mr. Burridge; he is, he ſays, ſpeedily returning to you, where I hope his book, which is received with great applauſe, will procure him ſomething more ſolid, than the name he has got him here; which I look upon, as a good fore-runner of greater things to come. He ſpoke ſomething of his intention to ſet about my book, but that I muſt leave to you and him. There is lately fallen into my hand a paper of Monſieur L———, writ to a gentleman here in England, concerning ſeveral things in my eſſay. I was told, when I was in London, that he had lately ordered his correſpondent to communicate them to me, and ſomething elſe he has ſince writ hither. He treats me all along with great civility, and more compliment than I can deſerve. And being, as he is, a very great man, 'tis not for me to ſay there appears to me no great weight in the exceptions he makes to ſome paſſages in my book; but his great name and knowledge in all parts of learning, ought to make me think, that a man of his parts ſays nothing but what has great weight in it; only I ſuſpect he has, in ſome places, a little miſtaken my ſenſe, which is eaſy for a ſtranger, who has (as I think) learned Engliſh out of England. The ſervant, I have now, cannot copy French, or elſe you ſhould ſee what he ſays: when I have all his papers you ſhall hear farther from me. I repine, as often as I think of the diſtance between this and Dublin.

I READ that paſſage of your letter to my Lady Maſham which concerned her ſight; ſhe bid me tell you, that ſhe hopes to ſee you here this ſummer. You will, poſſibly, wonder at the miracle, but that you muſt find in Mr. Norris's book. She has, 'tis true, but weak eyes, which Mr. Norris, for reaſons he knew beſt, was reſolved to make blind ones. And having fitted his epiſtle to that ſuppoſition, could not be hindered from publiſhing it ſo; though my lady, to prevent it, writ him word that ſhe was not blind, and hoped ſhe never ſhould be. 'Tis a ſtrange power, you ſee, we authors take to ourſelves; but there is nothing more ordinary, than for us to make whomſoever we will blind, and give them out to the world for ſuch, as boldly as Bayard himſelf. But 'tis time to ſpare you and your eyes. I am, with the utmoſt reſpect and ſincerity,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt affectionate ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, March 16, 169$\frac{6}{7}$.

I MUST confeſs, dear ſir, I have not lately (if ever in my life) been under a greater concern, than at your long ſilence. Sometimes I was angry with myſelf, but I could not well tell why; and then I was apt to blame you, but I could leſs tell why. As your ſilence continued, my diſtraction increaſed; till, at laſt, I was happily relieved by yours of the 22d of February, which came not to my hands 'till the 10th inſtant. I then perceived I was to charge ſome part of my troubled time to the conveyance of your letter, which was almoſt three weeks on its way hither. And that which added to my concern, was the want of even your ſhadow before me, for to this moment I have not received that, which will be apt on its appearance, to make me an idolater. Mr. Howard writes me word, he has ſent it from London above five weeks ago; but I hear nothing of it from our correſpondent, to whom 'tis conſigned in Cheſter. However, ſeeing I know the ſubſtance to be in ſafety, and well, I can bear the hazard of the ſhadow with ſome patience, and doubt not but my expectation will be ſatisfied in due time.

BOTH Whiſton and Bentley are poſitive againſt the idea of God being innate; and I had rather rely on them (if I would rely on any man) than on Dr. S—. 'Tis true, the latter has a great name; but that, I am ſure, weighs not with you, or me. Beſides, you rightly obſerve, the doctor is no obſtinate heretick, but may veer about, when another opinion comes in faſhion; for ſome men alter their notions, as they do their cloaths, in compliance to the mode. I have heard of a maſter of the Temple, who, during the ſiege of Limerick, writ over hither to a certain prelate, to be ſure to let him know, by the firſt opportunity, whenever it came to be ſurrendered, which was done accordingly; and immediately the good doctor's eyes were opened, and he plainly ſaw the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, were not only expedient, but lawful, and our duty. A good, roaring train of artillery is not only "ratio ultima regum," but of other men beſides.

I FANSY I pretty well gueſs what it is, that ſome men find miſchievous in your eſſay: 'Tis opening the eyes of the ignorant, and rectifying the methods of reaſoning, which perhaps may undermine ſome received errors, and ſo abridge the empire of darkneſs: wherein, though the ſubjects wander deplorably, yet the rulers have their profit and advantage. But 'tis ridiculous, in any man to ſay in general, your book is dangerous: let any fair contender for truth, ſit down and ſhew wherein 'tis erroneous. Dangerous, is a word of an uncertain ſignification, every one uſes it in his own ſenſe. A papiſt ſhall ſay 'tis

'tis dangerous, becauſe, perhaps, it agrees not ſo well with tranſubſtantiation; and a lutheran, becauſe his conſubſtantiation is in hazard; but neither conſider, whether tranſubſtantiation, or conſubſtantiation, be true or falſe, but taking it for granted that they are true, or at leaſt gainful, whatever hits not with it, or is againſt it, muſt be dangerous.

I AM extremely obliged to you for your introducing a correſpondence between Dr. Sloane and me, and it would be the greateſt ſatisfaction imaginable to me, could I but promiſe myſelf materials, in this place, fit to ſupport it. However, I ſhall ſoon begin it, by ſending him an account of the largeſt quadruped that moves on the earth, except the elephant, with which this country has anciently been plentifully ſtocked, but is now quite periſhed from amongſt us, and is not to be found, for aught as I can learn, any where at preſent, but about New-England, Virginia, &c.

AND now I come to that part of your letter relating to Monſ. Le Clerc, which grieves me every time I think on't. There are ſo many difficulties, in what you propoſe concerning him, that I know not how they will be ſurmounted. The clergy here, have given that learned, pious, and candid man, a name, that will frighten any Biſhop from ſerving him, though otherways inclinable enough in his own breaſt. I know but two or three, that are in any poſt in the church capable to help him, on whom I could rely to do it; but at the ſame time, I know them to be ſuch cautious, wary men, and ſo fearful of the cenſure of the reſt of the tribe, that they would hardly be brought to it. I take Monſ. Le Clerc to be one of the greateſt ſcholars in Europe; I look on him, as one of the moſt judicious, pious, and ſincere Chriſtians, that has appeared publickly; and it would be an infinite honour to us, to have him amongſt us; but, I fear, an eccleſiaſtical preferment will be very difficult to be obtained for him. And indeed when I troubled you to give me ſome account of him, it was in proſpect of bringing him into my own family, could his circumſtances have allowed it; for I took him to be a ſingle man, and one of the refugees in Holland, and wholly unprovided for. On his own account, I am heartily glad he has any ſettlement there: but, for my own ſake, I could wiſh he were in other circumſtances. But, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, I have ventured to break this matter to a clergyman here in a conſiderable poſt, Dr. . . . . dean of . . . . , a gentleman who is happy in your acquaintance, and is a perſon of an extenſive charity, and great candor. He reliſhed the thing extremely, but moved the forementioned difficulties, and raiſed ſome farther ſcruples concerning Mr. Le Clerk's ordination: for ordained he muſt neceſſarily be, to capacitate him for an eccleſiaſtical preferment; and he queſtioned whether he would ſubmit to thoſe oaths, and ſubſcription, of aſſent and conſent, that are requiſite thereto. But he promiſed me, that when he attends the king this ſummer into Holland, as his chaplain, he will wait on Monſieur Le Clerc at Amſterdam, and diſcourſe with him farther about this matter. This gentleman is the likelieſt eccleſiaſtick in Ireland to effect this buſineſs, for he is a riſing man in the church; and though he be very zealous in his own principles, yet 'tis with the greateſt charity and deference to others; which, I think, is the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity. I have not mentioned you in the leaſt to him, in all this matter.

I AM extremely obliged to you for the good offices you have done me to Mr. Methwin, our lord chancellor. I promiſe myſelf a great deal of ſatiſfaction in the honour of his lordſhip's acquaintance. And, I could wiſh, if it were conſiſtent with your convenience, that you would let me know the perſon, you deſired to mention my name to his lordſhip.

I AM heartily glad to underſtand, that you have taken notice of what the Biſhop of Worceſter ſays, relating to your book. I have been in diſcourſe here, with an ingenious man, upon what the Biſhop alledges; and the gentleman obſerved, that the Biſhop does not ſo directly object againſt your notions as erroneous, but as miſuſed by others, and particularly by the author of "Chriſtianity not myſterious;" but, I think, this is no very juſt obſervation. The Biſhop directly oppoſes your doctrine, though, 'tis true, he does it on the occaſion

occaſion of the foreſaid book. I am told the author of that diſcourſe is of this country, and that his name is Toland, but he is a ſtranger in theſe parts; I believe, if he belongs to this kingdom, he has been a good while out of it, for I have not heard of any ſuch remarkable man amongſt us.

I SHOULD be very glad to ſee Monſ. L——'s paper concerning your eſſay. He is certainly an extraordinary perſon, eſpecially in mathematics; but really to ſpeak freely of him, in relation to what he may have to ſay to you, I do not expect any great matters from him; for methinks (with all deference to his great name) he has given the world no extraordinary ſamples of his thoughts this way, as appears by two diſcourſes he has printed, both in the acta erudit. Lipſiæ, the firſt anno 1694. pag. 110. "de primæ philoſophiæ emendatione," &c. the other anno 1695. pag. 145. "ſpecimen dynamicum," which truly to me is, in many places, unintelligible; but that may be my defect, and not his.

I BEG you would excuſe me to my Lady Maſham, for the error I committed, relating to her ladyſhip. I ever looked on Mr. Norris as an obſcure, enthuſiaſtick man, but I could not think he would knowingly impoſe on the world ſo notorious a falſity, in matter of fact. I wiſh authors would take more pains to open, than to ſhut, men's eyes, and then we ſhould have more ſucceſs in the diſcoveries of truth.——But I have almoſt out-run my paper. I am,

Ever honoured SIR,
Your moſt affectionate, and
moſt obliged humble ſervant,
WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, Dublin, April 6, 1697.

IN my laſt to you of March 16, there was a paſſage relating to the author of "Chriſtianity not myſterious." I did not then think that he was ſo near me, as within the bounds of this city; but I find ſince, that he is come over hither, and have had the favour of a viſit from him. I now underſtand (as I intimated to you) that he was born in this country; but that he has been a great while abroad, and his education was, for ſome time, under the great Le Clerc. But that, for which I can never honour him too much, is his acquaintance and friendſhip to you, and the reſpect, which, on all occaſions, he expreſſes for you. I propoſe a great deal of ſatisfaction in his converſation; I take him to be a candid free-thinker, and a good ſcholar. But there is a violent ſort of ſpirit, that reigns here, which begins already to ſhew itſelf againſt him; and, I believe, will increaſe daily; for I find the clergy alarmed to a mighty degree againſt him. And laſt Sunday he had his welcome to this city, by hearing himſelf harangued againſt, out of the pulpit, by a prelate of this country.

I HAVE at laſt received my moſt eſteemed friend's picture; I muſt now make my grateful acknowledgments to you, for the many idle hours you ſpent, in ſitting for it, to gratify my deſire. I never look upon it, but with the greateſt veneration. But though the artiſt has ſhewn extraordinary ſkill at his pencil, yet now I have obtained ſome part of my deſire, the greateſt remains unſatiſfied; and ſeeing he could not make it ſpeak, and converſe with me, I am ſtill at a loſs. But I find you are reſolved, in ſome meaſure, to ſupply even that too, by the kind preſents you ſend me of your thoughts, both in your letters, and in your books, as you publiſh them. Mr. Churchill tells me, I am obliged to you for one or two of this kind, that you have been pleaſed to favour me with; they are not yet come to hand, but I return you my heartieſt thanks for them. I long, indeed, to ſee your anſwer to the Biſhop of Worceſter; but for Edwards, I think him ſuch a poor wretch, he deſerves no notice. I am,

Moſt worthy SIR,
Your affectionate, humble ſervant,
WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, Oates, 10 April, 1697.

THOUGH I do not ſuſpect that you will think me careleſs, or cold, in that ſmall buſineſs you deſired of me, and ſo left it in negligent hands, give me leave to ſend you a tranſcript of a paſſage in my friend's letter, which I received laſt poſt.

"'TIS a great while ſince, that Mr. P— undertook to tell you, that I had "ſpoken to Mr. Methwin about Mr. Molyneux, and that he received your "recommendation very civilly, and anſwered, he ſhould always have a great "regard for any body, you thought worthy of your eſteem; and you gave ſo "advantageous a character of Mr. Molyneux, that he ſhould covet his ac- "quaintance, and therefore he muſt deſire the favour of you to recommend "him to Mr. Molyneux."

THUS, my friend, whoſe words, though in them there be ſomething of compliment to myſelf, I repeat to you, juſt as they are in his letter, that you may ſee he had the ſame ſucceſs I promiſed you in my laſt.

IN obedience to your commands, I herewith ſend you a copy of Mr. L—'s paper. The laſt paragraph, which you will find writ in my hand, is a tranſcript of part of a letter, writ lately to his correſpondent here, one Mr. Burnet, who ſent it me lately, with a copy of Mr. L—'s paper. Mr. Burnet has had it this year or two, but never communicated it to me, till about a fortnight agone. Indeed Mr. Cunningham procured me a ſight of it laſt ſummer, and he and I read it, paragraph by paragraph, over together, and he confeſſed to me that ſome parts of it he did not underſtand; and I ſhewed him in others that Mr. L———'s opinion would not hold, who was perfectly of my mind. I mention Mr. Cunningham to you, in the caſe, becauſe I think him an extraordinary man, of parts and learning, and he is one that is known to Mr. L———. To anſwer your freedom with the like, I muſt confeſs to you, that Mr. L———'s great name had raiſed in me an expectation, which the ſight of his paper did not anſwer, nor that diſcourſe of his in the "acta eruditorum," which he quotes, and I have ſince read, and had juſt the ſame thoughts of it when I read it, as I find you have. From whence I only draw this inference, that even great parts will not maſter any ſubject without great thinking, and even the largeſt minds have but narrow ſwallows. Upon this occaſion I cannot but again regret the loſs of your company and aſſiſtance, by this great diſtance.

I HAVE lately got a little leiſure, to think of ſome additions to my book, againſt the next edition, and within theſe few days have fallen upon a ſubject, that I know not how far it will lead me. I have written ſeveral pages on it, but the matter, the farther I go, opens the more upon me, and I cannot yet get ſight of any end of it. The title of the chapter will be, "of the conduct "of the underſtanding," which, if I ſhall purſue, as far as I imagine it will reach, and as it deſerves, will, I conclude, make me the largeſt chapter of my eſſay. 'Tis well for you, you are not near me; I ſhould be always peſtering you with my notions, and papers, and reveries. It would be a great happineſs to have a man of thought to lay them before, and a friend that would deal candidly and freely.

I HOPE, e're this, you and your brother have received printed copies of what the doctor communicated to the royal ſociety. I preſume it is publiſhed before this time, though I have not ſeen it; for Dr. Sloane writ me word, ſome time ſince, that it would be ſpeedily, and told me he would ſend it to you. And, if Mr. Churchill has taken that care he promiſed me, I hope you have alſo received my "letter to the Biſhop of Worceſter," and that I ſhall ſoon receive your thoughts of it.

THE buſineſs you propoſed to Dr. S—— is generouſly deſigned, and well managed, and I very much wiſh it ſucceſs. But will not Dr. S—— be perſuaded

ſuaded to communicate to the world the obſervations he made in Turkey? The diſcourſe I had with him ſatisfies me, they well deſerve not to be loſt, as all papers laid up in a ſtudy are. Methinks you ſhould prevail with him to oblige his country.

THOUGH my paper be done, yet I cannot cloſe my letter till I have made ſome acknowledgments to you, for the many great marks you give me of a ſincere affection, and an eſteem extremely above what I can deſerve, in yours of the 16th of March. Such a friend, procured me by my eſſay, makes me more than amends, for the many adverſaries it has raiſed me. But I think no body will be able to find any thing miſchievous in it, but what you ſay, which I ſuſpect, troubles ſome men, and I am not ſorry for it, nor like my book the worſe. He that follows truth impartially, ſeldom pleaſes any ſett of men; and I know not how a great many of thoſe, who pretend to be ſpreaders of light, and teachers of truth, would yet have men depend upon them for it, and take it rather upon their words than their own knowledge, juſt cooked and ſeaſoned as they think fit. But 'tis time to releaſe you after ſo long a trouble. I am perfectly,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt faithful ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Réflexions de Mr. L—— ſur " l'eſſai de l'entendement humain" de Monſieur LOCKE.

JE trouve tant de marques d'une penetration peu ordinaire dans ce que Mr. Locke nous a donné ſur l'entendement de l'homme, & ſur l'education, & je juge la matiere ſi importante que j'ai crû ne pas mal employer le tems que je donnerois à une lecture ſi profitable; d'autant que j'ai fort medité moi-même ſur ce qui regarde les fondemens de nos connoiſſances. C'eſt ce qui m'a fait mettre ſur cette feüille quelques unes des remarques qui me ſont venues en liſant ſon " eſſai de l'entendement." De toutes les recherches il n'y en a point de plus importantes, puiſque c'eſt la clef de toutes les autres.

LE premier livre regarde principalement les principes qu'on dit être néz avec nous. Mr. Locke ne les admet pas, non plus que les idées inées. Il a eu ſans doute de grandes raiſons de s'oppoſer en cela aux préjugez ordinaires, car on abuſe extrêmement du nom d'idées & de principes. Les philoſophes vulgaires ſe font des principes à leur phantaſie, & les Carteſiens, qui font profeſſion de plus d'exactitude, ne laiſſent pas de faire leur retrenchement des idées prétenduës, de l'étenduë de la matiere, & de l'ame; voulant s'exempter par-là de la néceſſité de prouver ce qu'ils avancent; ſous prétexte que ceux qui méditeront les idées, y trouveront la même choſe qu'eux, c'eſt-à-dire, que ceux qui s'accoûtumeront à leur jargon & à leur maniere de penſer, auront les mêmes préventions, ce qui eſt très-véritable. Mon opinion eſt donc qu'on ne doit rien prendre pour principe primitif, ſi non les expériences & l'axiôme de l'identicité ou (ce qui eſt la même choſe) de la contradiction, qui eſt primitif, puiſqu' autrement il n'y auroit point de difference entre la verité & la fauſſeté; & toutes les recherches ceſſeroient d'abord, s'il étoit indifferent de dire oüi ou non. On ne ſauroit donc s'empêcher de ſuppoſer ce principe, dèſqu'on veut raiſonner. Toutes les autres veritez ſont prouvables, & j'eſtime extrêmement la methode d'Euclide qui ſans s'arrêter à ce qu'on croiroit être aſſez prouvé par les prétenduës idées, a demontré (par exemple) que dans une triangle un côté eſt toûjours moindre que les deux autres enſemble. Cependant Euclide a eu raiſon de prendre quelques axiômes pour accordes, non pas comme s'il étoient véritablement primitifs & indémonſtrables, mais parce qu'il ſe ſeroit trop arrêté, s'il n'avoit voulu venir aux concluſions qu'après une diſcuſſion éxacte des principes: ainſi il a jugé

à propos de ſe contenter d'avoir pouſſé les preuves juſqu'à ce petit nombre de propoſitions, en ſorte qu'on peut dire que ſi elles ſont vraies, tout ce qu'il dit l'eſt auſſi. Il a laiſſé à d'autres le ſoin de démontrer ces principes mêmes qui d'ailleurs ſont déja juſtifiées par les expériences. Mais c'eſt dequoi on ne ſe contente point en ces matieres: c'eſt pourquoi Apollonius, Proclus, & autres, ont pris la peine de démontrer quelques uns des axiômes d'Euclide. Cette maniere doit être imitée des philoſophes, pour venir enfin à quelques éſtabliſſemens, quand ils ne ſeroient que proviſionels; de la maniere que je viens de dire. Quant aux idées j'en ai donné quelque éclairciſſement dans un petit ecrit imprimé dans les actes des ſçavans de Leipzig au mois de Novembre, 1684. pag. 537. qui eſt intitulé, " meditationes de cognitione, veritate, & ideis," & j'aurois ſouhaité que Mr. Locke l'eut vû & éxaminé, car je ſuis des plus dociles, & rien n'eſt plus propre à avancer nos penſées que les conſiderations & les remarques des perſonnes de mérite, lorſqu'elles ſont faites avec attention & avec ſincerité. Je dirai ſeulement ici, que les idées vraies ou réelles ſont celles dont on eſt aſſûré que l'éxécution eſt poſſible, les autres ſont douteuſes ou (en cas de preuve de l'impoſſibilité) chimériques. Or la poſſibilité des idées ſe prouve tant à priori par des démonſtrations, en ſe ſervant de la poſſibilité d'autres idées plus ſimples, qu'à poſteriori par les experiences, car ce qui eſt ne ſçauroit manquer d'être poſſible: Mais les idées primitives ſont celles dont la poſſibilité eſt indémonſtrable, & qui en effet ne ſont autre choſe que les attributs de Dieu. Pour ce qui eſt de la queſtion, " s'il y a des idées & des véritez crées avec nous;" je ne trouve point abſolument néceſſaire pour les commencemens, ni pour la pratique de l'art de penſer, de la décider, ſoit qu'elles nous viennent toutes de déhors, ou qu'elles viennent de nous, on raiſonnera juſte pourvû qu'on garde ce que j'ai dit cy-deſſus & qu'on procede avec ordre & ſans prévention. La queſtion de " l'origine de nos idées & de nos maximes" n'eſt pas préliminaire en philoſophie, & il faut avoir fait de grands progrès pour la bien réſoudre. Je crois cependant pouvoir dire que nos idées (même celles de choſes ſenſibles) viennent de notre propre fonds, dont on pourra mieux juger parce que j'ai publié touchant la nature & la communication des ſubſtances & ce qu'on appelle " l'union de l'ame avec le corps," car j'ai trouvé que ces choſes n'avoient pas été bien priſes. Je ne ſuis nullement pour la tabula raſa d'Ariſtote, & il y a quelque choſe de ſolide dans ce que Platon appelloit la reminiſcence. Il y a même quelque choſe de plus, car nous n'avons pas ſeulement une reminiſcence de toutes nos penſées paſſées, mais encore un preſſentiment de toutes nos penſées futures. Il eſt vrai que c'eſt confuſément & ſans les diſtinguer, à peu près comme lorſque j'entends le bruit de la mer, j'entends celui de toutes les vagues en particulier qui compoſent le bruit total; quoique ce ſoit ſans diſcerner une vague de l'autre. Et il eſt vrai dans un certain ſens que j'ai expliqué, que non ſeulement nos idées, mais encore nos ſentimens naiſſent de nôtre propre fonds, & que l'ame eſt plus indépendante qu'on ne penſe, quoiqu'il ſoit toûjours vrai que rien ne ſe paſſe en elle qui ne ſoit déterminé.

DANS le livre ii. qui vient au détail des idées, j'avouë que les raiſons de Monſ. Locke pour prouver que l'ame eſt quelquefois ſans penſer à rien, ne me paroiſſent pas convainquantes; ſi ce n'eſt qu'il donne le nom de penſées aux ſeules perceptions aſſez notables pour être diſtinguées & retenuës. Je tiens que l'ame & même le corps n'eſt jamais ſans action, & que l'ame n'eſt jamais ſans quelque perception. Même en dormant on a quelques ſentimens confus & ſombres du lieu où l'on eſt & d'autres choſes. Mais quand l'expérience ne le confirmeroit pas je crois qu'il y en a démonſtration. C'eſt à peu près comme on ne ſçauroit prouver abſolument par les expériences s'il n'y a point de vuide dans l'eſpace & s'il n'y a point de repos dans la matiere. Et cependant ces ſortes de queſtions me paroiſſent décidées démonſtrativement, auſſi bien qu'à Mr. Locke; je demeure d'accord de la difference qu'il met avec beaucoup de raiſon entre la matiere & l'eſpace. Mais pour ce qui eſt du vuide pluſieurs perſonnes habiles l'ont crû. Monſieur Locke eſt de ce nombre, j'en étois preſque perſuadé moi-même, mais j'en ſuis revenu depuis long-tems. Et l'incomparable Monſieur Huygens, qui étoit auſſi pour le vuide, & pour les atômes, commença à faire réflexion ſur mes raiſons, comme ſes lettres le pouvent témoigner. La preuve du vuide priſe du mouvement, dont Mr. Locke ſe ſert, ſuppoſe que le corps eſt originairement dur, & qu'il eſt compoſé d'un certain nombre de parties inflexibles. Car en ce cas il ſeroit vrai, quelque nombre fini d'atômes, qu'on pourroit prendre que le mouvement ne ſauroit avoir lieu ſans vuide; mais toutes les parties de la matiere ſont diviſibles & pliables. Il y a encore quelques autres choſes dans ce ſecond livre qui m'arrêtent, par éxemple, lorſqu'il eſt dit, cap. 17. que l'infinité ne ſe doit attribuer qu'à l'eſpace, au tems, & aux nombres. Je crois avec Mr. Locke qu'à proprement parler on peut dire qu'il n'y a point d'eſpace, de tems, ni de nombre, qui ſoit infini, mais qu'il eſt ſeulement vrai que plus grand que ſoit une eſpace, ou tems, ou bien un nombre, il y a toûjours un autre plus grand que lui ſans fin, & qu'ainſi le véritable infini ne ſe trouve point dans un tout compoſé de parties. Cependant il ne laiſſe pas de ſe trouver ailleurs, ſavoir dans l'abſolu, qui eſt ſans parties & qui a influence ſur les choſes compoſées, parce qu'elles réſultent de la limitation de l'abſolu. Donc l'infini poſitif n'étant autre choſe que l'abſolu, on peut dire qu'il y a en ce ſens une idée poſitive de l'infini, & qu'elle eſt antérieure à celle du fini. Au reſte en rejettant un infini compoſé on ne point ce que les géométres démontrent "de ſeriebus infinitis," & particulierement l'excellent Mr. Newton. Quant à ce qui eſt dit chap. 30. "de ideis adæquatis," il eſt permis de donner aux termes la ſignification qu'on trouve à propos. Cependant ſans blamer le ſens de Mr. Locke je mets un degré dans les idées ſelon lequelle j'appelle adequate celle où il n'y a plus rien à expliquer. Or toutes les idées des qualitez ſenſibles, comme de la lumiere, couleur, chaleur, n'étant point de cette nature, je ne les compte point parmis les adequates, auſſi n'eſt-ce point par elles-mêmes, ni à priori, mais par l'expérience que nous en ſavons la réalité, ou la poſſibilité.

IL y a encore bien de bonnes choſes dans le livre iii. où il eſt traité des mots ou termes. Il eſt très-vrai qu'on ne ſauroit tout définir, & que les qualitez ſenſibles n'ont point de définition nominale, & on les peut appeller primitives en ce ſens-là. Mais elles ne laiſſent pas de pouvoir recevoir une définition réelle. J'ai montré la difference de ſes deux ſortes de définitions dans la méditation citée ci-deſſus. La définition nominale explique le nom par les marques de la choſe; mais la définition réelle fait connoître à priori la poſſibilité du défini. Au reſte j'applaudis fort à la doctrine de Monſ. Locke touchant la demonſtrabilité des veritez morales.

LE iv. ou dernier livre, où il s'agit de la connoiſſance de la verité, montre l'uſage de ce qui vient d'être dit. J'y trouve (auſſi bien que dans les livres précédens) une infinité de belles reflexions. De faire là-deſſus les remarques convenables, ce ſeroit faire un livre auſſi grand que l'ouvrage même. Il me ſemble que les axiomes y ſont un peu moins conſiderez qu'ils ne méritent de l'être. C'eſt apparement parce qu'excepté ceux des methématiciens on n'en trouve guere ordinairement, qui ſoient importans & ſolides: j'ai tâché de rémedier à ce défaut. Je ne mépriſe pas les propoſitions identiques, & j'ai trouvé qu'elles ont un grand uſage même dans l'analyſe. Il eſt très-vrai, que nous connoiſſons nôtre éxiſtence par une intuition immediate & celle de Dieu par démonſtration, & qu'une maſſe de matiere, dont les parties ſont ſans perception, ne ſauroit faire un tout qui penſe. Je ne mépriſe point l'argument inventé, il y a quelques ſiécles, par Anſelme, qui prouve que l'être parfait doit éxiſter; quoique je trouve qu'il manque quelque choſe à cet argument, parce qu'il ſuppoſe que l'être parfait eſt poſſible. Car ſi ce ſeul point ſe démonſtre encore, la démonſtration toute entiere ſera entierement achevé. Quant à la connoiſſance des autres choſes, il eſt fort bien dit, que la ſeule expérience ne ſuffit pas pour avancer aſſez en phyſique. Un eſprit pénétrant tirera plus de conſéquences de quelques expériences aſſez ordinaires qu'un autre ne ſauroit tirer des plus choiſies, outre qu'il y a un art d'expérimenter & d'interroger, pour ainſi dire, la nature. Cependant il eſt toûjours vrai qu'on ne ſauroit avancer dans le détail de la phyſique qu'à meſure qu'on a des expériences. Mr. Locke eſt de l'opinion de pluſieurs habiles hommes,

mes, qui tiennent que la forme des logiciens eſt de peu d'uſage. Je ſerois quaſi d'un autre ſentiment; & j'ai trouvé ſouvent que les paralogiſmes même dans les mathématiques ſont des manquemens de la forme. M. Huygens a fait la même remarque. Il y auroit bien à dire là-deſſus; & pluſieurs choſes excellentes ſont mépriſées parce qu'on n'en fait pas l'uſage dont elles ſont capables. Nous ſommes portez à mépriſer ce que nous avons appris dans les écoles. Il eſt vrai que nous y apprenons bien des inutilitez, mais, il eſt bon de faire la fonction della cruſca, c'eſt-à-dire de ſéparer le bon du mauvais. Mr. Locke le peut faire autant que qui que ce ſoit; & de plus il nous donne des penſées conſiderables de ſon propre crû. Il n'eſt pas ſeulement eſſayeur, mais il eſt encore tranſmutateur par l'augmentation, qu'il donne du bon mètail. S'il continuoit d'en faire preſent au public, nous lui en ſerions fort redevables.

Je voudrois que Monſ. Locke eut dit ſon ſentiment à Monſ. Cunningham ſur mes remarques, ou que Monſ. Cunningham voulut nous le dire librement. Car je ne ſuis pas de ceux qui ſont entêtez, & la raiſon peut tout ſur moi. Mais les affaires de négoce détournent Monſ. Locke de ces penſées, car cette matiere de négoce eſt de très-grande étenduë & même fort ſubtile & demimathématique, &c.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, Oates, 3 May, 1697.

THOUGH the honour you do me, in the value you put upon my ſhadow, be a freſh mark of that friendſhip, which is ſo great an happineſs to me; yet I ſhall never conſider my picture in the ſame houſe with you, without great regret at my ſo far diſtance from you myſelf. But I will not continue to importune you with my complaints of that kind; 'tis an advantage, greater than I could have hoped, to have the converſation of ſuch a friend, though with the ſea between; and the remaining little ſcantling of my life would be too happy, if I had you in my neighbourhood.

I AM glad to hear, that the gentleman, you mention in yours of the 6th of the laſt month, does me the favour to ſpeak well of me, on that ſide the water. I never deſerved other of him, but that he ſhould always have done ſo on this. If his exceeding great value of himſelf do not deprive the world of that uſefulneſs, that his parts, if rightly conducted, might be of, I ſhall be very glad. He went from London, as I heard afterwards, ſoon after I left it the laſt time. But he did me not the favour to give me a viſit, whilſt I was there, nor to let me know of his intended journey to you; if he had, 'tis poſſible I might have writ by him to you, which I am now not ſorry I did not. I always value men of parts and learning, and think I cannot do too much in procuring them friends and aſſiſtance. But there may happen occaſions, that may make one ſtop one's hand. And 'tis the hopes young men give, of what uſe they will make of their parts, which is to me the encouragement of being concerned for them. But, if vanity increaſes with age, I always fear, whither it will lead a man. I ſay this to you, becauſe you are my friend, for whom I have no reſerves, and think I ought to talk freely, where you enquire, and poſſibly may be concerned; but I ſay it to you alone, and deſire it may go no farther. For the man I wiſh very well, and could give you, if it needed, proofs that I do ſo: and therefore I deſire you to be kind to him; but I muſt leave it to your prudence, in what way, and how far. If his carriage with you gives you the promiſes of a ſteddy, uſeful man, I know you will be forward enough of yourſelf, and I ſhall be very glad of it. For it will be his fault alone, if he prove not a very valuable man, and have not you for his friend.

BUT I have ſomething to ſay to you of another man. Monſ. Le Clerc, in a letter I lately received from him, writes thus.

“ Monſ. C—— me diſoit dernierement que s'il trouvoit occaſion d'entrer “ dans une maiſon de condition en qualité de precepteur, il ſeroit ravi d'en pro- “ fiter. C'eſt un fort honnête homme, & qui ſeroit bien capable de s'acqui-

“ ter de cet emploi. Il ne ſçait l'Anglois que par les livres, c'eſt-a-dire, qu'il
“ l'entend lorſqu'il le lit, mais qu'il ne le ſçauroit parler non plus que moi faute
“ d'habitude. Si quelque un de vos amis auroit beſoin de precepteur, & qu'il
“ lui donnât de quoi s'entretenir, il ne ſçauroit trouver d'homme plus ſage & plus
“ réglé, outre qu'il ſçait beaucoup de choſes utiles pour un emploi comme
“ celui-là, les belles lettres, l'hiſtoire,” &c.

THIS Mr. C—— is he that tranſlated my book of education, upon which occaſion I came to have ſome acquaintance with him by letters, and he ſeems a very ingenious man; and Mr. Le Clerc has often, before any thing of this, ſpoke of him to me with commendation and eſteem. He has ſince tranſlated “the lady's religion; and the reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity,” into French. You may eaſily gueſs, why I put this into my letter to you, after what you ſaid concerning Mr. Le Clerc, in your laſt letter but one.

YOU are willing, I ſee, to make my little preſents to you more and greater than they are. Amongſt the books that Mr. Churchill ſent you, you are beholden to me (ſince you will call it ſo) but for one; and to that the biſhop of Worceſter, I hear, has an anſwer in the preſs, which will be out this week. So that I perceive this controverſy is a matter of ſerious moment, beyond what I could have thought. This benefit I ſhall be ſure to get by it, either to be confirmed in my opinion, or be convinced of ſome errors, which I ſhall preſently reform, in my eſſay, and ſo make it the better for it. For I have no opinions that I am fond of. Truth, I hope, I always ſhall be fond of, and ſo ready to embrace, and with ſo much joy, that I ſhall own it to the world, and thank him, that does me the favour. So that I am never afraid of any thing writ againſt me, unleſs it be the waſting of my time, when it is not writ me out of Holland concerning it.

IN my laſt to you, I ſent you a copy of Mr. L——'s paper, I have this writ cloſely, in purſuit of truth, and truth only.

“ Mr. L—— mathématicien de Hannover ayant oüi dire, qu'on traduiſoit
“ vôtre ouvrage, qu'on l'alloit & imprimer, a envoyé ici à un de mes amis ce
“ jugement qu'il en fait, comme pour la mettre à la tête. Cependant il a été
“ bien aiſe qu'on vous le communicât. Il m'a été remis entre les mains pour
“ cela. On m'a dit mille biens de ce mathématicien. Il y a long tems que
“ magna & præclara minatur, ſans rien produire que quelques démonſtrations
“ détachées. Je crois neanmoins qu'il ne vous entend pas, & je doute, qu'il
“ s'entende bien lui-même.”

I SEE you and I, and this gentleman, agree pretty well concerning the man; and this ſort of fiddling makes me hardly avoid thinking, that he is not that very great man as has been talked of him. His paper was in England a year, or more, before it was communicated to me, and I imagine you will think he need not make ſuch a great ſtir with it.

MY eſſay, you ſee, is tranſlating into French, and it is by the ſame Mr. Coſte above-mentioned. But this need not hinder Mr. Burridge in what he deſigned, for Mr. Coſte goes on exceeding ſlowly, as I am told.

YOU ſee how forward I am to importune you with all my little concerns. But this would be nothing to what I ſhould do, if I were nearer you: I ſhould then be talking to you “de quolibet ente,” and conſulting you about a thouſand whimſies, that come ſometimes into my thoughts. But with all this I unfeignedly am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt faithful, humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

THE poem, that was ſent you by Mr. Churchill, amongſt the other books, I believe will pleaſe you, there are ſome noble parts in it.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

My moſt honoured friend, Dublin, May 15, 1697.

NOTHING could excuſe my keeping your kind letter of April 10, ſo long by me unanſwered, but an unexpected and melancholy accident, that has lately befallen a dear ſiſter of mine, who, on the 24th of the laſt month, loſt her huſband, the Lord Biſhop of Meath, a learned and worthy prelate. Our whole family has ſo deeply partaken in this trouble, that we have been all under a great concern: but more particularly myſelf, who am intruſted by the good biſhop, with the diſpoſal of ſome of his affairs. This has of late ſo taken me up, that I had not time to take the ſatisfaction of writing to you; but the hurry of that buſineſs being ſomewhat abated, I reſume the pleaſure of kiſſing your hands, and of aſſuring you, with what a deep ſenſe of gratitude I receive the kindneſs you have done me, with my lord chancellor Methwin. I hope we ſhall ſee his lordſhip ſoon here, for we underſtand he parts from London the 18th inſtant.

I AM extremely obliged to you for the trouble you have been at, in communicating to me Monſ. L——'s paper, and I am now ſorry I ever put the taſk on you; for to ſpeak freely to you, as I formerly did, I find nothing in this paper to make me alter the opinion I had of Monſ. L——'s performances this way. He is either very unhappy in expreſſing, or I am very dull in apprehending, his thoughts. I do not know, but ſome of the doubts he raiſes concerning your eſſay, may proceed from his unacquaintance with our language; and this makes me yet more earneſt to procure the tranſlation of your eſſay; but Mr. Burridge, ſince he laſt arrived here, has been wholly employed in overtaking his buſineſs in the country, to which he is run much in arrear. He is chaplain to my lord chancellor Methwin, and, on that account, I hope he will keep much in town, and then I ſhall ply him hard.

I WILL give you a thouſand thanks for the preſent of your "letter to the "biſhop of Worceſter;" but I need not give you my opinion of it, otherwiſe than as you find it in the following paragraph of a letter, which I received concerning it, from a reverend prelate of this kingdom. (The preſent biſhop of . . . . between our ſelves.)

"I READ Mr. Locke's letter to the biſhop of Worceſter," with great ſa-"tisfaction, and am wholly of your opinion, that he has fairly laid the great "biſhop on his back; but 'tis with ſo much gentleneſs, as if he were afraid, "not only of hurting him, but even of ſpoiling, or tumbling his cloaths. In-"deed, I cannot tell which I moſt admire, the great civility and good man-"ners in his book, or the force and clearneſs of his reaſonings. And I fanſy "the biſhop will thank him privately, and trouble the world no more with "this diſpute."

You ſee thereby my friend's and my own opinion of your book; and I can tell you farther, that all thoſe, whom I have yet converſed with, in this place, concerning it, agree in the ſame judgment. And another (biſhop too) told me, that "though your words were ſmooth as oil, yet they cut like a two-edged "ſword."

AT the ſame time, that Mr. Churchill ſent me your letter to the biſhop, he ſent me, likewiſe, "the ſecond vindication of the reaſonableneſs of Chriſtia-"nity." If you know the author thereof (as I am apt to ſurmiſe you may) be pleaſed to let him know, that I think he has done Edwards too much honour in thinking him worth his notice; for ſo vile a poor wretch, certainly, never appeared in print. But, at the ſame time, tell him, that as this vindication contains a farther illuſtration of the divine truths, in "the reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity," he has the thanks of me, and of all fair, candid men, that I converſe with, about it.

IN giving you the opinion we have here, of your "letter to the biſhop of "Worceſter," I have rather choſen to let you know particularly that of ſome of of our biſhops, with whom I converſe; for this rank, if any, might ſeem inclinable to favour their brother, could they do it with any ſhew of juſtice. And yet, after all, I am told from London, that the biſhop is hammering out an anſwer to you. Certainly ſome men think, or hope the world will think, that truth always goes with the laſt word.

YOU never write to me, that you do not raiſe new expectations in my longing mind of partaking your thoughts, on thoſe noble ſubjects you are upon. Your chapter, concerning "the conduct of the underſtanding," muſt needs be very ſublime and ſpacious. Oh ſir! never more mention to me our diſtance as your loſs: 'tis my diſadvantage! 'tis my unhappineſs! I never before had ſuch reaſon to deplore my hard fate, in being condemned to this priſon of an iſland: but one day, or other, I will get looſe, in ſpite of all the fetters and clogs, that incumber me at preſent. But if you did but know, in what a wood of buſineſs I am engaged, (by the greateſt part whereof I reap no other advantage, than the ſatisfaction of being ſerviceable to my friends) you would pity me. But I hope ſoon to rid my hands of a great part of this trouble, and then I ſhall be at more liberty. Till which happy time, and for ever, I remain

Your moſt faithful friend,

and moſt humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured, dear SIR, Dublin, May 27, 1697.

THE hints, you are pleaſed ſo friendly to communicate to me, in yours of the 3d inſtant, concerning Mr. T—, are freſh marks of your kindneſs and confidence in me, and they perfectly agree with the apprehenſions I had conceived of that gentleman. Truly, to be free, and without reſerve to you, I do not think his management, ſince he came into this city, has been ſo prudent. He has raiſed againſt him the clamours of all parties; and this, not ſo much by his difference in opinion, as by his unſeaſonable way of diſcourſing, propagating, and maintaining it. Coffee-houſes and publick tables are not proper places for ſerious diſcourſes, relating to the moſt important truths. But when alſo a tincture of vanity appears in the whole courſe of a man's converſation, it diſguſts many, that may otherwiſe have a due value for his parts and learning. I have known a gentleman in this town, that was a moſt ſtrict ſocinian, and thought as much out of the common road as any man, and was alſo known ſo to do; but then his behaviour and diſcourſe were attended with ſo much modeſty, goodneſs, and prudence, that I never heard him publickly cenſured or clamoured againſt, neither was any man in danger of cenſure, by receiving his viſits, or keeping him company. I am very loth to tell you how far 'tis otherwiſe with Mr. T— in this place, but, I am perſuaded it may be for his advantage, that you know it, and that you friendly admoniſh him of it, for his conduct hereafter. I do not think that any man can be diſpenſed with to diſſemble the truth, and full perſuaſion of his mind in religious truths, when duly called to it, and upon fitting occaſions: but I think, prudence may guide us in the choice of proper opportunities, that we may not run ourſelves againſt rocks to no purpoſe, and inflame men againſt us unneceſſarily. Mr. T— alſo takes here a great liberty on all occaſions, to vouch your patronage and friendſhip, which makes many that rail at him, rail alſo at you. I believe you will not approve of this, as far as I am able to judge, by your ſhaking him off, in your "letter to the biſhop of Worceſter." But after all this, I look upon Mr T— as a very ingenious man, and I ſhould be very glad of any opportunity of doing him ſervice, to which I think myſelf indiſpenſably bound by your recommendation. One thing more I had almoſt forgot to intimate to you; that all here are mightily at a loſs in gueſſing what might be the occaſion of Mr. T——'s coming at this time, into Ireland. He is known to be of no fortune, or employ, and yet is obſerved to have a ſubſiſtence, but from whence it comes, no one can tell certainly. Theſe things, joined with his great forwardneſs in appearing publick, makes people ſurmiſe a thouſand fancies. If you cou'd give me light into theſe matters, as far as it may help me in my own conduct, I ſhould be much obliged to you.

BY the books, which Mr. Coſte has tranſlated, I perceive his inclinations would be extremely agreeable to mine. And I ſhould be very happy, could I give him, at preſent, any encouragement to come into my poor family. But I have a gentleman with me, in the houſe, whoſe dependance is wholly upon me; and I cannot find fault with my little boy's progreſs under him. When I formerly made enquiry from you, about Monſ. Le Clerc, I was in ſome proſpect of providing for this gentleman, whom I now have, by the favour of a good friend, who is ſince dead. So that, at preſent, having no opportunity of diſpoſing of him to his advantage, I cannot conveniently part with him. However, I do not know how ſoon it may be otherwiſe; and therefore be pleaſed, in the mean time, to let me know ſomething farther of Monſ. Coſte; as whether he be a complete maſter of the Latin tongue, or other language; whether a mathematician, or given to experimental philoſophy; what his age, and where educated? As to the belles lettres, l'hiſtoire, &c. Monſ. Le Clerc has mentioned them already in his character.

I AM mightily pleaſed to find that ſome others have the ſame thoughts of Monſ. L—— as you and I. His performances in mathematicks have made all the world miſtaken in him. But certainly in other attempts I am of your opinion, he no more underſtands himſelf than others underſtand him.

MR. CHURCHILL favoured me with the preſent of Sir R. Blackmore's K. Arthur, I had Pr. Arthur before, and read it with admiration, which is not at all leſſened by this ſecond piece. All our Engliſh poets (except Milton) have been mere ballad-makers, in compariſon to him. Upon the publication of his firſt poem, I intimated to him, through Mr. Churchill's hands, how excellently I thought he might perform a philoſophick poem, from many touches he gave in his Pr. Arthur, particularly from Mopas's ſong. And I perceive, by his preface to K. Arthur, he has had the like intimations from others, but rejects them, as being an enemy to all philoſophick hypotheſes. Were I acquainted with Sir R. Blackmore, I could aſſure him, (and if you be ſo, I beſeech you to tell him) that I am as little an admirer of hypotheſes, as any man, and never propoſed that thought to him, with a deſign that a philoſophick poem ſhould run on ſuch a ſtrain. "A natural hiſtory of the great and admirable phænomena of the univerſe," is a ſubject, I think may afford ſublime thoughts in a poem; and ſo far, and no farther, would I deſire a poem to extend.

You ſee I am carried beyond my deſigned bounds, by the mark on t'other ſide this leaf. But as I am never weary of reading letters from you, ſo, I think, I am never tired of writing to you. However, 'tis time I relieve you, by ſubſcribing myſelf entirely,

Your moſt affectionate, and devoted ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, Oates, 15. Jun. 1697.

I HAVE the honour of your two obliging letters, of the 15th and 27th of May, wherein I find the ſame mind, the ſame affection, and the ſame friendſhip, which you have ſo frankly, and ſo long, made me happy in. And, if I may gueſs, by the paragraph which you tranſcribed out of your friend's letter, into yours of the 15th of May, I ſhall have reaſon to think your kindneſs to me is grown infectious, and that by it you faſcinate your friends underſtandings, and corrupt their judgments in my favour. 'Tis enough for me, in ſo unequal a match, if mighty truth can keep me from a ſhameful overthrow. If I can maintain my ground, 'tis enough, againſt ſo redoubtable an adverſary, but victory I muſt not think of. I doubt not but you are convinced of that, by this time, and you will ſee how ſilly a thing it is for an unſkilled pigmy to enter the liſts with a man at arms, verſed in the uſe of his weapons.

MY health, and buſineſſes, that I like as little as you do thoſe you complain of, make me know what it is to want time. I often reſolve not to trouble you any more, with my complaints of the diſtance between us, and as often impertinently break that reſolution. I never have any thoughts working in my head, or any new project ſtart in my mind, but my wiſhes carry me immediately to you, and I deſire to lay them before you. You may juſtly think this carries a pretty ſevere reflection on my country, or myſelf, that in it I have not a friend to communicate my thoughts with. I cannot much complain of want of friends to other purpoſes: but a man with whom one can freely ſeek truth without any regard to old or new, faſhionable or not faſhionable, but truth merely for truth's ſake, is what is ſcarce to be found in an age; and ſuch a one I take you to be. Do but think then what a pleaſure, what an advantage it would be to me to have you by me, who have ſo much thought, ſo much clearneſs, ſo much penetration, all directed to the ſame aim, which, I propoſe to myſelf, in all the ramblings of my mind. I, on this occaſion, mention only the wants that I daily feel, which makes me not ſo often ſpeak of the other advantages I ſhould receive, from the communication of your own notions, as well as from the correction of mine. But, with this repining, I trouble you too much, and for the favours I receive from you, thank you too little, and rejoice not enough in having ſuch a friend, though at a diſtance.

As to the gentleman, to whom you think my friendly admoniſhments may be of advantage for his conduct hereafter, I muſt tell you, that he is a man, to whom I never writ in my life, and, I think, I ſhall not now begin. And, as to his conduct, 'tis what I never ſo much as ſpoke to him of. That is a liberty to be taken only with friends and intimates, for whoſe conduct one is mightily concerned, and in whoſe affairs one intereſts himſelf. I cannot but wiſh well to all men of parts and learning, and be ready to afford them all the civilities, and good offices in my power. But there muſt be other qualities to bring me to a friendſhip, and unite me in thoſe ſtricter ties of concern. For I put a great deal of difference between thoſe, whom I thus receive into my heart and affection, and thoſe whom I receive into my chamber, and do not treat there with a perfect ſtrangeneſs. I perceive you think yourſelf under ſome obligation of peculiar reſpect to that perſon, upon the account of my recommendation to you; but certainly, this comes from nothing but your over-great tenderneſs to oblige me. For if I did recommend him, you will find it was only as a man of parts and learning for his age, but without any intention that that ſhould be of any other conſequence, or lead you any farther, than the other qualities you ſhould find in him, ſhould recommend him to you. And therefore, whatſoever you ſhall, or ſhall not do for him, I ſhall no way intereſt myſelf in. I know, of your own ſelf, you are a good friend to thoſe, who deſerve it of you; and for thoſe that do not, I ſhall never blame your neglect of them. The occaſion of his coming into Ireland now, I gueſs to be the hopes of ſome employment, now upon this change of hands there. I tell you, I gueſs, for he himſelf never told me any thing of it, nor ſo much as acquainted me with his intentions of going to Ireland, how much ſoever "he vouches my patronage and friendſhip," as you are pleaſed to phraſe it. And as to his ſubſiſtence, from whence that comes, I cannot tell. I ſhould not have waſted ſo much of my converſation with you, on this ſubject, had you not told me it would oblige you to give you light in theſe matters, which I have done, as a friend to a friend, with a greater freedom than I ſhould allow myſelf to talk to another.

I SHALL, when I ſee Sir Rich. Blackmore, diſcourſe him as you deſire. There is, I with pleaſure find, a ſtrange harmony throughout, between your thoughts and mine. I have always thought, that laying down, and building up hypotheſes, has been one of the great hindrances of natural knowledge; and I ſee your notions agree with mine in it. And, though I have a great value for Sir R. Blackmore on ſeveral accounts, yet there is nothing has given me a greater eſteem of him, than what he ſays about hypotheſes in medicine, in his preface to King Arthur, which is an argument to me, that he underſtands the right method of practiſing phyſick; and it gives me great hopes he will improve it, ſince he keeps in the only way it is capable to be improved in; and has ſo publickly declared againſt the more eaſy, faſhionable, and pleaſing way of an hypotheſis, which, I think, has done more to hinder the true art of phyſick, which is the curing of diſeaſes, than all other things put together; by making it learned, ſpecious, and talkative, but ineffective to its great end, the health of mankind; as was viſible in the practice of phyſick, in the hands of the illiterate Americans, and the learned phyſicians, that went thither out of Europe, ſtored with their hypotheſes, borrowed from natural philoſophy, which made them indeed great men, and admired in the ſchools, but in curing diſeaſes, the poor Americans, who had eſcaped thoſe ſplendid clogs, clearly out-went them. You cannot imagine how far a little obſervation, carefully made, by a man not tied up to the four humours; or ſal, ſulphur and mercury; or to acid and alcali, which has of late prevailed, will carry a man in the curing of diſeaſes, though very ſtubborn and dangerous, and that with very little and common things, and almoſt no medicines at all. Of this I could, from my own experience, convince you, were we together but a little while. But my letter is too long already. When I am writing to you, the pleaſure of talking to you makes me forget you are a man of buſineſs, and have your hands full. I beg your pardon for it. 'Tis time to diſmiſs you. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt faithful humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, July 20, 1697.

THE lateſt favour I received from my ever-honoured friend, was of the 15th of June, and I have it before me, to acknowledge with all due gratitude. I was mightily ſurprized to ſee the "biſhop of Worceſter's anſwer to your letter;" I thought he would have let that matter fall, and have privately thanked you, and have ſaid no more. This was the leaſt I expected from him; for I think indeed, he might have gone farther, and made his publick acknowledgments to you. This had been like a man of ingenuity and candour; and by this he had been more valuable, in the opinion of all I converſe with here, than by the ſhiftings, windings, and turnings he uſes in his laſt piece. You well obſerve the biſhop has ſhewn himſelf a man at his weapon; but I think him "Andabatarum more pugnare," he winks as he fights. However, in the poſtſcript he ſhews a ſample of the old leaven, and muſt not let you go without coupling his obſervations on a Socinian book, with his confutation of yours; as if there were ſomething ſo agreeable between them, that they cannot be well ſeparated. This is ſuch an indirect practice, and ſeems ſuch an invidious inſinuation, that I cannot but give it the name of malice.

I am obliged to you for the confidence you put in me, by communicating your thoughts concerning Mr. T———, more freely than you would do to every one. He has had his oppoſers here, as you will find by a book which I have ſent to you by a Gentleman's ſervant, to be left for you at your lodging; wherein you will meet with a paſſage relating to your ſelf, which, though with decency,

decency, yet I fear will not redound much to the author's advantage; for, with very great aſſurance, (an uſual companion of ignorance) he undertakes to "demonſtrate the immateriality of the ſoul," and to ſhew the falſity of your argumentation, wherein you aſſert, "That we have no proof, but that God may "communicate a power of thinking to a certain ſyſtem of matter." But this is all but aſſertion and promiſe; we are ſo unhappy as yet to want this demonſtration from this author, and I fear we ſhall ever want it from him; and, I believe, you will be of my opinion, when you read his book. The author is my acquaintance; but two things I ſhall never forgive in his book; the one is the foul language, and opprobrious names he gives Mr. T———; the other is, upon ſeveral occaſions, calling in the aid of the civil Magiſtrate, and delivering Mr. T——— up to ſecular puniſhment. This, indeed, is a killing argument; but ſome will be apt to ſay, that where the ſtrength of his reaſon failed him, there he flies to the ſtrength of his ſword. And this minds me of a buſineſs, that was very ſurprizing to many, even ſeveral prelates in this place, the preſentment of ſome pernicious books, and their authors, by the grand jury of Middleſex. This is looked upon as a matter of dangerous conſequence, to make our civil courts judges of religious doctrines; and no one knows, upon a change of affairs, whoſe turn it may be next to be condemned. But the example has been followed in our country; and Mr. T——— and his book have been preſented here, by a grand jury, not one of which (I am perſuaded) ever read one leaf in "Chriſtianity not myſterious." Let the Sorbonne for ever now be ſilent; a learned grand jury, directed by as learned a judge, does the buſineſs much better. The diſſenters here were the chief promoters of this matter; but, when I aſked one of them, "What if a violent church of England jury ſhould preſent Mr. Baxter's "books, as pernicious, and condemn them to the flames by the common executioner?" He was ſenſible of the error, and ſaid, "He wiſhed it had never "been done."

I MUST not forget to thank you, for the countenance I have received, from my Lord Chancellor Methwin, ſince his coming into Ireland. I know 'tis all owing to your, and your friend's endeavours. My Lord is a perſon, from whom the kingdom expects very well, for hitherto his management has been very promiſing. Mr. Burridge is his chaplain, and expects very ſoon to be ſettled in a pariſh here in Dublin, and then he promiſes me to proſecute the eſſay with vigour.

MY brother gives you his moſt humble ſervice. He is told by Mr. Burridge, that you had ſent him a book in medicine, but by what hand, he could not inform him. He has ſuch a value for every thing that comes from you, that he deſired me to let you know, that no ſuch book came to his hands, or elſe he had not all this while deferred his acknowledgments.

I PERCEIVE you are ſo happy as to be acquainted with Sir Rich. Blackmore; he is an extraordinary perſon, and I admire his two prefaces as much as I do any parts of his books; the firſt, wherein he expoſes the "licentiouſneſs and "immorality of our late poetry," is incomparable; and the ſecond, wherein he proſecutes the ſame ſubject, and delivers his thoughts concerning hypotheſes, is no leſs judicious. And I am wholly of his opinion, relating to the latter. However, the hiſtory and phænomena of nature we may venture at; and this is what I propoſe to be the ſubject of a philoſophick poem. Sir Richard Blackmore has exquiſite touches of this kind, diſperſed in many places of his books; (to paſs over Mopas's ſon) I'll inſtance one particular, in the moſt profound ſpeculations of Mr. Newton's philoſophy, thus curiouſly touched in King Arthur, book ix. p. 243.

The conſtellations ſhine at his command,
He form'd their radiant orbs, and with his hand
He weigh'd, and put them off with ſuch a force,
As might preſerve an everlaſting courſe.

I DOUBT not but Sir R. Blackmore, in theſe lines, had a regard to the proportionment of the projective motion to the vis centripeta, that keeps the planets in their continued courſes.

I HAVE by me ſome obſervations, made by a judicious friend of mine, on both Sir R. Blackmore's poems; if they may be any ways acceptable to Sir R. I ſhall ſend them to you; they are in the compaſs of a ſheet of paper. And, were it proper, I ſhould humbly deſire you to procure for me, from Sir R. the key to the perſons names, in both his poems; moſt of the firſt I have already, and a great many in the ſecond, but many I alſo want, which I ſhould be very glad to underſtand. But, if herein I deſire any thing diſagreeable, I beg Sir Richard's pardon, and deſiſt.

EVER ſince you firſt mentioned to me, that Monſ. Le Clerc might be enticed into Ireland by a moderate encouragement, it has ſat grievous on my ſpirit, that it lay not in my power to procure for him, what might be worth his acceptance. I ſhould reckon it (next to your friendſhip) one of the greateſt glories of my life, that I could be able any ways to contribute to tranſplanting him hither. T'other day I ventured to mention it to a great prelate here, the biſhop of——. He was pleaſed to favour the propoſal immediately, and gave me directions, that I ſhould enquire whether Monſ. Le Clerc would be willing to take orders in our church, and to ſubmit to the oaths and injunctions thereof; and how far he is maſter of the Engliſh language. He told me, he doubted not but he might procure for him 150 or 200 l. per ann. in ſome place of eaſe and retirement. Be pleaſed therefore, dear ſir, to let me be informed in theſe particulars, and in whatever elſe you think requiſite in managing this affair.

I HAVE protracted this letter, as if I had a deſign to kill you, by tiring you to death. I beg your excuſe for it. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, London, 11 Sept. 1697.

IF you have received my reply to the biſhop, before this comes to your hand, I ſhall need ſay no more to the firſt paragraph of your obliging letter of the 20 of July. Mr. Churchill tells me, he has taken care you ſhould have it with ſpeed. I have ordered another to Mr. Burridge, who has, by his undertaking, ſome concernment now in my eſſay. I am not delighted at all in controverſy, and think I could ſpend my time to greater advantage to myſelf. But, being attacked, as I am, and in a way that ſufficiently juſtifies your remarks on it, I think every body will judge I had reaſon to defend myſelf; whether I have or no, ſo far as I have gone, the world muſt judge.

I THINK, with you, the diſſenters were beſt conſider, "That what is ſauce "for a gooſe is ſauce for a gander." But they are a ſort of men that will always be the ſame.

YOU thank me for what is owing to your own worth. Every one who knows you, will think (if he judges right) that he receives as much advantage as he gives, by the countenance he ſhews you. However, I am obliged by your thanks to me; for, if I do not procure you as much good as you are capable of receiving, from any one that comes to you from hence, 'tis my want of ability, and not want of will. My heart and inclination, wherein the friendſhip lies, will always be ſuch, as I can preſume, will not diſpleaſe you, in a man whom I am very ſenſible you love.

HERE was, the laſt year, a book in phyſick publiſhed by a young lad not twenty, who had never ſeen the univerſity. It was about the motion of the muſcles, with as good an explication of it, as any I have yet ſeen. I believe I might have ſpoke to Mr. Churchill, to ſend your brother one of them, for the ſake of the author; (for as to the ſubject itſelf, I fear I ſhall never ſee it explained

plained to my ſatiſfaction) whether he did it, or no, I have not yet aſked; but the book itſelf is not worth your brother's enquiry, or acknowledgment; though being written by ſuch an author, made it a kind of curioſity: I ſhould be very glad, if I could do him here any ſervice of greater importance. But I having now wholly laid by the ſtudy of phyſick, I know not what comes out new, or worth the reading, in that faculty. Pray give my humble ſervice to your brother, and let me know, whether he hath any children, for then I ſhall think myſelf obliged to ſend him one of the next edition of my book of education, which, my bookſeller tells me, is out of print; and I had much rather be at leiſure to make ſome additions to that, and my "eſſay of human "underſtanding," than be employed to defend myſelf againſt the groundleſs, and, as others think, trifling quarrel of the biſhop. But his Lordſhip is pleaſed to have it otherwiſe, and I muſt anſwer for myſelf, as well as I can, till I have the good luck to be convinced.

I WAS not a little pleaſed to find what thoughts you had concerning hypotheſes in phyſick. Though Sir R. B's vein in poetry be what every body muſt allow him to have an extraordinary talent in, and though, with you, I exceedingly valued his firſt preface; yet I muſt own to you, there was nothing, that I ſo much admired him for, as for what he ſays of hypotheſes in his laſt. It ſeems to me ſo right, and is yet ſo much out of the way of the ordinary writers, and practitioners in that faculty, that it ſhews as great a ſtrength and penetration of judgment, as his poetry has ſhewn flights of fancy; and therefore I was very glad to find in you the ſame thoughts of it. And when he comes luckily in my way, I ſhall not forget your wiſhes, and ſhall acquaint him with the obſervations you mention. And the key you deſire I ſhall ſend you, if it be fit to be aſked of him, which I am at preſent in ſome doubt of.

THOUGH I could myſelf anſwer many of your queſtions concerning Monſ. Le Clerc; yet I have ſent them to him himſelf, with the reaſon of them. I have not yet received his anſwer, the expectation whereof has delayed my writing to you for ſome time. In the mean time, till I hear from him, I thank you in his name and my own.

I SHALL be very glad to hear from you how the linen manufacture goes on, on that ſide the water, and what aſſiſtance the parliament there is like to give to it; for I wiſh proſperity to your country, and, very particularly all manner of happineſs to you. I am unfeignedly,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

WHAT I told you formerly of a ſtorm coming againſt my book, proves no fiction. Beſides what you will ſee I have taken notice of in my reply, Mr. Serjeant, a popiſh prieſt, whom you muſt needs have heard of, has beſtowed a thick 8vo upon my eſſay, and Mr. Norris, as I hear, is writing hard againſt it. Shall I not be quite ſlain, think you, amongſt ſo many notable combatants, and the Lord knows how many more to come?

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, Dublin, Sept. 11, 1697.

MY laſt to you was of July 20, ſince which time I have not had the happineſs of a line from you. But I am ſatiſfied you are better employed; and indeed, when I ſee daily what ſwarms of angry waſps do ariſe againſt you (beſides many, which reach not our view in this place) I wonder not that you ſhould

ſhould be ſo far engaged as to have little time to throw away on me. T'other day I met with the laſt effort of Mr. Edwards's malice; I do now heartily pity the poor wretch; he is certainly mad, and no more to be taken notice of hereafter, than the railings of Oliver's porter in Bethlem. I have ſeen alſo a philoſophical writer againſt you, of another ſtrain, one J. S. that writes againſt all ideiſts; this gentleman, though civil, yet to me is abſolutely unintelligible, ſo unfortunate I am. Who he is, I know not, but ſhould be glad to learn from you; and what you think, in general, of his book.

MR. T——— is at laſt driven out of our kingdom; the poor gentleman, by his imprudent management, had raiſed ſuch an univerſal outcry, that 'twas even dangerous for a man to have been known once to converſe with him. This made all wary men of reputation decline ſeeing him; inſomuch that at laſt he wanted a meal's meat (as I am told) and none would admit him to their tables. The little ſtock of money which he brought into this country being exhauſted, he fell to borrowing from any one, that would lend him half a crown, and run in debt for his wigs, cloaths, and lodging, (as I am informed;) and laſt of all, to complete his hardſhips, the parliament fell on his book, voted it to be burnt by the common hangman, and ordered the author to be taken into cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, and to be proſecuted by the attorney-general at law. Hereupon he is fled out of this kingdom, and none here knows, where he has directed his courſe. I did believe you might be a ſtranger to theſe proceedings a great while, unleſs I had intimated them to you; and that is one of my deſigns in writing this you.

I AM here very happy in the friendſhip of an honourable perſon, Mr. Moleſworth, who is an hearty admirer and acquaintance of yours. We never meet but we remember you; he ſometimes comes into my houſe, and tells me, 'tis not to pay a viſit to me, but to pay his devotion to your image, that is in my dining-room.

I SHOULD be glad to hear farther from you, concerning Monſ. Le Clerc and Monſ. Coſte, in relation to what I formerly writ to you, concerning thoſe gentlemen. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, Dublin, Oct. 4. 1697.

I PERCEIVE we were each of us mindful of t'other on the 11th of the laſt month, for of that date was your laſt to me, as you will find mine, likewiſe, to you bore the ſame.

YOU have already anſwered ſome of my impertinent enquiries in that letter: You tell me therein, who J. S. is that writes againſt you. I do not now wonder at the confuſedneſs of his notions, or that they ſhould be unintelligible to me. I ſhould have much more admired, had they been otherwiſe. I expect nothing from Mr. Serjeant, but what is abſtruſe in the higheſt degree.

I LOOK for nothing elſe from Mr. Norris; I thought that gentleman had enough on't, in his firſt attempt on your eſſay; but he's ſo over-run with father Malebranche, and Plato, that 'tis in vain to endeavour to ſet him right, and I give him up, as an inconvincible enemy.

BUT above all theſe, I ſhould wonder at the biſhop of Worceſter's obſtinacy, did I not think that I partly know the reaſon thereof. He has been an old ſoldier in controverſies, and has hitherto had the good luck of victory; but now, in the latter end of his wars, to be laid on his back (as he thinks the world would certainly ſay, unleſs he has the laſt word) would wither all his former laurels,

laurels, and loſe his glory. Your reply to him is not yet come to hand; but I can wait with the more patience, becauſe I am pretty well ſatisfied in the matter already.

I AM very glad to underſtand that we are to expect another edition of your education, with additions. I never thought you writ too much, on any ſubject whatever.

I HAVE formerly written to you, to know farther concerning Monſ. Coſte, who tranſlated ſome of your books into French. I fanſy, by that gentleman's inclinations to your works, he and I ſhould agree very well. Pray let me know, whether, to his belles lettres, he has any ſkill in the mathematicks, natural hiſtory, &c. As alſo what his circumſtances are, as to his education, parentage, &c. For, according to theſe, I may judge whether I can give him any encouragement to come hither.

YOU had been troubled with this letter ſooner, but that I waited for the incloſed, to ſatisfy your enquiry concerning our linen manufacture. You will find thereby, that we have framed a bill to be enacted for the encouragement thereof. This bill is now before the council of England, purſuant to our conſtitution of parliament. What alterations, additions, and amendments it may receive there, we know not; but I am apt to think you will have the conſideration and modelling thereof, at your committee of trade. We are very ſenſible, that the act we have drawn up (whereof the incloſed are the heads) is not ſo perfect and complete as it may be; but this we thought a fair beginning to ſo great an attempt, and that time muſt be given for a farther progreſs, and carrying it higher, by additional laws, as occaſion may require. The woollen manufacture of England was not eſtabliſhed at that high pitch (to which now 'tis raiſed) by any one law, or any one generation. It muſt be ſo with us, in relation to our linen; but this, we hope, may be a fair ſtep towards it: "Eſt quoddam "prodire tenus," &c.

JAMES HAMILTON of Tullymore, eſq; is an indefatigable promoter of this deſign; and I may ſay, indeed, the whole ſcheme is owing to his contrivance. He is an hearty admirer of yours, and communicated to me the incloſed abstract, purpoſely for your ſatisfaction; deſiring me, with it, to give you his moſt humble ſervice, and to requeſt of you your thoughts concerning this matter, by the firſt leiſure you can ſpare.

WHILST our houſe of commons were framing this bill, our lords juſtices communicated to us ſome papers, which they had received from the lords juſtices of England, laid before them by your board. But theſe papers coming in, a little too late, when we had juſt cloſed the bill, and a very little time before our laſt adjournment, for three weeks, all, we did with them, was to remit them again to our lords juſtices and council, with the houſe's deſire, that, if their lordſhips ſhould think fit to excerp any thing out of thoſe papers, and add it to our act, whilſt they had it before them, in order to be tranſmitted into England, their lordſhips might do therein as they pleaſed, and the houſe would agree to any ſuch additions, when the act came before us, tranſmitted in due form, under the ſeal of England. Whether the lords juſtices will make any ſuch additions out of thoſe papers, I cannot yet tell; but I am ſure there were many things in thoſe papers, that highly deſerved to be put in execution.

MY brother gives you his moſt humble ſervice, and ſhould be very proud of the preſent of your education. For though he has yet only two daughters, yet he is in hopes of many ſons; and the girls minds require as much framing as the boys, and by the ſame rules: and that I take to be the chief part of education. I am,

Your's moſt ſincerely,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

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Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

My moſt honoured friend, Dublin, Oct. 28. 1697.

IF men could deſtroy by a quill, as they ſay procupines do, I ſhould think your death not very far off. But whatever venom they mixed with their ink againſt you, I hope it is not mortal; I am ſure in my opinion 'tis not the leaſt harmful, or dangerous. "Your reply to the biſhop of Worceſter" ſhews how vainly the mightieſt champion ſpends his darts at you, and with what force and ſtrength of reaſon you return them on his own head. But notwithſtanding this, I verily believe he will offer again at his weak efforts; for he, that was ſo fully poſſeſſed of his own ſufficiency, as to think he could deal with your firſt letter to him, will certainly never lay down the cudgels, till his blood be about his ears: and, if he thought himſelf obliged in honour to juſtify his firſt blunders, much more will he think himſelf ſo now, when he is thrown over head and ears in the mire. To paſs by all the reſt of your reply (wherein you have given him many a ſevere wound) I think he is no where ſo clearly and diſgracefully foiled, as by the converſation between you and your friend, concerning his notions of nature and perſon. But above all, the conſequence you draw from thence, of his being obliged to write againſt his own "vindication of the Trinity," muſt needs wound him to the heart; and, indeed, I do not ſee how 'tis poſſible for him to avoid the force of that blow, by all his art and cunning. Yet write he will, I am ſure on't, and pour forth an abundance of words; but ſo he may for ever. I envy not the place of his amanuenſis.

BUT all this while I have forgot to return you my acknowledgments for the favour of your book. I am extremely obliged to you for remembring me, amongſt your other friends, whenever you are pleaſed to oblige the learned world with any of your happy thoughts. I had no ſooner peruſed them, but they were ſnatched out of my hands by my lord chancellor, (ſo covetous are all men of whatever comes from you) and he has them yet.

AMONGST the other ſmall craft, that appears againſt you, I met with one J. H's ſtate of England, in relation to coin and trade. I hear the author's name is Hodges. He is much of a claſs, in this particular, with Mr. Serjeant, in relation to your eſſay, that is, both to me unintelligible.

THE incloſed is a ſample of what this place produces againſt you: I wiſh you may not ſay, that it reſembles our mountains and bogs, in being barren and uſeleſs. I have ventured to ſend you my ſhort anſwer thereto; for a longer, I think, it did not deſerve. I have not ſeen the biſhop, ſince this has paſſed; but we are ſo good friends, that this buſineſs will cauſe no anger between us. I am,

Your moſt obliged, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Biſhop of ——'s letter to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, Johnſtown, Oct. 26. 1697.

I HAVE met with Mr. Locke's reply to the biſhop of Worceſter, and have had leiſure to look it over here. I meddle not with the controverſy between them, but confeſs I am a little ſurprized at what I find p. 95 and 96, where we have theſe words: "To talk of the certainty of faith, ſeems all one to me, as to talk "of the knowledge of believing: And, when it is brought to certainty, faith is "deſtroyed: And, bring it to certainty, and it ceaſes to be faith." And he in terms owns, p. 39. "With me to know and to be certain, is the ſame thing; "what I know, that I am certain of; and what I am certain of, that I know." And p. 92. "Knowledge I find in myſelf, and I conceive in others, conſiſts in "the perception of the agreement, or diſagreement, of the immediate objects

“ of the mind in thinking, which I call ideas.” And, p. 38. “ Certainty conſiſts in the perception of the agreement, or diſagreement, of two ideas.” Now to me it ſeems, that, according to Mr. Locke, I cannot be ſaid to know any thing, except there be two ideas in my mind, and all the knowledge, I have, muſt be, concerning the relation theſe two ideas have to one another, and that I can be certain of nothing elſe; which, in my opinion, excludes all certainty of ſenſe, and of ſingle ideas, all certainty of conſciouſneſs, ſuch as willing, believing, knowing, &c. and, as he confeſſes, all certainty of faith, and laſtly, all certainty of remembrance, of which I have formerly demonſtrated, as ſoon as I have forgot, or do not actually think of the demonſtration. For I ſuppoſe you are well aware, that in demonſtrating mathematical propoſitions, 'tis not always from actual perception of the agreement of ideas, that we aſſume other propoſitions, formerly demonſtrated, to infer the concluſion, but from memory: and yet we do not think ourſelves leſs certain on that account. If this be the importance of Mr. L.'s words, as it ſeems to me to be, then we are not certain of the acts of our mind; we are not certain of any thing that remains in our minds, merely by the ſtrength of our memory; and laſtly, we are not certain of any propoſition, though God and man witneſs the truth of it to us: and then judge how little certainty is left in the world, and how near this laſt comes to Mr. Toland's propoſition, that authority, or teſtimony, is only “ a means of information, not a ground of perſuaſion:” For I muſt own, that I think I am only perſuaded of the truth of a thing, in proportion to the certainty I have of it: and if knowledge and certainty be reciprocally the ſame, and conſiſt in the perception of the agreement, or diſagreement, of two ideas; where I do not perceive theſe, though God and man, nay the whole world ſhould teſtify to me, that they do agree, or diſagree, I cannot be certain of it. I muſt profeſs myſelf of another opinion; and I think, I am as certain there was ſuch a man as Mr. L. from the teſtimony of you, and other circumſtances, tho' I perceive no agreement or diſagreement, in this caſe between the two ideas, to convince me of his being; as that the three angles of a ſtraight-lin'd triangle are equal to two right angles, where I actually perceive the agreement, or rather equality: or, that the area of a cyclois is equal to triple the generating circle, of which I am certain by memory, tho' I do not at preſent perceive the demonſtration, or any agreement between the ideas of the three circles and a cyclois, only remember that I once perceived it.

Let me farther add, that agreement and diſagreement are metaphorical terms, when applied to ideas; for agreement properly, I think, either ſignifies, firſt, a compact between two perſons; or, ſecondly, two things fitting one another, as the two parts of a tally; or, thirdly, the likeneſs of two things, as of a pair of coach-horſes; or, fourthly, the aptitude of two things to ſupport, or preſerve one another. So ſeveral meats agree with the ſtomach; but I do not find, that in a propoſition, the ideas have an agreement in any of theſe ſenſes; and I rather think the old way of expreſſing this matter ought to be retained. I learned in Smiglecius, that when the ſpecies intelligibilis of the predicate was the ſame with the ſpecies of the ſubject, the one might be affirmed of the other: and when the medius terminus was the ſame with the one extreme term, in one of the premiſſes, and the other extreme the ſame with it in the other of the premiſſes, the one might be affirmed of the other, in the concluſion, becauſe of the old axiom, “ Quæ ſunt eadem uni tertio, ſunt eadem inter ſe.” You may uſe the metaphorical term of agreement here, inſtead of identity; but Mr. L. has told us, p. 153, “ That metaphorical expreſſions (which ſeldom terminate in truth) ſhould be, as much as poſſible, avoided, when men “ undertake to deliver clear and diſtinct apprehenſions, and exact notions “ of things.”

I do find that men's thoughts do not differ ſo much as their words, and that moſt men are of one mind, when they come to underſtand one another, and have the ſame views; and hence many controverſies are only verbal. I doubt not but my difference from Mr. L. in this matter may be of the ſame nature, and perhaps, if I had carefully read his book of human underſtanding, I might perceive it; but I have neither opportunity, leiſure, or inclination to do ſo, and believe a great part of the world to be in the ſame circumſtances with me; and I verily believe, that the expreſſions I have noted in his reply, will ſeem unwary to them, as well as to me.

I DO find that he claims a liberty, that will not be allowed him by all, p. 92. "to pleaſe himſelf in his terms, ſo they be uſed conſtantly in the ſame and a "known ſenſe." I remember others have claimed the ſame liberty, under the notion of making their own dictionary; but I reckon the changing a term, tho' I declare my ſenſe, and forewarn the reader of it, to be a very great injury to the world; and to introduce a new one, where there is one altogether to ſignify the ſame thing, equally injurious; and that a man has only this liberty, where he introduces a new thing, that has yet no name. And I believe you ſee my reaſons for being of this opinion, and therefore ſhall not mention them. Let me only obſerve, that the want of this caution ſeems to me to have brought moſt of Mr. L's trouble on him. Words were indeed arbitrary ſigns of things in thoſe, that firſt impoſed them, but they are not to us. When we uſe the beſt caution we can, we are apt to tranſgreſs in changing them; and when we do ſo out of weakneſs, we muſt aſk pardon, but muſt not claim it as a liberty, it being really a fault. A few minutes lying on my hands, has given you this trouble; and I know your kindneſs to Mr. L. will not make it ungrateful to you, whilſt it aſſures you that I am,

Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant.

I COULD never comprehend any neceſſity for a criterion of certainty to the underſtanding, any more than of one to the eye, to teach it when it ſees. Let the eye be rightly diſpoſed, and apply an object to it, if duly applied, it will force it to ſee: and ſo apply an object to an underſtanding duly qualified, and if the arguments, or object, be as they ought to be, they will force the underſtanding to aſſent, and remove all doubts. And I can no more tell, what is in the object, or arguments, that aſcertains my underſtanding, than I can tell what it is in light, that makes me ſee. I muſt ſay then, the ſame God, that ordered light to make me ſee, ordered truth, or rather certain objects, to aſcertain my underſtanding; and I believe Mr. L. can hardly give any other reaſon, why his agreement, &c. of ideas ſhould cauſe certainty.

Mr. MOLYNEUX's anſwer to the BISHOP.

My LORD, Dublin, Octob. 27, 1697.

I AM extremely obliged to your lordſhip, that, having a few minutes lying on your hands, in your retirement from this town, you are pleaſed to beſtow them on my friend and me. I ſhould have acknowledged the favour more early, had your ſervant ſtaid for an anſwer, when he delivered yours to me; but he was gone out of my reach, before I was aware of it.

AND now, my Lord, all the anſwer I ſhall trouble your lordſhip with at preſent is this; that your lordſhip is much in the right on't, that had you read "Mr. "Locke's eſſay of the human underſtanding," more carefully and throughout, you had never made the objections you raiſe, againſt him, in your letter to me; for your lordſhip would have found his fourth book abundantly ſatisfactory, in the difficulties you propoſe, and particularly the ſecond and eighteenth chapters of the fourth book, are a full anſwer to your lordſhip's letter.

BUT your lordſhip ſays, you have neither "opportunity, leiſure, or inclina- "tion to read the eſſay." My lord, I would not, then, have leiſure, or inclination to animadvert on a book, that I had not (if not inclination) at leaſt leiſure to read. This, with ſubmiſſion, I cannot but ſay, is great partiality. If your lordſhip ſays, your letter relates to his reply to the biſhop of Worceſter; neither will

will this do, in my humble opinion; ſeeing your lordſhip ſeems to ſurmiſe (as indeed you gueſs rightly) that the eſſay might have ſet you right in this matter. I am,

My LORD,

Your lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dear SIR, Dublin, Decemb. 18, 1697.

'TIS now above three months, ſince I heard from you, your laſt being of Sept. 11. You will, therefore, excuſe my impatience, if I can forbear no longer, and ſend this merely to know how you do. 'Tis an anguiſhing thought to me, that you ſhould be ſubject to the common frailties and fate of mankind; but it would be ſome alleviation to my trouble, that if you are ill, I ſhould know the worſt of it. This has ſo wholly taken up my mind at preſent, that I have no inclination to write one word more to you in this; but again, to repeat my requeſt to you, that you would let me know how you are; for till I know this, I am diſſatisfied, I am extremely uneaſy: but for ever ſhall be

Your moſt affectionate admirer,

and devoted ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, Oates, 10 Jan. 1697-8.

YOUR gentle and kind reproof of my ſilence, has greater marks of true friendſhip in it, than can be expreſſed in the moſt elaborate profeſſions, or be ſufficiently acknowledged by a man, who has not the opportunity, nor ability, to make thoſe returns he would. Though I have had leſs health, and more buſineſs, ſince I writ to you laſt, than ever I had for ſo long together in my life; yet neither the one, nor the other, had kept me ſo long a truant, had not the concurrence of other cauſes drilled me on, from day to day, in a neglect of what I frequently purpoſed, and always thought myſelf obliged to do. Perhaps, the liſtleſneſs my indiſpoſition conſtantly kept me in, made me too eaſily hearken to ſuch excuſes; but the expectation of hearing every day from Monſ. Le Clerc, that I might ſend you his anſwer, and the thoughts that I ſhould be able to ſend your brother an account, that his curious treatiſe, concerning the chafers in Ireland, was printed, were at leaſt the pretences, that ſerved to humour my lazineſs. Buſineſs kept me in town, longer than was convenient for my health: all the day from my riſing was commonly ſpent in that, and when I came home at night, my ſhortneſs of breath, and panting for want of it, made me ordinarily ſo uneaſy, that I had no heart to do any thing; ſo that the uſual diverſion of my vacant hours forſook me, and reading itſelf was a burden to me. In this eſtate I lingered along in town to December, till I betook myſelf to my wonted refuge, in the more favourable air and retirement of this place. That gave me preſently relief, againſt the conſtant oppreſſion of my lungs, whilſt I ſit ſtill: but I find ſuch a weakneſs of them ſtill remain, that if I ſtir ever ſo little, I am immediately out of breath, and the very dreſſing, or undreſſing me, is a labour, that I am fain to reſt after, to recover my breath; and I have not been once out of my houſe, ſince I came laſt hither. I wiſh nevertheleſs, that you were here with me, to ſee how well I am: for you would

would find, that, ſitting by the fire's ſide, I could bear my part in diſcourſing, laughing, and being merry with you, as well as ever I could in my life. If you were here (and if wiſhes of more than one could bring you, you would be here to-day) you would find three or four in the parlour, after dinner, who, you would ſay, paſs'd their afternoons as agreeably and as jocundly, as any people, you have this good while met with. Do not, therefore, figure to yourſelf, that I am languiſhing away my laſt hours, under an unſociable deſpondency and the weight of my infirmity. 'Tis true, I do not count upon years of life to come, but I thank God I have not many uneaſy hours here, in the four-and-twenty; and if I can have the wit to keep myſelf out of the ſtifling air of London, I ſee no reaſon, but by the grace of God, I may get over this winter, and that terrible enemy of mine may uſe me no worſe than the laſt did, which as ſevere, and as long as it was, let me yet ſee another ſummer.

WHAT you ſay to me in yours of the 4th of Octob. concerning the biſhop of W——, you will, I believe, be confirmed in, if his "anſwer to my ſecond "letter," of which I ſhall ſay nothing to you yet, be got to you.

MR. COSTE is now in the houſe with me here, and is tutor to my lady Marſham's ſon. I need not, I think, anſwer your queſtions about his ſkill in mathematicks and natural hiſtory: I think it is not much; but he is an ingenious man, and we like him very well for our purpoſe; and I have a particular obligation to you, for the reaſon why you enquired concerning him.

I COME now to yours of the 28th of Octob. wherein you have found by this time, that you propheſied right, concerning the biſhop of W——, and if you can remember what you ſaid therein, concerning abundance of words, you will not, I ſuppoſe, forbear ſmiling, when you read the firſt leaf of his laſt anſwer.

IF there be not an evidence of ſenſe and truth, which is apt and fitted to prevail on every human underſtanding, as far as it is open and unprejudiced; there is at leaſt a harmony of underſtandings in ſome men, to whom ſenſe and nonſenſe, truth and falſhood, appear equally, in the reſpective diſcourſes they meet with. This I find perfectly ſo between you and me, and it ſerves me to no ſmall purpoſe to keep me in countenance, when I ſee a man, diſintereſted as you are, a lover of truth, as I know you to be, and one that has clearneſs and coherence enough of thought, to make long mathematical, i. e. ſure deductions, pronounce of J. H. and J. S's books, that they are unintelligible to you; I do not preſently condemn myſelf of pride, prejudice, or a perfect want of underſtanding, for laying aſide thoſe authors, becauſe I can find neither ſenſe nor coherence in them. If I could think that diſcourſes and arguments to the underſtanding, were like the ſeveral ſorts of cates to different palates and ſtomachs, ſome nauſeous and deſtructive to one, which are pleaſant and reſtorative to another; I ſhould no more think of books and ſtudy, and ſhould think my time better employed at puſh-pin, than in reading or writing. But I am convinced of the contrary: I know there is truth oppoſite to falſhood, that it may be found, if people will, and is worth the ſeeking, and is not only the moſt valuable, but the pleaſanteſt thing in the world. And, therefore, I am no more troubled and diſturbed with all the duſt that is raiſed againſt it, than I ſhould be to ſee from the top of an high ſteeple, where I had clear air and ſun-ſhine, a company of great boys, or little boys (for 'tis all one) throw up duſt in the air, which reached not me, but fell down in their own eyes.

YOUR anſwer to your friend, the biſhop, was certainly a very fit and full one, to what he had ſaid, and I am obliged to you for it: but he nevertheleſs thought his objections ſo good, that I imagine he communicated them to my antagoniſt; for you will find the very ſame in his anſwer, and almoſt in the ſame words. But they will receive an anſwer at large, in due time.

IT will not be at all neceſſary to ſay any thing to you, concerning the linen bill, which made ſo great a part of your letter of Oct. 4th, and was the whole buſineſs of that of Oct. 16th. You know (I believe) as well as I, what became of that bill. Pray return my humble thanks to Mr. Hamilton for his kind

kind expreſſions concerning me, and for the favour he did me, in thinking me any ways able to ſerve his country, in that matter. I am ſo concerned for it, and zealous in it, that I deſire you to aſſure him, and to believe yourſelf, that I will neglect no pains, or intereſt of mine, to promote it, as far as I am able; and I think it a ſhame, that whilſt Ireland is ſo capable to produce flax and hemp, and able to nouriſh the poor at ſo cheap a rate, and conſequently to have their labour upon ſo eaſy terms, that ſo much money ſhould go yearly out of the king's dominions to enrich foreigners, for thoſe materials, and the manufactures made out of them, when his people of Ireland, by the advantage of their ſoil, ſituation, and plenty, might have every penny of it, if that buſineſs were but once put into a right way. I perceive, by one of your letters, that you have ſeen the propoſals for an act ſent from hence. I would be very glad that you and Mr. Hamilton, or any other man, whom you knew able, and a diſintereſted well-wiſher of his country, would conſider them together, and tell me, whether you think that project will do, or wherein it is either impracticable, or will fail, and what may be added, or altered in it, to make it effectual to that end. I know, to a man, a ſtranger to your country, as I am, many things may be over-ſeen, which, by reaſon of the circumſtances of the place, or ſtate of the people, may in practice have real difficulties. If there be any ſuch in regard of that project, you will do me a favour to inform me of them. The ſhort is, I mightily have it upon my heart, to get the linen manufacture eſtabliſhed, in a flouriſhing way in your country. I am ſufficiently ſenſible of the advantages it will be to you, and ſhall be doubly rejoiced in the ſucceſs of it, if I ſhould be ſo happy that you and I could be inſtrumental in it, and have the chief hand in forming any thing, that might conduce to it. Imploy your thoughts, therefore, I beſeech you about it, and be aſſured, what help I can give to it here ſhall be as readily and as carefully employed, as if you and I alone were to reap all the profit of it.

I have not yet heard a word from Monſ. Le Clerc, in anſwer to my enquiries, and the queſtions you aſked, or elſe you had heard ſooner from me. I muſt beg you to return my acknowledgments to Mr. Moleſworth, in the civilleſt language you can find, for the great compliment you ſent me from him. If he could ſee my confuſion, as often as I read that part of your letter, that would expreſs my ſenſe of it, better than any words I am maſter of. I can only ſay that I am his moſt humble ſervant, and I have been not a little troubled, that I could not meet with the opportunities I ſought, to improve the advantages I propoſed to myſelf, in an acquaintance with ſo ingenious and extraordinary a man as he is.

I read your brother's treatiſe, which he did me the honour to put into my hands, with great pleaſure, and thought it ſo unreaſonable to rob the publick of ſo grateful a preſent, by any delay of mine, that I forthwith put it into Dr. Sloane's hand to be publiſhed, and I expected to have ſeen it in print long e'er this time. What has retarded it, I have not yet heard from Dr. Sloane, who has not writ to me, ſince I came into the country: but I make no doubt, but he takes care of ſo curious a piece, and the world will have it ſpeedily. I muſt depend on you, not only for excuſing my ſilence to yourſelf, but I muſt be obliged to you, to excuſe me to your brother for not having written to him myſelf, to thank him for the favour he did me. I hope e'er long to find an opportunity to teſtify my reſpects to him more in form, which he would find I have in reality for him, if any occaſion of that kind ſhould come in my way. In the mean time I believe, if he ſaw the length of this letter, he would think it enough for one of a family to be perſecuted by ſo voluminous a ſcribbler, and would be glad that I ſpared him. I am both his, and,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt humble ſervant,

John Locke.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dear SIR, Dublin, March 15, 1697-8.

IN the midſt of my trouble for your long ſilence, ſoon after I had writ to two or three friends, to enquire after your health, I was happily relieved by yours, of laſt January the 10th from Oates. I am heartily concerned that you paſſed over the laſt winter with ſo much indiſpoſition; but I rejoice with you that you have 'ſcaped it, and hope you will yet paſs over many more. I could make to you great complaints likewiſe, of my own late illneſs; but they are all drowned in this one, that I am hindered for a while in ſeeking a remedy for them. I fully propoſed to be at the Bath this ſpring early, but I am diſappointed at preſent, and cannot ſtir from hence, till my lord chancellor Methwin return to this kingdom. It has pleaſed the young lord Woodſtock, by directions from his Majeſty, to chooſe my lord chancellor Methwin, Mr. Van Homrigh, preſent lord mayor of this city, and myſelf, to be his guardians, and managers of his affairs in this kingdom. Nothing can be done without two of us; ſo I am tied by the leg. Were it only in my health, that I am diſappointed, I could the eaſier bear it; but I am delayed from embracing my dear friend, which is moſt grievous of all. Yet I hope it will be ſo, but for a time; for if my lord chancellor comes over, in any convenient ſeaſon, I will certainly get looſe. But this I cannot hope for, till the parliament in England riſes. I ſhould be glad to know from you when that is expected; for indeed they bear very hard upon us in Ireland. How juſtly they can bind us, without our conſent and repreſentatives, I leave the "author of the two treatiſes "of government" to conſider. But of this I ſhall trouble you farther another time, for you will hear more hereafter.

I HAVE ſeen the "Biſhop of Worceſter's anſwer to your ſecond letter." 'Tis of a piece with the reſt, and you know my thoughts of them already. I begin to be almoſt of old Hobbs's opinion, That were it men's intereſt, they would queſtion the truth of Euclid's elements, as now they conteſt almoſt as full evidences.

I AM very glad Monſ. Coſte is ſo well ſettled, as you tell me. I deſigned fully to invite him over hither; and if you know any other ingenious Frenchman of that ſort, or any ſuch hereafter comes to your knowledge, I ſhould be very glad, you would give me intimation thereof.

I HAD certainly anſwered that part of your letter relating to the linen manufacture, but that I daily expected to do it more effectually, by Mr. Hamilton himſelf, who gave me hopes of his going into England, and was reſolved perſonally to wait on you about it. He is maſter of the whole myſtery (and that I cannot pretend to be) and would have diſcourſed you moſt ſatisfactorily concerning it. I promiſed him a letter to you, whenever he goes over, which will now be very ſpeedily, and then I doubt not, but you will concert matters together, much for the good of this poor kingdom.

MY brother gives you his moſt humble ſervice, and thanks you for the care you took, about his diſcourſe concerning chafers. We hear from Dr. Sloane, that it is printed. I am

Your moſt humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, Oates, 6 April 1698.

THERE is none of the letters, that ever I received from you, gave me ſo much trouble as your laſt of March 15. I was told that you reſolved to come into England early in the ſpring, and lived in the hopes of it, more than you can imagine. I do not mean that I had greater hopes of it, than you can imagine; but it enlivened me, and contributed to the ſupport of my ſpirits more than you can think. But your letter has quite dejected me again. The thing, I above all things long for, is to ſee, and embrace, and have ſome diſcourſe with you, before I go out of this world. I meet with ſo few capable of truth, or worthy of a free converſation, ſuch as becomes lovers of truth, that you cannot think it ſtrange, if I wiſh for ſome time with you, for the expoſing, ſifting, and rectifying of my thoughts. If they have gone any thing farther, in the diſcovery of truth, than what I have already publiſhed, it muſt be by your encouragement, that I muſt go on to finiſh ſome things, that I have already begun, and with you I hoped to diſcourſe my other yet crude and imperfect thoughts, in which, if there were any thing uſeful to mankind, if they were opened and depoſited with you, I know them ſafe lodged for the advantage of truth, ſome time or other. For I am in doubt, whether it be fit for me to trouble the preſs with any new matter? or if I did, I look on my life as ſo near worn out, that it would be folly to hope to finiſh any thing of moment in the ſmall remainder of it. I hoped therefore, as I ſaid, to have ſeen you, and unravel'd to you that which lying in the lump, unexplicated in my mind, I ſcarce yet know what it is myſelf; for I have often had experience, that a man cannot well judge of his own notions, till either by ſetting them down in paper, or in diſcourſing them to a friend, he has drawn them out, and as it were ſpread them fairly before himſelf. As for writing, my ill health gives me little heart, or opportunity for it, and of ſeeing you, I begin now to deſpair: And that, which very much adds to my affliction in the caſe is, that you neglect your own health, on conſiderations, I am ſure, that are not worth your health; for nothing, if expectations were certainties, can be worth it. I ſee no likelihood of the parliament's riſing yet, this good while; and, when they are up, who knows whether the man, you expect to relieve you, will come to you preſently, or at all? You muſt, therefore, lay by that buſineſs for a while, which detains you, or get ſome other body into it, if you will take that care of your health this ſummer, which you deſigned, and it ſeems to require: and if you defer it till the next, who knows but your care of it may then come too late? There is nothing that we are ſuch ſpendthrifts of, as of health; we ſpare every thing ſooner than that, though whatever we ſacrifice it to is worth nothing without it. Pardon me the liberty I take with you: you have given me an intereſt in you: and it is a thing of too much value to me, to look coldly on, whilſt you are running into any inconvenience, or danger, and ſay nothing. If that could be any ſpur to you, to haſten your journey hither, I would tell you I have an anſwer ready for the preſs, which I ſhould be glad you ſhould ſee firſt. It is too long: the plenty of matter of all ſorts, which the gentleman affords me, is the cauſe of its too great length, though I have paſſed by many things, worthy of remarks: but what may be ſpared of what there is, I would be glad ſhould be blotted out by your hand. But this between us.

AMONGST other things I would be glad to talk with you about, before I die, is that which you ſuggeſt at the bottom of the firſt page of your letter. I am mightily concerned for the place meant in the queſtion, you ſay you will aſk the author of the treatiſe you mention, and wiſh extremely well to it; and would be very glad to be informed by you, what would be beſt for it, and debate with you the ways to compoſe it. But this cannot be done by letters, the ſubject is of too great extent, the views too large, and the particulars too many to be ſo managed. Come therefore yourſelf, and come as well prepared in that matter as you can. But if you talk with others, on that point there, mention not me to any body on that ſubject; only let you and I try what good we can do for thoſe, whom we wiſh well to. Great things have ſometimes been brought about from ſmall beginnings well laid together.

PRAY preſent my moſt humble ſervice to your brother; I ſhould be glad of an opportunity to do him ſome ſervice. That which he thanks me for, in my care about his diſcourſe concerning the chafers, was a ſervice to the publick, and he owes me no thanks for it. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your faithful, and moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Moſt honoured, dear SIR, Dublin, April 19, 1698.

I HAVE formerly had thoughts of coming into England, as I have told you, on occaſion of my health. But ſince the receipt of yours of April 6, which came to my hands but this morning, that conſideration weighs but little with me. The deſire of ſeeing and converſing with you, has drowned all other expectations from my journey; and now I am reſolved to accompliſh it, let what will come on't. Your perſuaſions and arguments, I think, have ſomething in them of incantation: I am ſure their charms are ſo powerful on me on all occaſions, I can never reſiſt them. I ſhall therefore embrace you, God willing, as ſoon as ever the parliament of England riſes. I fix this period now, not ſo much in expectation of our chancellor's arrival, as on another account. My dear friend muſt therefore know, that the conſideration of what I mentioned in my laſt, from the incomparable author of the treatiſe, &c. has moved me to put pen to paper, and commit ſome thoughts of mine, on that ſubject, to the preſs, in a ſmall 8vo, entitled, "The caſe of Ireland's being bound by "acts of parliament in England, ſtated." This you'll ſay is a nice ſubject, but I think I have treated it with that caution and ſubmiſſion, that it cannot juſtly give any offence; inſomuch that I ſcruple not to put my name to it, and, by advice of ſome good friends here, have preſumed to dedicate it to his Majeſty. I have ordered ſome of them to Mr. Churchill, to be preſented to you, and ſome of your friends; and they are now upon the road towards you. I have been very free, in giving you my thoughts on your pieces; I ſhould be extremely obliged to you for the like freedom on your ſide upon mine. I cannot pretend this to be an accompliſhed performance, it was done in haſte, and intended to overtake the proceedings at Weſtminſter; but it comes too late for that: what effect it may poſſibly have in time to come, God and the wiſe council of England only knows; but were it again under my hands, I could conſiderably amend and add to it. But till I either ſee how the parliament at Weſtminſter is pleaſed to take it, or till I ſee them riſen, I do not think it adviſeable for me to go on t'other ſide the water. Tho' I am not apprehenſive of any miſchief from them, yet God only knows what reſentments captious men may take on ſuch occaſions.

MY brother gives you his moſt reſpectful ſervice: he has now ready a diſcourſe on our giant's cauſway, which indeed is a ſtupendous, natural rarity: he has addreſſed it to Dr. Liſter; but you will ſoon ſee it in the Tranſactions.

MR. BURRIDGE goes on now with ſome ſpeed: I had lately an occaſion of writing to Mr. Churchill, and I gave him an account of his progreſs. I hope the whole will be finiſhed ſoon after Midſummer; and indeed in my opinion he performs it incomparably. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, London, 9 July, 1698.

I AM juſt come to London, where your former promiſe, and what Mr. Churchill ſince tells me makes me hope to ſee you ſpeedily. I long mightily to welcome you hither, and do remit to that happy time, abundance that I have to ſay to you. For I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured dear SIR, Dublin, Sept. 26, 1698.

I ARRIVED here ſafely the 15th inſtant, and now that the ruffling and fatigue of my journey is a little over, I ſit down to a taſk, which I muſt confeſs is the hardeſt I was ever under in my life; I mean, expreſſing my thanks to you, ſuitable to the favours I received from you, and ſuitable to the inward ſenſe I have of them in my mind. Were it poſſible for me to do either, I ſhould in ſome meaſure be ſatisfied; but my inability of paying my debts, makes me aſhamed to appear before my creditor. However, thus much, with the ſtricteſt ſincerity, I will venture to aſſert to you, that I cannot recollect, through the whole courſe of my life, ſuch ſignal inſtances of real friendſhip, as when I had the happineſs of your company, for five weeks together in London. 'Tis with the greateſt ſatisfaction imaginable, that I recollect what then paſſed between us, and I reckon it the happieſt ſcene of my whole life. That part thereof eſpecially, which I paſſed at Oates, has made ſuch an agreeable impreſſion on my mind, that nothing can be more pleaſing. To all in that excellent family, I beſeech you, give my moſt humble reſpects. 'Tis my duty to make my acknowledgments there, in a particular letter; but I beg of you to make my excuſe, for omitting it at this time, becauſe I am a little preſſed by ſome buſineſs, that is thrown upon me ſince my arrival. To which alſo you are obliged for not being troubled at preſent with a more tedious letter from,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged,

and entirely affectionate friend, and ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, London, Sept. 29, 1698.

YOURS of the 20th has now diſcharged me from my daily employment, of looking upon the weathercock, and hearkening how loud the wind blowed. Though I do not like this diſtance, and ſuch a ditch betwixt us, yet I am glad to hear that you are ſafe and ſound, on t'other ſide the water. But pray you ſpeak not in ſo magnificent and courtly a ſtyle, of what you received from me here. I lived with you, and treated you as my friend, and therefore uſed no ceremony, nor can receive any thanks, but what I owe you doubly, both for your company, and the pains you were at to beſtow that happineſs on me. If you keep your word, and do me the ſame kindneſs again next year, I ſhall have reaſon to think you value me more than you ſay, tho' you ſay more than I can with modeſty read.

I FIND you were beſet with buſineſs, when you writ your letter to me, and do not wonder at it; but yet for all that, I cannot forgive your ſilence concerning your health and your ſon. My ſervice to him, your brother, and Mr. Burridge, and do me the juſtice to believe, that I am with a perfect affection,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt faithful ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. BURRIDGE.

SIR, Oates, Octob. 27. 1698.

YOU gueſſed not amiſs, when you ſaid in the beginning of yours of the 13th inſtant, that you gave me the trouble of a letter; for I have received few letters in my life, the contents whereof have ſo much troubled and afflicted me, as that of yours. I parted with my excellent friend, when he went from England, with all the hopes and promiſes to myſelf of ſeeing him again, and enjoying him longer in the next ſpring. This was a ſatisfaction that helped me to bear our ſeparation; and the ſhort taſte I had of him here, in this our firſt interview, I hoped would be made up in a longer converſation, which he promiſed me the next time: but it has ſerved only to give me a greater ſenſe of my loſs, in an eternal farewel in this world. Your earlier acquaintance may have given you a longer knowledge of his virtue and excellent endowments, a fuller ſight, or greater eſteem of them, you could not have than I. His worth and his friendſhip to me, made him an ineſtimable treaſure, which I muſt regret the loſs of, the little remainder of my life, without any hopes of repairing it any way. I ſhould be glad if what I owed the father could enable me to do any ſervice to his ſon. He deſerves it for his own ſake (his father has more than once talked to me of him) as well as for his father's. I deſire you, therefore, to aſſure thoſe who have the care of him, that if there be any thing, wherein I at this diſtance may be any way ſerviceable to young Mr. Molyneux, they cannot do me a greater pleaſure, than to give me the opportunity to ſhew, that my friendſhip died not with him.

PRAY give my moſt humble ſervice to Dr. Molyneux and to his nephew. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful, and humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, Aug. 27, 1692.

I'm very ſenſible of your great civility, in remembering me upon ſo ſhort an acquaintance as I had with you in Holland, ſo long time ſince; and I aſſure you, without any compliment, I reckon it amongſt the moſt fortunate accidents of my life, my ſo luckily falling into your converſation, which was ſo candid, diverting, and inſtructive, that I ſtill reap the benefit and ſatisfaction of it. Some years after I left you in Holland, upon my return for England I contracted no ſmall intimacy with Dr. Sydenham, on the account of having been known to you, his much-eſteemed friend; and I found him ſo accurate an obſerver of diſeaſes, ſo thoroughly ſkilled in all uſeful knowledge of his profeſſion, and withal ſo communicative, that his acquaintance was a very great advantage to me: and all this I chiefly owe to you, Sir, beſides the information of many uſeful truths, and a great deal of very pleaſing entertainment I have met with, in the peruſal of your lately publiſhed writings: ſo that on many accounts I muſt needs ſay, there are very few men in the world, to whom I can with the like ſincerity profeſs myſelf to be, as I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt real friend, and

very humble and obliged ſervant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE to Dr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, Oates, Nov. 1. 1692.

THE indiſpoſition of my health, which drove me out of London, and keeps me ſtill in the country, muſt be an excuſe for my ſo long ſilence. The very great civility you expreſs to me, in your letter, makes me hope your pardon for the ſlowneſs of my anſwer, whereby I hope you will not meaſure the eſteem and reſpect I have for you. That your own diſtinguiſhing merit, amongſt the reſt of my countrymen I met with at Leyden, has ſo ſettled in me, that, before the occaſion your brother's favour lately gave me to inquire after you, I often remembered you; and 'twas not without regret I conſidered you at a diſtance, that allowed me not the hopes of renewing and improving my acquaintance with you. There being nothing I value ſo much, as ingenious, knowing men, think it not ſtrange that I laid hold on the firſt opportunity, to bring myſelf again into your thoughts. You muſt take it as an exerciſe of your goodneſs, drawn on you by your own merit: for whatever ſatisfaction I gain to myſelf, in having recovered you again, I can propoſe no advantage to you, in the offer of a very uſeleſs and infirm acquaintance, who can only boaſt that he very much eſteems you.

THAT, which I always thought of Dr. Sydenham living, I find the world allows him, now he is dead, and that he deſerved all that you ſay of him. I hope the age has many, who will follow his example, and by the way of accurate, practical obſervation, as he has ſo happily begun, enlarge the hiſtory of diſeaſes, and improve the art of phyſick, and not by ſpeculative hypotheſes fill the world with uſeleſs, though pleaſing viſions. Something of this kind permit me to promiſe myſelf one day, from your judicious pen. I know nothing, that has ſo great an encouragement from the good of mankind, as this.

I BEG you to preſent my moſt humble ſervice to your brother, whom I forbear now to interrupt, in the midſt of his parliamentary affairs, whereof I know a great part muſt fall to his ſhare, with my thanks for the favour of his of the 15th of Octob. which lately found me out ſafe here. Let him know, that I am exceedingly ſenſible of the obligation, and ſhall at large make my acknowledgments to him as ſoon as good manners will allow it. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt faithful ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, Dec. 20, 1692.

I'M much concerned to hear you have your health no better, and on this occaſion cannot but deplore the great loſſes the intellectual world, in all ages, has ſuffered by the ſtrongeſt and ſoundeſt minds poſſeſſing the moſt infirm and ſickly bodies. Certainly there muſt be ſome very powerful cauſe for this in nature, or elſe we could not have ſo many inſtances, where the knife cuts the ſheath, as the French materially expreſs it: and if ſo, this muſt be reckoned among the many other inſeparable miſeries, that attend human affairs.

I COULD wiſh the phyſician's art were ſo powerful and perfect, as in ſome meaſure to prevent ſo great an evil; but we find where once nature, or the œconomia animalis, of the body is ſo depraved, as not to co-operate with medicine, all remedies, and the courſes of them prove wholly ineffectual, or to very little purpoſe. But ſtill the more imperfect phyſick is, ſo much the more is owing to thoſe, who in the leaſt improve ſo difficult a province, which certainly has been conſiderably advanced by ſome late Engliſh authors, and that puts

puts me in mind to deſire of you your thoughts, or what other learned phyſicians you converſe with ſay, concerning Dr. Morton and his late exercitation on fevers. As for his general theory of them, I eſteem it, as all others of this kind, a ſort of mere waking dream, that men are ſtrangely apt to fall into, when they think long of a ſubject, beginning quite at the wrong end; for by framing ſuch conceits in their fancies, they vainly think to give their underſtandings light, whilſt the things themſelves are ſtill, and perhaps ever muſt remain, in darkneſs.

IN his firſt exercitation that treats of agues, I don't find he has ſaid any thing very material, or worth notice, that the world did not ſufficiently know before, unleſs it were ſome hiſtories of the irregular ſhapes and ſymptoms this diſtemper appears under, which I think may be very inſtructive to the phyſician, and of great eaſe and advantage to the ſick.

BUT his practical remarks, in his ſecond exercitation, about continuing and remitting fevers, if they be judiciouſly founded upon many and ſteady obſervations, ſo that they may ſafely paſs into a rule, muſt certainly be of great moment in directing the management and cure of fevers. I confeſs my experience in this diſtemper, as yet falls ſomething too ſhort for to determine poſitively, whether all his obſervations be real and well grounded; but, as far as I can judge at preſent, ſeveral of them do hold good.

I REMEMBER to have heard Dr. Morton was once a preſbyterian preacher; and though he were, this does not make him a jot the leſs capable in above twenty years practice to have carefully obſerved the accidents, that naturally occur in the progreſs of a diſeaſe; and if he be but a true and judicious regiſter, 'tis all I deſire from him.

YOU ſee I have taken great freedom in giving a character, according to my apprehenſions of this author; but 'tis only to encourage you to uſe the ſame liberty; for if at your leiſure, you would let me know your own thoughts, or what other candid men ſay concerning him and his methods of cure, or any other uſeful tract, that comes abroad, you will extremely oblige,

SIR,

Your very obedient, humble ſervant,

T. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Dr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, Oates, Jan. 20. 1692-3.

I MUST acknowledge the care you take of my health, in a way wherein you ſo kindly apply to my mind; and if I could perſuade myſelf that my weak conſtitution was owing to that ſtrength of mind you aſcribe to me, or accompanied with it, I ſhould find therein, if not a remedy, yet a great relief againſt the infirmities of my body. However, I am not the leſs obliged to you for ſo friendly an application; and if the cordial, you preſcribe, be not to be had (for I know none equal to a judicious and capacious mind) your kindneſs is not to be blamed, who I am confident wiſh me that ſatisfaction, or any thing elſe, that could contribute to my health.

THE doctor, concerning whom you enquire of me, had, I remember, when I lived in town and converſed among the phyſicians there, a good reputation amongſt thoſe of his own faculty. I can ſay nothing of his late book of fevers, having not read it myſelf, nor heard it ſpoke of by others: but I perfectly agree with you concerning general theories, that they are for the moſt part but a ſort of waking dreams, with which, when men have warmed their own heads, they paſs into unqueſtionable truths, and then the ignorant world muſt be ſet right by them. Though this be, as you rightly obſerve, beginning at the wrong end, when men lay the foundation in their own fancies, and then endeavour to ſuit the phænomena of diſeaſes, and the cure of them, to thoſe fancies. I wonder that, after the pattern doctor Sydenham has ſet them, of a better way, men ſhould return again to that romance way of phyſick. But I ſee it is eaſier and more natural for men to build caſtles in the air of their own, than to ſurvey well thoſe, that are to be found ſtanding. Nicely to obſerve the hiſtory of diſeaſes, in all their changes and circumſtances, is a work of time, accurateneſs, attention and judgment; and wherein, if men, through prepoſſeſſion or oſcitancy, miſtake, they may be convinced of their error, by unerring nature and matter of fact, which leaves leſs room for the ſubtlety and diſpute of words, which ſerves very much inſtead of knowledge, in the learned world, where methinks wit and invention has much the preference to truth. Upon ſuch grounds as are the eſtabliſhed hiſtory of diſeaſes, hypotheſes might with leſs danger be erected, which I think are ſo far uſeful, as they ſerve as an art of memory to direct the phyſician in particular caſes, but not to be relied on, as foundations of reaſoning, or verities to be contended for; they being, I think, I may ſay of all of them, ſuppoſitions taken up gratis, and will ſo remain, till we can diſcover how the natural functions of the body are performed, and by what alteration of the humours, or defects in the parts, they are hindered or diſordered. To which purpoſe I fear the Galeniſts four humours, or the chymiſts ſal, ſulphur, and mercury, or the late prevailing invention of acid and alkali, or whatever hereafter ſhall be ſubſtituted to theſe with new applauſe, will upon examination be found to be but ſo many learned, empty ſounds, with no preciſe, determinate ſignification. What we know of the works of nature, eſpecially in the conſtitution of health, and the operations of our own bodies, is only by the ſenſible effects, but not by any certainty we can have, of the tools ſhe uſes, or the ways ſhe works by. So that there is nothing left for a phyſician to do, but to obſerve well, and ſo by analogy argue to like caſes, and thence make to himſelf rules of practice: and he that is this way, moſt ſagacious, will, I imagine, make the beſt phyſician, though he ſhould entertain diſtinct hypotheſes, concerning diſtinct ſpecies of diſeaſes, ſubſervient to this end, that were inconſiſtent with one another, they being made uſe of, in thoſe ſeveral ſorts of diſeaſes, but as diſtinct arts of memory in thoſe caſes. And I the rather ſay this, that they might be relied on, only as artificial helps to a phyſician, and not as philoſophical truths to a naturaliſt. But, ſir, I run too far, and muſt beg your pardon, for talking ſo freely on a ſubject you underſtand ſo much better than I do. I hoped the way of treating of diſeaſes, which with ſo much approbation Dr. Sydenham had introduced into the world, would have beaten the other out, and turned men from viſions and wrangling to obſervation, and endeavouring after ſettled practices in more diſeaſes, ſuch as I think he has given us in ſome. If my zeal for the ſaving men's lives, and preſerving their health (which is infinitely to be preferred to any ſpeculations never ſo fine in phyſick) has carried me too far, you will excuſe it in one who wiſhes well to the practice of phyſick, though he meddles not with it. I wiſh you, and your brother, and all yours, a very happy new year, and am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and faithful ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, Nov. 4, 1693.

FOR a while I deferred making any return for the favour of your laſt letter, on the account I underſtood, by one of yours to my brother, that I was ſuddenly to expect another obligation from you, by the receipt of your treatiſe of education, which yeſterday firſt came to my hands; and now I return you my hearty thanks, for both your kindneſſes together, of which ſhould I expreſs the real thoughts I have, I ſhould ſeem to run either into extravagant compliment, or groſs flattery: but thus much I muſt needs ſay, that as your letter certainly contains in ſhort, the only true method for the proſecuting the curing part of the practice of phyſick, and the ſure way of improving it; a matter of the chiefeſt good in relation to men's bodies: ſo your book of education lays down ſuch rules for the breeding of youth, as if followed, muſt neceſſarily prove of the greateſt advantage to the better part of man, the mind; by inſenſibly diſpoſing it to an habitual exerciſe of what is virtuous and laudable, and the acquiſition of all ſuch knowledge, as is neceſſary for one's own good, or that of others, whom we are to converſe with. Whence I can't but think; had thoſe of our own countries but a thorough perſuaſion, and a right ſenſe of the great benefit that redounds from a careful education, ſo as univerſally to put it in practice, without queſtion we ſhould ſoon become a nation, as remarkably different from the reſt of the world, for the inward endowments of our minds, and the rectitude of our manners, as the Negroes are from the reſt of mankind for their outward ſhape and colour of body. But this, I fear, is a happineſs only to be wiſhed for; however, he that makes it his endeavour to promote ſo great a good, by ſhewing the certain way to it, if they will follow him, juſtly deſerves the high eſteem of all, that know how to value a truly publick ſpirit.

I HOPE, ſir, you have your health better, and that we may ſuddenly have abroad your "eſſay of human underſtanding," with thoſe farther additions and alterations, you have ſome while ſince deſigned for the preſs: I am confident 'tis impatiently expected by all that are acquainted with your writings, and that peculiar clear manner of delivering truth, you are ſo much maſter of, but by none more than,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful, humble ſervant,

T. MOLYNEUX.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, Octob. 25, 1697.

I SHOULD oftner make acknowledgments to you for your favours, and expreſs the great eſteem I bear you, but that this barren place affords little elſe to ſay; and this I can't think reaſon enough to trouble one ſo buſy and uſefully engaged, as you always are. Yet I would not omit thanking you, by this worthy gentleman Mr. Berrisford, your acquaintance, for a preſent of a book, I underſtand by my brother, you deſigned for me, tho' I was ſo unlucky as to miſs of it; and alſo communicate to you the incloſed letter, which the biſhop of Clogher was pleaſed (perhaps out of his too partial friendſhip) to tell me deſerved to be made publick, and deſired me accordingly to tranſmit it to Dr. Sloane: but this I would not do, unleſs it have your approbation alſo; ſo that 'tis wholly at your diſpoſal, to do with it as you pleaſe, as is likewiſe,

SIR,

Your very affectionate friend,

and humble ſervant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Dr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, Oates, 27 Oct. 1698.

DEATH has with a violent hand haſtily ſnatched from you a dear brother. I doubt not, but on this occaſion, you need all the conſolation can be given, to one unexpectedly bereft of ſo worthy and near a relation. Whatever inclination I may have to alleviate your ſorrow, I bear too great a ſhare in the loſs, and am too ſenſibly touched with it myſelf, to be in a condition to diſcourſe you, on this ſubject, or do any thing but mingle my tears with yours. I have loſt in your brother, not only an ingenious and learned acquaintance, that all the world eſteemed; but an intimate and ſincere friend, whom I truly loved, and by whom I was truly loved: and what a loſs that is, thoſe only can be ſenſible, who know how valuable and how ſcarce a true friend is, and how far to be preferred to all other ſorts of treaſure. He has left a ſon, who I know was dear to him, and deſerved to be ſo, as much as was poſſible for one of his age. I cannot think myſelf wholly incapacitated from paying ſome of the affection and ſervice was due, from me to my dear friend, as long as he has a child, or a brother, in the world. If therefore there be any thing at this diſtance, wherein I, in my little ſphere, may be able to ſerve your nephew, or you, I beg you, by the memory of our deceaſed friend, to let me know it, that you may ſee, that one, who loved him ſo well, cannot but be tenderly concerned for his ſon, nor be otherwiſe than I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt affectionate ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR, Dublin, Nov. 26, 1698.

AS you have a true ſenſe of every thing, ſo you were very much in the right, when you tell me in the letter you favoured me with, of the 27th of laſt month, that I needed all the conſolation, could be given one, that had loſt ſo unexpectedly a dear and only brother. His death, indeed, has been a ſevere affliction to me; and though I have you, and many more, that bear a great ſhare with me in my ſorrow; yet this does no way alleviate it, but makes it fall the heavier upon me; for it doubles my grief to think what an unſpeakable loſs he muſt be, to ſo near a relation, that is ſo much lamented by thoſe, that were only acquainted with him. I could not believe that mortality could have made ſo deep an impreſſion on me, whoſe profeſſion leads into ſo thorough a familiarity with it; but I find a paſſionate affection ſurmounts all this, and the "tecum obeam lubens," though it was the expreſſion of a poet, yet I am ſenſible was a very natural one, where we love extremely, and the Indians prove it no leſs in fact. Could any outward circumſtance of his life have increaſed that brotherly affection I had for him, it muſt have been, that he had ſo great a part in your friendſhip, who muſt be allowed to have a nice judgment, in diſcerning the true characters and worth of men. He frequently in his life-time has expreſſed to me, with great complacency of mind, how happy he thought himſelf in your acquaintance, and he ſpoke of you ſeveral times, during his ſhort ſickneſs, with great reſpect. With his own hand he has writ this clauſe in his will: "I give and bequeath to my excellent "friend, John Locke, Eſq; author of the eſſay concerning human underſtanding, the ſum of five pounds, to buy him a ring, in memory of the value "and eſteem I had for him." This I ſhall take care to ſend you in a bill, by Mr. Churchill's hands, when he ſtates the account, as it ſtands between him and my brother. The only child he has left behind him, is under my care and management. I ſhall endeavour to diſcharge this truſt, with all the regard to my brother's memory, and the advantage of his child, I can: but it grieves me to think, that I muſt ſurely fall very much ſhort of that extraordinary application and prudence, his father would have ſhewn in his education; for he made it the chiefeſt, and, indeed, the only buſineſs of his life. I have made his little ſon as ſenſible, as his tender age would allow, how much he is obliged

to

to you, his father's friend, for your earneſt deſire to ſerve him: I wiſh you may both prolong your lives ſo, as he may one day be more thankful and capable of your kindneſs, by profiting much from your good inſtructions and advice. And ſince you ſo earneſtly preſs me, by the memory of your deceaſed friend, to let you know wherein you might oblige me, I'll venture to break the bounds of modeſty ſo far, as to tell you I ſhould be extremely pleaſed to receive from your ſelf, the laſt edition of your incomparable "eſſay of human "underſtanding," and ſuch other pieces of your works as you ſhall think fit; for all which, as I have a great eſteem, ſo I ſhould have a more particular regard, coming from your ſelf, as a private memorial of my dear brother's friend, and of a perſon, for whom I have ſuch an extaordinary value, as I ſhall ever be proud of owning my ſelf,

SIR,

Your truly affectionate and humble ſervant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Dr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, Oates, 25 Jan. 1698-9.

I HAVE been ſlower in returning you my thanks, for the favour of your letter of the 26th of Nov. and the civilities you expreſs to me in it, than perhaps I ſhould have been. But the truth is, my thoughts never look towards Dublin now, without caſting ſuch a cloud upon my mind, and laying ſuch a load of freſh ſorrow on me, for the loſs of my dear friend, your brother, that I cannot without diſpleaſure turn them that way; and when I do it, I find my ſelf very unfit for converſation and the entertainment of a friend. 'Tis therefore not without pain, that I bring my ſelf to write you a ſcurvy letter. What there wants in it of expreſſion, you muſt make up out of the eſteem I have, for the memory of our common friend; and I deſire you not to think my reſpects to you the leſs, becauſe the loſs of your brother makes me not able to ſpeak them as I would.

SINCE you are pleaſed to put ſuch a value on my trifles, I have given order to Mr. Churchill to ſend you my laſt "reply to the biſhop of Worceſter," and the laſt edition of my treatiſe of education, which came forth ſince Mr. Molyneux's death. I ſend this with the more confidence to you, becauſe your brother told me, more than once, that he followed the method I therein offer to the world, in the breeding of his ſon. I wiſh you may find it fit to be continued to him, and uſeful to you in his education; for I cannot but be mightily concerned for the ſon of ſuch a father, and wiſh that he may grow up into that eſteem and character, which his father left behind him amongſt all good men, who knew him. As for my "eſſay concerning human underſtanding," it is now out of print, and if it were not, I think I ſhould make you but an ill compliment, in ſending it you leſs perfect than I deſign it ſhould be in the next edition, in which I ſhall make many additions to it: and when it is as perfect, as I can make it, I know not whether in ſending it you, I ſhall not load you with a troubleſome and uſeleſs preſent. But ſince, by deſiring it, you ſeem to promiſe me your acceptance, I ſhall, as ſoon as it is reprinted, take the liberty to thruſt it into your ſtudy. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and faithful ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

CUM ante dies decem, ad amicum noſtrum dom. Guenellonem ſcripſi, facilè credes quod te, V. C. non inſalutatum præteriverim: verum mei officii, tuorumque beneficiorum ratio poſtulat à me aliam & ſalutandi & gratias agendi methodum, ne aut obitèr, aut negligentèr, id quod mihi maximè incumbit, agere videar. Præſertim cum Guenellonis noſtri ſilentium me incertum reddat, an meæ ad ipſum pervenerint literæ, quas ſane minime vellem intercidiſſe; ne vobis omnibus, quibus tot nominibus obſtrictus ſum, aut parum memor, aut parum gratus appaream, credatiſque paucarum horarum intervallum ex animo meo tot tantorumque beneficiorum deleviſſe memoriam, quam nulla temporis diuturnitas unquam delere valebit. In iis etiam ſignificavi, quam humaniter tuus Vander Key me excepit, quam officiosè adjuvit, quo nomine hic tibi gratias iterum agendas ſuadet viri iſtius ſumma humanitas, quanquam illud parum eſt, ſi cum maximo beneficiorum tuorum cumulò conferatur. Dom. Veenium & optimam illius fœminam, quibus ſalutem verbis non facile reperio, cum nulla ſint, quæ aut illorum beneficia, aut eas quas habeo & ſemper habebo gratias, æquare poſſint; tuis tamen rogo quibus potes verbis maxime ornes. Ut me hic ulterius pergentem detinuit valetudinis ratio, ad dom. Guenellonem ſcripſi. Amœnitas loci, & ſi non deſidia, ſaltem quietis amor, & moleſtiæ, quam in itinere perpeſſus ſum, averſatio adhuc detinet. Deambulationes hic, quibus quotidie prægreſſum ulciſcor otium, valde jucundæ ſunt; ſed longe jucundiores forent, ſi aliquot veſtrum expatiandi haberem ſocios, quod tam mei quam veſtri cauſâ continuo opto, præſertim ſic favente cœlo: nec enim credo ſanitati incommodum eſſet, præſertim dominæ Guenelloni, cujus infirmis pulmonibus & valetudini parum robuſtæ prodeſſet maxime, credo, hic ſerenus & liber aër. Quid agatur apud vos, præſertim noſtrorum reſpectu, ad me perſcribas rogo; præſertim me de tuâ amicorumque noſtrorum valetudine certiorem facias. Sum,

Cleve, 28 Sept.
1685.

Tui obſervantiſſimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

DUAS à te, vir ampliſſime, officii & benevolentiæ plenas hic accepi literas; nec ingratus tibi videbor, ſpero, ſi ad ſingula, prout oportet, non fuſe reſpondeam, temporis anguſtiâ impeditus. Hoc unum enixè rogo, ut des operam, ut de adventu comitis Pembrokiæ per aliquem tuorum amicorum Hagæ degentium certior fiam, tranſmiſſo ea de re, vel ad me, vel ad te, nuntio. Dux copiarum Britannicarum futurus huc adventat, & ſi jam non adeſt, quotidie expectatur. Meâ multum intereſt, ut quam fieri poteſt, maturè illius acceſſum cognoſcam. Hoc cum dixero, ſatis ſcio te omnem curam operamque in eo locaturum, ut quam celerrimè id mihi innoteſcat. De aliis alias, nam tabellarius diſcedit. Amicos meos, meo nomine, quam officioſiſſimè, quæſo, ſalutes. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama,

Cleve, 3 Octob.
1685.

Tui obſervantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

VIR CLARISSIME,

SI duabus tuis amiciſſimis epiſtolis parum, vel nihil, à me reſponſum eſt, id inſtanti tabellarii diſceſſui imputes, rogo, nec credas me tam rebus meis intentum, tuæ vero conſuetudinis & jucundiſſimi juxta ac doctiſſimi ſermonis negligentem, ut omnia de meis negotiis, de tuis gratiſſimis literis nihil dicerem, niſi gravis aliqua ſubeſſet cauſa, cur de adventu comitis Pembrokiæ, quam fieri potuit citiſſimè, certior fierem. Sed jam, quo maximè propendet animus, ad te, vir optime, & ſcripta tua redeo, in quibus primo accuſo amicitiam tuam de me & meritis meis tam magnificè, de veſtris erga me officiis & beneficiis tam exilitèr, loquentem. Hi ſunt, fateor, magnæ & non fictæ amicitiæ aliquando errores, de quibus ideo queror, ut mihi aliter de iiſdem rebus ſentienti ignoſcas, & me credas amicitiæ & gratitudinis dictata ſequi, cum in eâ perſiſtam ſententiâ, aliqua me apud vos accepiſſe beneficia, quibus reſpondere verbis nec poſſim, nec debeam. Et niſi vos omnes in re, contra quam par eſt, voluntati meæ obſtare viderem, tuam ego hic opem implorarem, ut hanc mihi velles eximere ægritudinem, & tuâ authoritate, quâ plurimum apud præſtantiſſimum Veenium polles, huic querelæ tam juſtæ finem imponeres. Si quod videris promittere, (ſed heu ! longum abeſt) his in collibus & ſylvarum umbrâ, tuâ frui daretur & amicorum noſtrorum conſuetudine, crederem ego ſpecimen aliquod aurei rediiſſe ſæculi. Nam virtus, benignitas, pax & fides in ſylvis ſolum degebant, quibus in urbanorum hominum frequentiâ vix datur locus. Sic ceciderunt poetæ : an aliquid aliud nos docent hiſtorici, hoc tempore non eſt mihi inquirendi animus. Gaudeo fratrem tuum convaluiſſe, & ſine graviore aliquo ſymptomate. Locum illum epiſtolæ tuæ, ubi ſcriptorum tuorum memineris, non ſine mœrore legi ; ſentio quantam ex diſceſſu meo fecerim jacturam, & voluptatis & eruditionis, quod non legerim reliqua tua ſcripta, ex quibus non minorem mihi lucem promitterem, quam ex jam lectis, multo cum fructu, percepiſſem. Si vis ut ſincerè & apertè dicam, nullibi reperi opiniones magis dilucide propoſitas, argumentorum rationibus melius ſubnixas, à partium ſtudiis longius remotas, & veritati per omnia magis conformes. Hoc me ex animo proferre dubitare non potes, cum me tam importunè, tam deditâ operâ, criticum tam paucis potuiſſe dantem malignum imprimere patet. Sed me miſerum ! magnam partem fructûs, quam ex iſtâ meâ criticâ ſeveritate mihi propoſui, perdidi. Plurima enim, quæ inter legendum notaveram, non tam tui corrigendi, quam mei informandi, feci animo, de quibus tecum ulteriùs inquirendum ſtatueram. Non eſt igitur, quod mihi tanto ardelioni gratias agas ; ſatis eſt, ſi vehementi nimis inquiſitori, & culpandi anſas ſtudioſè quærenti ignoſcas. Quanquam non malé pictæ tabulæ indicium eſt, ſi quis cogatur in eâ quærere nævos. Utinam quæ ego meditor, eo eſſent ſcripta idiomate, ut tu poteris vices rependere, reperires te ulciſcendi copioſam materiam. Quod ſcribis de critici critico * facile credo ; quamprimum enim attigi iſtum undecimæ epiſtolæ locum, videbar mihi audire obſtrepentium exclamationes, quaſi de religione omnino actum eſſet, nôſti hujuſmodi hominum mores, quominus heterodoxum aliquid poſſint refellere, ne nihil in cauſâ Dei agere videantur, tanto magis clamoribus, incuſationibus, calumniis inſurgunt. Fateor argumentum iſtud modeſtè proponendum fuiſſe, & cautè tractandum, ſed tamen ejuſmodi eſt, ut mereatur tandem ſummâ cum acribiâ diſcuti. Si omnia, quæ in ſacris libris continentur, pro theopneuſtis paritèr habenda, ſine omni diſcretione, magna ſane præbetur philoſophis de fide & ſinceritate noſtrâ dubitandi anſa. Si è contrario quædam pro ſcriptis pure humanis habenda : ubi conſtabit ſcripturarum divina autoritas, ſine quâ corruit religio Chriſtiana ? quodnam erit criterium ? quis modus ? adeo ut in hâc quæſtione, ſi quâ aliâ, maxime fundamentali, ſummâ cum cautione, prudentiâ, modeſtiâ agendum, præſertim ab eo cui, uti credo, jam non nimiùm favent eccleſiaſticæ poteſtates & theologo-

rum

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* Sentimens de quelques theologiens d'Hollande ſur l'hiſtoire critique du P. Simon.

rum claſſes. Sed ſigna cecinerunt, & expectandus eſt conflictus. Ego, qui ubique ſolam quæro veritatem, eamque, quantum capere poſſum, ſive inter orthodoxos reperio, ſive heterodoxos, pariter amplector. Fateor aliqua eſſe in eo ſcripto, quæ mihi plenè non ſatisfaciunt, alia quibus reſpondere non poſſum; de illis ab authore libenter reſponſum acciperem, ſi commodum exiſtimas, de his tuum quæro judicium.

I. Ni fallor, author ſæpius utitur contra apoſtolorum continuam inſpirationem hoc argumento, quod ſcil. multa ab illis dicta invenimus, quæ ſine auxilio Spiritûs Sancti dici poterant; quod tamen conceſſum, contra divinam ſacræ ſcripturæ authoritatem & θεοπνευστίαν nihil concludit. Aſſeritur in ſ. ſcripturâ conſtans per omnia & infallibilis veritas. Si quid autem dicit ſanctus Paulus Act. xxiii. (V. p. 241,) quod cœlitus ipſi revelatum non erat, id nihil detrahit certitudini ſcripturæ, quandoquidem ejuſmodi res eſſet, quam certò & infallibilitèr cognoſcere potuit, ſine revelatione divinâ. Quæ ſenſibus & certâ cognitione apoſtolis conſtabant, non opus erat revelatione, ut earum hiſtoria, ab apoſtolis tradita, pro indubitatâ haberetur. Itaque metuo ne homines ſuſpicentur hoc argumentum potius quæſitum, quam è re natum.

II. Explicatio illius promiſſi Joan. xvi. 13. quam fusè tradit p. 256. nequaquam mihi videtur poſſe accommodari apoſtolo Paulo, ſi quis attentè legat illius hiſtoriam Act. ix. & ſeq. Unde enim ille evangelii hoſtis, &, ut ipſe alicubi fatetur, ignarus, poterat tam cito devenire myſteriorum evangelii interpres & præco, ſine inſpiratione ſupernaturali & divinâ? V. Act. ix. 19, 20.

Hæc aliqua eorum, quæ mihi inter legendum parum ſatisfecerunt; alia fuerunt, quorum oblitus ſum: ſed quid ad hæc dicat author libentèr ſcirem. Verum cum plurima alia ſunt quæ videntur omnimodam ſ. ſcripturæ infallibilitatem & inſpirationem in dubium vocare, quibus fateor me non poſſe reſpondere, enixè rogo ut quid ea de re ſentias, mihi explicare non graveris: multa enim, quæ in libris canonicis occurrebant, jamdiu ante tractatûs hujus lectionem, dubium me & anxium tenuerunt, & gratiſſimum mihi facies, ſi hunc mihi adimas ſcrupulum. Cum ſummâ, quæſo, amicitiæ, gratitudinis & exiſtimationis ſignificatione hanc incluſam hoſpiti meo optimo tradas. Illiuſque & tuam & Guenellonis fœminam, meo nomine ſalutes, reliquoſque noſtros omnes. Vale, & longas epiſtolas ſcribenti ignoſcas, nam tecum loqui haud facile deſiſto.

Cleve, 6 Oct. Tibi devotiſſimus,
1685.

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch, Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

QUANQUAM longo uſu ad alia hujus vitæ incommoda occaluit aliquatenus mens mea, à conſuetudine tamen tuâ, vir doctiſſime & amicorum optime, me divelli, ſine magnâ animi ægritudine, pati non poſſum. Tu enim me eruditione tuâ inſtruere, judicio confirmare, conſilio dirigere, & amicitiâ & comitate ſolari ſolebas, quotidianum curarum mearum perfugium: ſed ita plerumque mecum agi ſolet, ut ubi & quibuſcum eſſe maxime cupio, refragante fortunâ, rarò permiſſum ſit. Devorandum igitur, ut potero, hujus abſentiæ tædium, quod frequentibus tuis literis lavare debes, jam præſertim dum tempus & otium tibi permittunt adverſarii illi, qui domi ſuæ prælia tibi meditantur. Hoc te in quo jam ſumus ſæculo expectâſſe non dubito. Si candidè, & ut veritatis amici argumentorum pondere tecum agant, tibi ſcio non diſplicebunt, qui veritatem amplecteris, undecunque venientem. Sin iracundè, veteratoriè, malignè, paucis placebunt, niſi ſui ſimilibus; quicquid demum acciderit, hoc certum eſt, quod tu illæſus, victorque abibis, quia veritatem quæris, non victoriam. Sed ut verum fatear, ego à rixoſis hujuſmodi diſputatoribus non multum expecto, qui in alienis convellendis, non ſuis adſtruendis, quærunt gloriam. Artificis &

laudem merentis eſt ædificare. Sed pugnaces hoſce ſibi & curis ſuis relinquamus. Si quid in B——— placidius & liberalius reperiſti, gaudeo; pacificorum vellem quotidiè augeri numerum, præſertim inter reformatos, inter quos nimium quotidiè ſerunter lites. Inimicus homo facit hoc. Alterius ſunt indolis amici, quibus hic, te favente, familiaritèr utor. Uterque Grævius ſalutem plurimam tibi dicit. Verrynium ſæpius quæſitum nondum domi reperi; hujus ſeptimanæ dies aliquot extra urbem tranſegit; cum domum redierit, non diu inſalutatum permittam. Vale cum tuâ tuiſque, & me ama

Utrecht, 11 Oct. 1686.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,
J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir reverendiſſime, amiciſſime, colendiſſime,

SINE fati & ineluctabili prædeſtinationis vi experior in me ipſo, quomodo peccandi initia quandam ſenſim afferunt ſecum peccandi neceſſitatem. Literis tuis amiciſſimis 9. & 14. Febr. datis reſpondendi, quamprimum eas acceperam, anſam mihi eripuit rei alicujus agendæ importuna tum feſtinatio. Sed cum, peracto cum eo quocum mihi res erat negotio, jam deceſſus illius in Angliam mihi fecerit otium, ſatis ad literas ſcribendas vacare mihi videor, nondum tamen nactus ſum eam, quâ aliàs uſus ſum, ſcribendi libertatem. In hoc ſilentii crimen rebus aliis impeditus, quaſi inſcius incidi miſer, quod jam tempore auctum penè confirmat pudor. Sic delicta delictis cumulamus ſemel irretiti, & modeſti pariter & pervicaces in vitiis ſuis indureſcunt. Vides quo in ſtatu jam ſum, & niſi credere me vis omnia certa & immutabili neceſſitate evenire, negligentiæ huic meæ ignoſcere debes, ut redeat mihi antiqua mea apud te parrheſia. De Germanâ patrum theologiâ idem tecum planè ſentio. Maxima ſemper fuit, ſemperque erit Germanorum natio, & pauci ſunt in tantâ ſcriptorum multitudine, qui non videntur eo ſub aëre nati. Sed me hâc de re à tuâ opinione non eſt alienum, non multum miraberis. Aliquid amplius fateor eſt, quod ego numeros tuos ſecretos notaverim, & quod tu hoc obſervaveris. Cave tibi & ignoſce quamprimum ſilentio meo, ne loquacitate tibi magis ſim moleſtus, vides me in ſecretiora tua penetrare. "Scire volunt ſecreta "domus" — & nôſti quod ſequitur, — "atque inde timeri." Magicæ hæ metuendæ ſunt artes nimis perſpicaces, quibus ego non parum mihi placeo, quandoquidem ex tam jucundo tam laudabili enaſcuntur fonte, & id mihi teſtatum faciunt, quod ante omnia cupio. Scio jam mentem meam à tuâ harmonicâ quâdam ſympathiâ regi planè & gubernari. Sic me orthodoxum ſemper fore certum eſt. O! utinam eodem modo & ſciens fieri poſſem. Ut enim verum fatear, inſcius tuis numeris uſus ſum, ſed gaudeo me prodiiſſe tenus: vellem & in aliis rebus hoc mihi acciderit. Agnoſco genium tuum, cui me ducendum totum libenter traderem. Gratias ego quam maximas, pro omni tuâ curâ & operâ, in literis, in libris, & aliis meis rebus locatâ. Utinam daretur & vices rependere. Vale, & me ama

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Rotterodami, Mar. 8 16) (87

Tui Amantiſſimum,
J. LOCKE.

PHLPPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

QUID illo facies homine, qui nec cantare par eſt, nec reſpondere paratus? Quid juvat libertate à te ipſo conceſsâ uti, ſine viribus, ad ea quæ decent præſtanda, neceſſariis? Jucundiſſima tua & floribus undique referta epiſtola ad ea, quæ ſcribis, iterum iterumque legenda maxime invitat; ut verò calamum ſumam, & aliquid meo more reſcribam valde dehortatur & deterret. Etſi enim grati ſit animi, argutis & facetis amici ſermonibus aliquid reſpondere, imprudentis tamen eſt & parum pudici, ornatis incondita, urbanis agreſtia, pretioſis vilia, vel in ipſo literarum commercio reponere. Fruſtra igitur à te libertate donatus ſum, munus ſane in ſpecie magnificum, ſed niſi aliquid de tuo etiam impertire poſſis ingenio, plane inutile; fruſtra enim accuſabis me tanquam in libertate tardum, cui tam parata & juſta ſit defenſio hebetem non debere eſſe loquacem, nec decere χάλκεια χρυσείων, ut ut enim eo modo liber ſim, parum certe videbor liberalis. Novi animum tuum, novi ingenium, & quam paratus ſis omnia, ab amicâ voluntate profecta, in bonam partem interpretari; hoc boni omnia conſulentis non parva laus eſt, ſed male interim ſcribentis peſſima excuſatio. Ea tamen fiducia fretus, en te iterum compellare auſim, melioribus ſtudiis vacantem; ſi quid in eo pecco, nolo incuſare vim à fatis illatam, cauſam ſane, ſi qua ſit, omnium maxime improbam, ſed te ipſum, qui ab omni vi & coactione longiſſime abes, tua humanitas, tua benevolentia, tui lepores cogunt ut agnoſcam, & ut fatear me tibi gratias habere, etiamſi referre non poſſim. Si his conditionibus mecum agere velis, en tibi ad legendas tuas epiſtolas paratiſſimum & cupidiſſimum: ad meas reſcribendas, etiamſi cupiam, tardum, & ſane tam neceſſitate quam officio tardum. Tu cum iſta excuſatione uti non potes, & maturè ſcribas rogo, & abundè. Id ni facias, audies me graviter querentem, te non præſtare & amico & egenti id quod potes, & id quod debes, quia potes. Si jam inciperem iniquo jure communem inter nos colere amicitiam, hæc jam proponere vix animum inducerem; ſed cum hac lege à primordiis amicitiæ ſemper viximus, ut tu properè & cumulatè omnia officia benevolentiæ præſtares, ego vel in agnoſcendo parcus & lentus eſſem, pati jam debes mores meos quantumvis malos, vetuſtate jam confirmatos, in quibus nihil novum, nihil inſolens reperies. Vides quocum tibi res eſt; in hâc tamen culpâ non prorſus ingratus videri vellem, ſi id in ſe aliquid gratitudinis habet, ut qui eam, quâ ſe deſtitutum, fatetur, in te miratur & amplectitur virtutem: in ea quæro mihi patrocinium, quod mihimet præſtare non poſſum. Sed de me ſatis, ad majora nunc venio tua, ſcil. typographo haud parum iraſcor quod tuum, tam utile, tam doctum opus adeo procraſtinet, ſpero jam accedente ſole operarum diligentia incaleſcit. De Epiſcopii etiam tractatu gaudeo: de alio quod poſtulas tecum coram agam, ut enim quod res eſt fatear, ſcripſeram prius ad te, niſi ſperaveram antehac me Amſtelodamum acceſſurum, ut jucundiſſimâ illic amicorum conſuetudine fruerer imprimis tuâ, ſine quâ hi ipſi veris non amœnè tranſeunt dies. Vale, vir præſtantiſſime, &, ut facis, me ama,

Rotterodami, &, ut facis, me ama Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,
1687.

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

NONNE ſatis tibi eſt, vir clariſſime, Judæum viciſſe*, niſi eodem opere inter Chriſtianos, tui amantiſſimum tibi etiam prorſus ſubjuges? Diverſis fateor armis nos aggrederis, illum argumentis, me beneficiis obſtrictum tenes, è quibus ille ſe vix credo expediet; ego certo de me pronunciare poſſum, me tibi ſemper obnoxium futurum. Quid enim rependam viro, cui non ſufficit me ſuis cumulare beneficiis, niſi inſuper me dignum reddere conetur, dum ſuas ſibi laudes ipſe detrahit, quibus me ornatum velit; & in earum partem mihi non debitam venire? Tu fateor amicâ tuâ urbanitate facilius me, quocunque velis, circumducere poſſis, quam ille alter ſua quemquam metaphyſica. Sed ne expectes tamen, ut unquam eo uſque me deducas, ut concedam iſtam feſtinationem, quâ exemplar ad me primum omnium miſiſti, mihi quovis jure deberi. Totum hoc beneficium & feſtinationis & muneris tuæ benevolentiæ &

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* De veritate religionis Chriſtianæ amica collatio cum erudito Judæo. (Iſ. Orobio.)

amicitiæ acceptum refero. Tu forſan, prout tua eſt humanitas, aliquo modo æquum putâſti ei primo omnium donare, quem noveras debere, ex jam deguſtato opere, vehementiſſimè omnium expetere hanc diſſertationem, & deſiderare redintegratam ſibi denuò legendi voluptatem. Hujuſmodi meritum facile agnoſco, nec cuiquam donare poteras hoc volumen, cui æque exoptatum, æque acceptum eſſe potuit, ac mihi. Triduum illud & amplius, uti mones, nemo videbit. Laudo ego iſtam tuam erga Judæum comitatem; quanquam, ni fallor, quando perlegerit, vix credet ille, ſibi hoc munere tantum factum eſſe beneficium, ut gaudeat tam maturè hunc librum in manus ſuas perveniſſe. De eo, quod in calce epiſtolæ adjicis brevi plura. Dolui te per triduum mihi tam prope tam proculque fuiſſe. Sed patientius ferendum, quod amicum habeam, quem plures amant. Optimam tuam uxorem, collegas, reliquoſque amicos noſtros, officioſiſſimè quæſo meo nomine ſalutes. Vale, & me ama

Rotterod. 11 Sept. Tui amantiſſimum,
1687. J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

NIMIS ſeverus profectò es, vir clariſſime, tuorum erga amicos officiorum exactor, alienæ vero negligentiæ valde immemor dum te cunctationis inſimulas, apud hominem uti nôſti omnium mortalium maxime cunctatorem. Nolo igitur apud te obtinere axioma illud, quo ultimas tuas male auſpicatus es, " nihil deterius amico cunctatore," ſive de te ipſo cogites, ſive (uti aliquando meliore jure evenire poſſit) de me. Ego enim lentus admodum, & tamen inter eos, qui amicitiam cum fide colunt, non ultimum mihi locum vendico. Si hoc aliquanto arrogantius dictum ſit, tu ipſe videas. Tu alienas laudes mihi tribuis, & ſi illis ſemel mihimet placeo, ubi tandem me ſiſtam? Iſtud ſynagogæ decretum ſatis, ut mihi videtur, à Judæis aſtutè promulgatum, ut eorum hic hyperaſpiſtes aliquid habeat, quod aliis dicat, etiamſi nihil habeat quod tibi reſpondeat: è conſulto hoc factum credo, ut ſalvo honore & quantum fieri poſſit cauſa, poſſit ex arenâ decedere, tua enim argumentandi methodus, an naſutulis quibuſdam Chriſtianis, & nihil niſi ſua probantibus, placebit, neſcio; vix credo placebit Judæis, qui ea ſe magis implicatos ſentient, quam fieri ſolet ab iis, qui Chriſtianam religionem ad ſuum modulum exigentes, vix in ea reperirent, quod ſolidè Judæis opponere poſſent. Ego à quo librum tuum primum accepi (nam ita me cumulas, ut diſtinctione opus ſit) tam incommodâ uſus ſum valetudine, ut illius lectioni vacare adhuc non potuerim. Sed jam indies convaleſcens, ſpero me non diu cariturum eâ voluptate. Interim gratias tibi ago quam maximas, & jam ſpero credes mihi ſatisfactum duplici hoc tributo, quod illud Judæi ſcriptum, ſive characteres reſpicias, ſive latinitatem, plane barbarum, olim perlegerim; nam de tuo ſi quid dicas, cogitare debes & profiteri, quantum ego per te profecerim. Ita enim, ſi verum dicere liceat, ſi res habet. Sed nolo ulterius ea de re tecum contendere, ne tertium mihi librum mittas. Literas D. Clerici, quas tuis incluſas memoras, nuſpiam reperio; ſpero eas Amſtelodami repertum iri & brevi me accepturas. Illum, tuam, tuos, noſtros, quæſo meo nomine ſalutes, & me ames, vir ampliſſime,

Rotterodami, 23 Sept. Tui amantiſſimum,
1687. J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

INTER cardiaca, & uti noſtri vocant, reſtaurantia, nihil tam efficax reperio quam amicorum benevolentiam. Tuis ultimis literis me maximè recreatum ſentio. Jam diu prioribus tuis humanitatis plenis reſpondiſſem, ſi quid certum

certum de valetudine meâ pronuntiare auſus fuiſſem; ſubinde enim, cum me jam ſanum ſalvumque credideram, recidivam paſſus, inter ſpem morbumque diu verſatus, diſtuli ad te literas dare, donec certo aliquot dierum experimento me prorſus convaluiſſe conſiderem. Hæc cunctatio ultimas tuas amicitiæ plenas tibi expreſſit literas, & mihi attulit remedium utilius eo & jucundius, quod mihi à D^{no} Veenio per Helmontium miſiſti, ſumma cum cura & feſtinatione; quanquam fruſtra, famula enim per negligentiam everſa phiola incluſum effudit liquorem. Sed jam ſpero non amplius opus erit remediis, quamvis ſubinde lævia quædam ſentio ſymptomata, quæ ſpero non recrudeſcentis mali eſſe minas, ſed abeuntis reliquias. Hæc ad te ſigillatim ſcribere non vereor, quia de valetudine mea ita ſolicitus es, ut alio modo tuæ humanitati magis gratè reſpondere non poſſim. Gaudeo vehementer te pauco ſanguine redemiſſe quod tibi impendebat malum. Spero te ea cautione & maturè ſemper uſurum: quamprimum aliquam ſentis gravitatem corporis, præſertim capitis vel ventriculi, ad venæ ſectionem tibi ſtatim fugiendum. Hoc ni facias, de te ſano magis metuendum erit, quam de me ægroto. Nos valetudinarii quoddam genus ſumus hypocritarum, qui eo non proficiſcimur, quo ſæpius videmur tendere. Multum tibi, collegis cæteriſque amicis Amſtelodamenſibus debeo, quibus mea ſanitas ita cordi eſt; nec ſperare poſſum vitam mihi ſatis diuturnam fore, ut tantam benevolentiam, tuam vero imprimis, prout res meretur, poſſim agnoſcere; hoc velim tibi perſuaſum habeas me, quantulus quantulus ſum, totum tuum eſſe. Salutes, quæſo, quam humillimè, meo nomine. Veenioſque, Guenelloſque, & collegas omnes, illiſque dicas mihi eos tam eximios eſſe medicos, ut magis mihi proſint illorum vota, quam aliorum remedia. Lectiſſimam tuam fœminam, quam officioſiſſime etiam ſalutes. Vale, & ego ut valeam, uti facis me amando pergeſacere.

Rotterod. 20 Octob. 1687.

Tui, cum amore, obſervantiſſimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

CUM nihil adeo corporis ſanitatem foveat & reſtauret, ac animi tranquillitas, non dubitare potes quin jucundiſſimæ tuæ literæ, amoris & benevolentiæ tuæ teſtes, in hac, in qua diu verſatus ſum, infirma mutabilique valetudine, mihi maximo fuerint ſolatio. Aliorum medicamentorum me ſæpe pertæſum, reficiebant illa tua ſemper grata, ſemper ſuaviſſima, & cum alia nauſeabundus reſpuerem, ſalutifera illa ſale tuo Attico condita appetentius ſemper deſideravi. Cave igitur ut credas te mihi epiſtolis tuis creâſſe moleſtiam, niſi ſimul credere velis ingratam fore convaleſcentiam, cujus tu amore, cura, ſtudio tuo maximus fuiſti fautor, nec deſtiterunt tantæ amicitiæ indicia decumbentem me aliquando erigere. Si aliquanto tardius hæc cum gratiarum actione agnoſco, nôſti hominem, nec expectare debes morbum me expeditiorem reddidiſſe. Quanquam, ſi hæc tibi juſta ſatis videri poſſit cauſa, aliquantulum procraſtinavi, ut confirmatæ ſanitatis nuncium tibi poſſem mittere, & mihi tecum gratulari convaleſcentiam, quæ tibi adeo curæ & cordi fuit. Doleo Orobium nobis tam cito ereptum, non quod in eo amiſeris triumphi ornamentum, ſcio enim te, modo veritas vincat, de vincendi gloria parum eſſe ſolicitum, quamvis in illo vivente aliqua veritatis confeſſio non diſplicuiſſet: ſed deſtinaveram in proximis ad te literis petere exactam eorum quæ in inquiſitione paſſus eſt hiſtoriam. Ad hoc me impulit narratio cujuſdam Galli, quæ nuper prodiit de iis, quæ ipſe, etſi Catholicus, paſſus eſt ab inquiſitoribus Luſitanis, in Goâ Indiæ. Quæ à Judæo noſtro confirmari omnia, vel ſuperari poſſe, facile crediderim. Quandoquidem vero ille jam ad ſilentes migraverit, rogo ut tu quicquid iſtius rei tenes memoriâ, velis chartis conſignare, ne intercidat quantum nobis reſtat methodi iſtius evangelicæ teſtimonium. Doleo me non interfuiſſe collegarum convivio, non quod oſtreis caruerim, in hujuſmodi enim conventibus nihil mihi minus placet quam pars taciturna, & ejuſmodi convivarum ſermo aliquid magis ſapidum & jucundius ſalſum habet, quam ipſa oſtrea Gaurana. Salutes eos, quæſo, meo nomine, uti & optimam tuam fœminam, totamque Veenii & Guellonis familiam. Ante duas vel tres ſeptimanas ad D^{m} le Clerc ſcripſi, unaque chartas aliquas miſi; an recte acceperit aveo ſcire, jam enim iſtis rebus vacare incipio: ipſum meo etiam nomine ſalutes.

Vale, & ut ipſe valeam, amando & ſcribendo effice.

Rotterd. 30 Nov. Tui ſtudioſiſſimus,
1687.
J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ſpectatiſſime,

QUANTUMVIS obfirmato animo minas meas non expaveſcis, ſenties tamen aliquando, datâ occaſione, quid ſit irritâſſe crabronem, in eo enim genere, merito numerare poſſit provocatuſque iratuſque amicus. Nondum vidi acta illa Lipſienſia, ubi tu coram ſiſteris, ſed euge; jam ſalva res eſt, incepi, de iſtius operis merito pretioque aliquomodo dubitare, quod nemo ex ſyſtematicis illis reperiret in eo tractatu quod diſpliceret, nihil enim argumenti aut boni aut novi deberet continere, nec quod ſupra vulgus ſaperet, ſi vulgo placeret. Sed jam vapulas laudo, nec vibices metuo. Benignior his pædagogis ſi non voluntas, ſaltem vis eſt, quam ut eorum virgæ vulnera vel cicatrices relinquant. Conditiones ſubſcriptionum plus ſemel in Angliam miſi, ſed hactenus reſponſi nihil accepi: ego data occaſione iterum & ad alios mittam, quo ſucceſſu neſcio; hæc enim & hujuſmodi, niſi præſto adſis & hæſitantes impellas, immemores moneas, plerumque negliguntur. Quod de Judæo narras, valde placet: brevi habebitis, ſpero, quæ ſufficient ad juſtum volumen, in quo ſanctitas Officii ad plenum depicta, omnium oculos animoſque in ſui admirationem arripiat. Dolendum plane eſſet tot & tanta ſanctitatis exempla in tenebris latere; prodeant tandem in lucem, ut quibus fundamentis ſtabilitur & propagatur fides, tandem innoteſcat. De MS. codice ego nihil dico, antè biduum ea de re ſcripſit ad te Furleius noſter. Inde conjicio te aliquando Wetſtenium convenire, eaque occaſione has incluſas illi tradendas ad te mittere auſim. Scripſi ad illum ante quindecim dies aliquoſque miſi ad illum libros, alioſque poſtulavi, & feſtinatò ad me mittendo, ſed nihil audio, nihil reſpondet. Eoque magis ſilentium ejus me ſolicitum habet, quod ſimul miſeram duo volumina Garcilaſſi de la Vega D^{o} Veenio (cum epiſtola, quam ad eum ſcripſi) reddenda, quæ olim ab eo mutuo acceperam. Salutes illum, rogo, meo nomine reliquoſque collegas. Vale, vir amiciſſime, & me ama, ut facis,

Rotterd. 22, Jun. Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,
1688.
J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ſpectatiſſime,

SIVE iratum me ſive gratum exiſtimari vellem, ſentio me jam nimis diu tacuiſſe. Amicum amico reſpondiſſe, crabronem irritanti vindictam retuliſſe citius oportuit. Sed ego neſcio qua ingenii tarditate nec amici nec inimici partes recte ago. An tibi hoc modo placere poſſim neſcio, me Slado noſtro (ſi cum eo ita agerem) valde diſpliciturum ſat ſcio, qui hujuſmodi lentulos æquo animo ferre non poteſt. Editionem MS. * de quo cum Wetſtenio tranſigebas, dolendum plane eſt non procedere, & metuo, ſi jam non procedat illius impreſſio, ne intereat tam luculentum hiſtoriæ monumentum; quod ſane multis, quæ jam omnium manibus verſantur, libris longe anteferendum exiſtimo. Multa cum voluptate legi Clerici noſtri tentamen, ut ipſe vocat, de antiqua Hebræorum poeſi: non parum lucis inde affulſurum pſalmis, reliquiſque quæ in S. S. extant ſcriptis metricis, minime dubito. Totum pſalmorum librum, ſibi ita reſtitutum, edi optarem: incites illum rogo, ut quantum, per alia negotia liceat, hoc opus feſtinet. Cuidam meo amico in literis Hebræis verſatiſſimo cum hoc dixiſſem, credere non potuit; exemplo perſuaſus jam credet. Plura habui dicenda, ſed adventus amici ex Anglia hic me interpellat, adeo ut in aliud tempus ſint rejicienda. Vale & me ama

Rotterd. 30. Julii, Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,
1688.

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

FAMULUS meus, Amſtelodamum res ſuas agens profecturus, meam non prius rogavit veniam, quam inſtaret deceſſus, adeo ut ad te ſcribendi tempus non dabatur. Doleo profecto adeo labefactatam in familia tua valetudinem. De morbo & curatione illius abſens nihil audeo pronunciare, nec quidem opus eſt; cum tam amicos doctoſque paratos tibi habeas medicos. Unum tamen permitte ut moneam, ſi, uti ſperare videris, erumpant tandem variolæ, velim ut in medicamentis aſſumendis & ſtragulorum operimentis caveatur regimen calidius, unde in ſanguine excitatur fervor, non ſine magno ægroti malo & diſcrimine. Hoc vel invito extorſit mihi meus in te tuoſque amor & expertus loquor. Tuorum valetudo eo ſpero in ſtatu eſt, ut de aliis loqui liceat, præſertim tibi haud ingratis. Furleius noſter Principi ante deceſſum adfuit & coram allocutus eſt, ut illius opem contra perſecutionem hac in provincia, ſi unquam alias, certe jam intempeſtive cœptam, efflagitaret. Rem ita urſit, ut placuerit principi epiſtolam ſcribere Bailivio de Kenmerland, qui Foecke Floris miniſtrum eccleſiæ Mennonitarum juſſerat ex autoritate ſynodi, intra octiduum ſolum vertere, & ea ex ditione exire, ni mallet carcere includi. Hiſtoriam iſtius Foecke Floris ex aliis, quam ex me, melius cognoſces. Furleio enim noſtro ante hanc cauſam ne de facie quidem notus. Sed communem chriſtianorum rem in ejus libertati agi ratus, cauſam illius prono animo ſuſcepit, & ſtrenue egit; ſi enim abfuiſſet παῤῥησία, nihil promoviſſet. Hujus epiſtolæ ſufflamine repreſſum audio in præſens perſecutorum fervorem. Si quid de hac re amplius inter Mennonitas veſtros tibi innotuerit, fac nos certiores. Vale, vir optime, cum integra tua familia: Sic animitus opto,

Rotterd. 24 Nov. Tui ſtudioſiſſimus,
1688.

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

QUOD imprimis hinc decedens deſideravi, ut ſcil. te, Vir ampliſſime, reliquoſque amicos Amſtelodamenſes amplecti daretur, in eo omnia quaſi deditâ operâ mihi maxime adverſari videntur. Primo glacies & feſtinatio, deinde in ipſo itinere pluvia intercepit. Die enim ſabbati ultimo hinc Hagam profecturum, ut tibi nobilem fœminam ad Amſtelodamum etiam cogitantem compellarem,

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* Hiſtoria inquiſitionis.

compellarem, imber ſatis violentus me Delphos tranſeuntem perfudit, quod incommodum Hagæ etiam paſſus ſum. Ita totus madidus acceſſi ad illam, quæ nocturnum illud iter, quo ad vos ea nocte perrecturus eram, tanquam ſanitati meæ nimis periculoſum non diſſuaſit ſolum ſed & prohibuit. Sic pluvia illa quæ jam à duobus menſibus pene unica, quaſi deſignato unius dieculæ vobiſcum ſpem, qua hinc geſtiens deceſſi, prorſus abſtulit. In aula omnia tam parata ad abitum, tam moræ impatientia inveni, ut primo favente vento principem claſſem conſcenſurum nemo dubitet. Iſtud deſtinatum iter ad vos incepi, non tam vento, quam principis religioni confiſus, quam vix credidi die dominica velle iter ingredi, etiamſi ventus orientalis invitaret; ſed jam nihil aliud expectatur, quam ventus navigationi idoneus, quo ſimul ad naves convolandum erit. Heri veſperi huc redii, & quamdiu hic langueſcendum ſit neſcio; hoc certo ſcio, nihil moleſtius eſſe quam ad faſtidium uſque laborare otio, & tamen ad id, quod maxime velles, tempus non ſuppetere. Quam vellem mihi dare apud vos horam unam, vel alteram! vultus, ſermo, amplexus amicorum neſcio quid habent, quo ſe explere anima mea anxie deſiderat. Quo vos in me ſitis animo, quo ego in vos nullum credo eſt dubium, nec augeri poſſet mutua noſtrûm amicitia valedicentium alloquio: opto tamen videre, dextras jungere, ac me iterum vobis totum tradere, cujus totus ſum. Hoc ſi mihi jam non conceſſum fuerit, alias ſpero futurum: non enim de me tam male ominor, ut nullam credam fore diem, quæ nos iterum conjungat. Multa ſunt, quæ hanc navigandi occaſionem non mihi omittendam ſuadent: amicorum expectatio, res meæ privatæ jam per aliquot annos neglectæ, piratarum frequentia, & parum tutus alias tranſitus, & nobiliſſimæ fœminæ ſive cura, ſive amicitia, quacum iturus ſum. Velim hoc tibi perſuadeas, me hic aliam patriam reperiſſe & pene dixeram parentes, quod enim in illo nomine cariſſimum eſt, benevolentiam, amorem, charitatem, quæ ad conciliandos homines conjungendoſque fortiora ſanguine habent vincula, apud vos abunde expertus ſum. Habeo hic amicos ſemper mihi colendos, imo & inviſendos, ſi res & dies patiatur. Hoc certò ſcio, quod decedo cum animo revertendi ut cum illis ſolidum aliquando & illibatum capiam gaudium, quorum humanitate effectum eſt, ut à meis abſens & in communi omnium mœrore nullam ſentirem animi ægritudinem. Te quod attinet (vir omnium optime, amiciſſime, dilectiſſime) cum tuam cogito doctrinam, animum, mores, candorem, ſuavitatem, amicitiam, ſatis in te uno reperi (ut cæteros taceam) quo mihi ſemper gratulari potero optime locatam & fructuoſiſſimam aliquot annorum apud vos moram: nec ſcio an aliquod mea vita tempus æque jucundum habitura ſit, certe magis proficuum nondum habuit. Deus O. M. te omni felicitatum genere cumulatum, familiam, patriam incolumes conſervet & cuſtodiat, ut diu ſis eccleſiæ & omnibus bonis utilis. De meo erga te animo qualis jam ſit, qualis futurus ſit, nihil addam, cum meum ſpero amorem non magis mihi notum & certum eſſe quam tibi, cujus in me amicitiam tot beneficiis teſtatum habeo, ut quicquid de ea literis tuis jucundiſſimis dicas, jam jam penitus perſuaſo facile perſuadebis. Optimæ tuæ uxori liberiſque, Veeniis, Guenelloniſque omnibus plurimam ſalutem dicas; te mihi apud illos advocatum & patronum relinquo, ne quid gravius ſtatuant in hominem tot beneficiis devinctum, ſi non fugientem, minus urbane certe, quam oportuit, valedicentem. Sed ita ſunt fere res humanæ, ut nil præter voluntatem in noſtra ſit poteſtate, ea totus ad eos feror, ea ſingulos amplector, quæ mihi nunquam ad beneficiorum memoriam, ad grati animi confeſſionem defutura eſt. Vale vir colendiſſime, & me, ut facis, ama

Rotterd. 16 Feb.
1689.

Tui in perpetuum amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

VEREOR ne nomine negligentiæ tibi ſuſpectus ſim, quod tam diuturno utor ſilentio, quod nec tuis meritis, nec meæ voluntati, nec noſtræ denique amicitiæ omnino convenit. Scias velim me cum ſolo non animum mutâſſe, qui tibi idem qui olim eſt, & ubicunque terrarum fuero, idem futurus eſt amoris & reverentiæ plenus. Sed à meo in patriam reditu, amicorum vel inviſentium, vel viſendorum conſuetudo, vel rerum mearum hinc inde diſperſarum ad præſentem uſum quærendi & colligendi labor, vel aliqualis ad remp. (abſit verbo invidia) ſi non acceſſio, ſaltem ne privatum otium publicis negotiis commutarem, cura & excuſatio, & quod graviſſimum omnium eſt, maligno hujus urbis fumo labefactata valetudo ita me occupatum tenuit, ut vix momentum mihi vacui temporis relictum fuerit, ex quo primum huc appulerim. Prima, qua in terram deſcendi, hora, ad D^{m} Guenellonem, feſtinante calamo & vernacula lingua, inter ſalutantium turbam ſcripſi, ut per eum te, cæteroſque amicos meos Amſtelodamenſes, ſalutarem. Quicquid enim lætum jucundumque hic reperi me monuit aliquid illic relictum eſſe, quod non cum minore voluptate recordarer, quam quod hic oculis uſurparem. Burnetus Epiſcopus Saliſburienſis deſignatur. In Parliamento de tolerantia jam agi cœptum eſt ſub duplice titulo, comprehenſio ſcil. & indulgentia. Prima eccleſiæ pomœria extendenda ſignificat, ut ablata cæremoniarum parte plures comprehendat. Altera tolerantiam ſignificat eorum qui, oblatis conditionibus eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ſe unire vel nolunt vel non poſſunt. Quam laxa vel ſtricta hæc futura ſint, vix dum ſcio, hoc ſaltem ſentio, clerum epiſcopalem his aliiſque rebus, quæ hic aguntur, non multum favere, an cum ſuo vel reip. commodo, ipſi videant. De ſolutione, de qua ad te ante diſceſſum ſcripſi, expecto à te aliquid quotidie. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama

Lond. 12. Mar.
1689.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir doctiſſime,

TOLERANTIAM apud nos jam tandem lege ſtabilitam te ante hæc audiiſſe, nullus dubito. Non ea forſan latitudine, qua tu & tui ſimiles, veri & ſine ambitione vel invidia chriſtiani, optarent. Sed aliquid eſt prodire tenus. His initiis jacta ſpero ſunt libertatis & pacis fundamenta, quibus ſtabilenda olim erit Chriſti eccleſia. Nulli à cultu ſuo penitus excluduntur, nec pœnis objiciuntur, niſi Romani, ſi modo juramentum fidelitatis præſtare velint, & renuntiare tranſubſtantiationi & quibuſdam dogmatibus eccleſiæ Romanæ. De juramento autem Quakeris diſpenſatum eſt; nec illis obtruſa fuiſſet malo exemplo, illa quam in lege videbis confeſſio fidei, ſi aliqui eorum iſtam fidei confeſſionem non obtuliſſent, quod imprudens factum multi inter illos & cordatiores valde dolent. Gratias tibi ago pro exemplaribus tractatus de tolerantia & pace eccleſiaſtica, quæ mihi miſiſti, compacta recte accepi, incompacta nondum ad manus meas pervenerunt. In vertendo de tolerantia libello aliquem Anglum jam jam occupatum intelligo. Opinionem illam pacis & probitatis fotricem ubique obtinere optarem. Acta inquiſitionis jam pene deſcripta gaudeo, uti ſpero brevi proditura, opus utile & expectatum. Legem de tolerantia ſancitam ad D^{m} le Clerc miſi, quo interprete intelliges quouſque extenditur hæc libertas. Vale & me ama

Lond. 6 Jun.
1689.

Tui amantiſſimum

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

PRIORES tuas intercidiſſe valde doleo, nihil enim à te proficiſci poteſt quod mihi, uti convenit, non ſit valde carum. Noviſſimas tuas 29 Maii datas, amore & benevolentia uſitata plenas, accepiſſe lætor, quod tuæ tuorumque valetudinis me certiorem faciunt. S^{cti} officii hiſtoriam oſcitantia bibliopolæ in ipſo partu ita hærere doleo. Prolegomena tua D^{a} Cudwortha & ego valde probamus, & capitum indicem, quem tam amice promittis, avide expectamus, ut iſta ſciagraphia operis tui ſtructuram prælibemus, interim optantes, ut quam citiſſime integrum volumen Chriſtiano orbi maxime proficuum, & pene dixeram hoc tempore neceſſarium, prodeat. Illic enim fons omnis perſecutionis, ſub prætextu religionis, illic fundamentum tyrannidis eccleſiaſticæ, quam minores ſectæ eo exemplo animatæ prædicant, affectantque. Sed quo tendat, quas tragœdias ubique, quando parum adoleverit, editura ſit eo in ſpeculo, qui ſibi oculos non eruunt, facile videbunt. Ejus lectionem ſibi & utiliſſimam & jucundiſſimam fore ſpondet D^{a} Cudwortha, quæ paternæ benignitatis hæres omnem de rebus religionis perſecutionem maximè averſatur. Gratulatur ſibi ſe in partem amicitiæ, qua patrem amplexus es, ſucceſſiſſe; te officioſiſſime ſalutat, plurimum æſtimat & veneratur, unumque hoc dolet, quod non utatur lingua utrique communi, ut ex commercio literarum amicitiæ & eruditionis tuæ, quem optaret, fructum perciperet.

HISTORIAM tuam de ſurda loquente duplici exemplo hic apud nos confirmare poſſum. Duo juvenes, utrique ſurdi, quorum alter à doctore Wallis, celebri illo Oxonii matheſeos profeſſore, alter à doctore Holder theologo edoctus, loquelæ uſum didicit. Utrumque juvenem novi, & verba proferentem audivi, diſtincte ſatis & articulate, tonus ſolum vocis parum erat ingratus & inharmonicus. De altero quid factum ſit neſcio, alter adhuc vivit, legendi ſcribendique peritus, & à quo illum primo loquentem audivi (viginti enim & plures ſunt anni) uxorem duxit paterfamilias. Vir eſt ex generoſa proſapia nec diu eſt à quo illum viderim. Uxori liberiſque tuis, Veeniis Guenelloniſque & collegis noſtris plurimam ſalutem meo nomine dicas. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & me, ut facis, ama

Oates, 18 Jun.
1691.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

QUOD grandem tibi jamdiu deſtinaveram epiſtolam ideo accepiſti nullam. Quæſivi vacuum aliquod mihi tempus dari, ut tecum liberius & fuſius colloqui poſſem, & gratias agere pro ultima tua & amiciſſima epiſtola, cui jamdudum reſponſum oportuit. Sed neſcio quam rerum etiam non mearum importunitate ita mihi omne otium ſublatum eſt, ut ne propriis quidem & domeſticis negotiis vacare licuerit. Cave autem credas me publicis negotiis implicitum; nec valetudo, nec vires, nec rerum agendarum imperitia id patiuntur. Et cum mecum repetam, quid à tribus jam menſibus adeo impeditus egerim, incantamenti inſtar videtur, ut quiſque dies afferret negotiorum onus aliorum ex aliis naſcentium, quæ nec ſciens prævideram, nec cupiens evitare poteram.

INDICEM librorum & capitum hiſtoriæ S^{cti} officii, Domina Cudwortha & ego, legimus ſimul, magna cum voluptate. Hæc prælibatio magnum excitavit in utroque integri operis deſiderium, quod jam ſub prælo eſſe cum gaudio, à quodam Scoto, non ita pridem ex veſtra Batavia redeunte, accepi. Bonis cum avibus procedat opus chriſtiano orbi imprimis utile. Hoſpes mea, tyrannidi eccleſiaſticæ inimiciſſima, ſæpe mihi laudat ingenium & conſilium tuum, laboremque huic operi tam opportune impenſum; creditque fruſtra de religionis reformatione & evangelii propagatione tantum undique ſtrepitum moveri, dum tyrannis in eccleſia, vis in rebus religionis (uti paſſim mos eſt) aliis ſub nominibus, utcunque ſpecioſis, obtinet & laudatur. Quid tandem factum eſt cum D^{re} iſto theologo, qui tam mira docuit de angelis, in libro ſuo, de ſpirituum exiſtentia *? an non expertus eſt fratrum ſuorum, pro religione, pro veritate, pro orthodoxia, zelum? mirum, ſi impune evadat. Apud nos prælum, quod video, nihil pene parturit, quod alieni cives ſcire, aut legere, multum deſiderabunt. Ita obſtrepunt undique arma, ut muſarum voces vix audiantur. Imo lis ipſa theologica jam conſopita magnam in partem conquieſcit, utinam cum animarum & partium concordia. Sed ea ſpes vana eſt, nec tam facile componuntur theologorum controverſiæ. Bene eſt, ſi incertas aliquando ferant inducias: ut mutua charitate ſanentur penitus quis expectabit? Magna mihi apud te excuſatione opus eſt, ut tam diuturno ſilentio ignoſcas. Id tibi perſuadeas velim, hoc non alicui voluntatis alienationi, non decreſcenti & minus fervidæ amicitiæ tribuendum: te ut ſemper maxime æſtimo, amo, amplector, ſemperque amabo. Fac itidem ut facis, & me ama

Lond. 14 Nov.
1691.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,
J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

SI ex literarum tarditate de amicitia mea judicaveris, metuo ne me ſuſpiceris ad officia nimis ignavum, à quo me profiteor, cum res poſtulat, longè alienum. In hoc literarum commercio, ſi qua utor libertate, id plerumque evenit, cum ad eos ſcribendum ſit, quibus benevolentiam amicitiamque meam, re potius quam verbis, teſtatam fore mihi in animo eſt. Hoc an tu probaberis neſcio; ita ego tibi perſuaſum velim. Nemo enim omnium, qui te magis ſuſpicit, æſtimat, diliget, quam ego: id nunc facio & ſemper faciam.

NON placet Wetſtenii, in edenda ſancti Officii hiſtoria, cunctatio; hoc unicum in ea mora placet, quod te identidem relegente & ſub incudem ſæpius revocante, limatiorem perfectioremque habebimus. Hoc unum ut te moneam, jam occurrit, ſcil. alterum hujuſmodi volumen, duodecim circiter ab hinc annis, Monſpeſſulis extitiſſe, ab hoc diſtinctum; duo enim illic tunc erant hujuſmodi volumina.

ZELUS theologicus, uti video, ſemper & ubique idem eſt, eodemque modo procedit: quid tandem devenit paradoxorum ille de angelis auctor, ſcire cupio; ſi evaſit, mirum eſt, quanquam eò res inclinare videbatur, quo tempore ſcripſiſti, favente etiam Amſtelodamenſium prædicatorum deſidia, vix tamen veniam ei datam credo. Hujuſmodi orthodoxiæ propugnatores non ſolent errantibus ignoſcere. Preſbyteriani in Scotia quid agant, mallem ex aliis quam ex me ſcires. Zelus illic in frigido iſto aere per antiperiſtaſin incaleſcere videtur. Satis fervide diſciplinæ ſuæ operam dant, an ſatis prudenter, an ſatis modeſte, ipſi videant. Sed ubi cauſa Dei agitur, ut nôſti, & ejus eccleſiæ, quid ſibi theologi non putant licere, autoritatem ſuam ſoli Deo acceptam referentes. D^{m} le Cene ſemel vidi Londini, ſed ſemel tantum, idque obiter, apud nobiliſſimum Boyleum, adeo ut ſermocinandi locus non eſſet, de rebus illius, vel amicis Amſtelodamenſibus; ab eo tempore parum Londini commoratus ſum, valetudini rure vacans, pulmones enim non ferunt fumum urbis. Epiſcopum illum, cui D^{m} le Cene commendaſti, credo pacis eccleſiaſticæ ſincere ſtudioſum. Solicitus ſum de valetudine Veenii noſtri, anguſto eſt pectore, & metuo pulmonibus

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* Balthaſar Bekker.

bus ejus, metuo etiam ne praxi continuæ jam à multis annis aſſuetus, rure otio intabeſcat. Opto illi diuturnam & validam, jucundamque ſenectam, multum illi debeo, quod ſemper gratus agnoſcam. Recte facis quod perſecutionem religionis ergo in pontificiis ſolum damnas. Si quam inter chriſtianos ſectam ſeligas, cujus crudelitatem inſecteris à reliquis, laudaberis, quanquam perſecutio ubique eadem eſt & plane pontificia. Quælibet enim eccleſia ſibi verbis arrogat Orthodoxiam, re infallibilitatem. Dr Cudwortha te omni humanitate & æſtimatione reſalutat. Saluta quæſo uxorem, familiamque tuam, Veenium, Guenellonem, omnemque iſtam ſtirpem officioſiſſime, meo nomine. Vale, Vir colendiſſime, & me, ut facis, ama,

Oates, 29 Feb. Tui amantiſſimum,
1692. J. LOCKE.

De miraculis poſt Apoſtolorum tempora certior fieri cupio. Non ego ſatis verſatus in hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica, ut quid de iis ſtatuam, nôrim. Rogo igitur obnixè, nam meâ intereſt ſcire, an poſt apoſtolorum tempora edita fuerint, in eccleſia chriſtiana, miracula, quibus auctoribus & qua fide memoriæ tradita, quam frequentia, & an ad Conſtantini imperium, vel diutius, duraverint, & quis fuit ille Thaumaturgus, & quid ab eo actum eſt, cujus tam ſpecioſa appellatio ad nos pervenit. Non quæro miraculorum, quæ in ſcriptoribus eccleſiaſticis memorantur, catalogum: ſed an conſtat, ex fide dignis hiſtoricis, fuiſſe vera miracula, an raro vel ſæpius edita, & quamdiu donum illud eccleſiæ conceſſum.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

AB acceptis tuis 27 Junii datis, ad urbem accedens hodie primum Archiepiſcopum conveni. Quamprimum tuum audivit nomen, agnovit acceptam à te contra Judæum diſputationem, excuſavit ſilentium, quod ob valetudinem, oculorum debilitatem, & alia quæ intervenerunt impedimenta, integram nondum perlegerat. Laudavit maxime illud opus, unà cum autore, & gratias, quas nondum egit, ſe habere agnovit. Hiſtoriam ſancti officii jam valde opportunam judicavit. Capitum indicem ſumma cum voluptate & approbatione perlegit, & cum tuum de dedicatione conſilium aperuiſſem, ea verborum urbanitate & honore, eo vultu accepit; ut, ſi adfuiſſes, hoc ſibi non ingratum fore certus eſſes. Mitte igitur quamprimum dedicationem, novi viri modeſtiam, & laudo conſilium tuum, quod prælectam ab eo prius velis quam editam. Illi monſtrabo, quod ſcio honori ducet, & ſi quid mutandum videtur, indicabo. Interim dixit ſe habere librum, Luſitaniæ editum, de quodam actu Inquiſitionis in Luſitania, in cujus exordio occurrunt paparum bullæ, aliaque diplomata, quibus poteſtas ſancti officii conceſſa & ſtabilita eſt, accuratius collecta. Nomen authoris non retinebat memoria, & liber ipſe, illius bibliotheca nondum in ordinem redacta, ab ipſo quæſitus, non repertus eſt. Volumen eſt, ut aiunt, in 8vo. Brevi ipſum iterum reviſam, eam curam cuidam domeſticorum mandabit, ut ante reditum meum præſto ſit liber. Tunc tibi nomen authoris præſcribam, & ſi nondum videris ipſum librum, tibi mutuo commodabit reverendiſſimus archiepiſcopus. Græviums, Guenellonem, Veenioſque omnes meo nomine ſaluta. Clerico noſtro, quem officioſiſſime ſaluto, ante aliquot ſeptimanas, an menſes dicam, ſcripſi; an pervenerint ad illum literæ meæ, ignoro; nam ab iſto tempore nihil ab eo accepi. Hoc quæſo illi indices, ne me tarditatis, ſi mea interciderit epiſtola, ſuſpicetur. Fœminam tuam dilectiſſimam liberoſque ſummo cum affectu ſaluto. Vale, vir digniſſime, &, ut facis, me ama.

Lond. 30 Jun. Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,
1692. J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

DE adventu librorum tuorum certior factus, qua potui feſtinatione Londinum me contuli, ut quæ tu de iis juſſeras præſens curarem. Archiepiſcopus, quamprimum acceſſeram, maximas ſe tibi gratias habere profeſſus eſt, opus ſibi perplacere, ſeque à libri tui lectione, hoc etiam tempore negotiis maximis occupatiſſimo, abſtinere non poſſe, ſed magnam ejus partem ſumma cum voluptate ex quo accepit, percurriſſe. Verum quo animo accepit, legit, laudavit, tunc demum rectius intelliges ex ipſius verbis, cum ad te deſtinatas literas ſcribere vacaverit. Epiſcopus Saliſburienſis multa & his ſimilia mihi dixit, & ſe adeo detentum immerſumque eſſe argumento libri tui (quo hiſtoriam inquiſitionis, ultra quam expectari poterat, dilucidam accuratamque tradidiſti) ut ad te ſcribere, donec totum pervolverit, non potuerit; ſe interim gratias tibi ampliſſimas reddere. Comes Pembrokienſis multa de te cum laude, & pro munere tuo per me gratias agi juſſit, donec ipſe ſua manu agnoſcet acceptiſſimum à te beneficium. Bathonienſem & Wellenſem epiſcopum in domo procerum quæſivi, ſed not aderat: cumque extra urbem habitet, hora una vel altera à meo hoſpitio, eum in tam brevi mora convenire non poteram. Tuum autem librum illi traditum, uti reliquis omnibus, certo ſcio. Cæterum curavi ut D^{us} Clarke communis noſter amicus eum adeat, ut excuſet librum incompactum à te miſſum, quod ego reliquis quibus opus fuit feci, quanquam non omnino opus fuit. Mireris jam merito cur ego, qui non minus meo, quam horum virorum, nomine, gratias agere deberem, tantus ceſſator eſſem, ubi feſtinandum potius eſſet, ut neglecta proprioris loci commoditate, rus huc commigrarem, antequam ad te darem literas. Dicam quod res eſt; ſanus urbem adii, ſed unius dieculæ mora adeo mihi mutata eſt valetudo, ut reſpirare vix potuerim. Ingraveſcebat quotidie malum, & tam cito me urbe expulit, ut neglecta maxima rerum illic agendarum parte aufugere neceſſe eſſet.

LIBRUM tuum huc mecum attuli, ut tuo beneficio D^{na} Cudwortha & ego habeamus hac hyeme noctes Atticas, quas nihil tam augere poterat, quam authoris præſentia, & quos ſecum ſemper adfert, ſales Attici. Ego huc die ſaturni reverſus ſum; hodie libri tui lectionem inchoandam, qua ſpe, qua voluptate facile dijudicare potes, ſed credas velim quas tibi habeo gratias non eſſe minores, ex tuis 10 Octob. datis, quamprimum mihi innotuit quot & quibus huc deſtinaveris exemplaria, egi cum hoſpite meo & bibliopola Smith, ut ſingula ſingulis quam ociſſime traderentur, antequam liber uſpiam apud nos proſtaret venalis, quod diligentiſſima factum eſt; nec ea in parte interiit aliqua tam eximii & tam opportuni operis gratia. Sed quid tandem ſtatuendum eſt de MS. codice autographo, quod ego in tutiſſimo aliquo loco inter archiva reponendum ſuaderem, ut in perpetuum . . . . effrontes adverſarios faciat fidem. Quinam vero is ſit locus tutiſſimus libenter tecum inquirerem.

EPISCOPII vitam tua manu æternitati conſecrandam gaudeo: ſed qua lingua? cum enim præfigendam eam concionibus illius Belgicis (ut reor) jam prodituris, metuo ne illius quoque hiſtoria prodeat, etiam in lingua mihi minus familiari. Gratulor tamen erudito orbi hæc tam docti tam eximii viri monumenta, cujus omnes lucubrationes ab interitu conſervandæ.

JAM apud nos prodiit Joannes Malela Antiochenus, quem diu & anxie petivit amicus meus Toinardus. Rogo igitur ut cum Wetſtenio agas, ut quamprimum aliqua illius libri exemplaria ad illius manus pervenerint (quod ſcio maturius futurum, quam ſi ego unum hinc ad eum Amſtelodamum mittere vellem) unum ad Toinardum quam citiſſime tranſmittendum curabit, pretiumque meis rationibus adſcribat, quod ego ſolvam. Malela author eſt nec magni nominis nec fidei. Sed in dubio aliquo chronologico ſe lucem inde mutuaturum ſperavit Toinardus, & cupio ego maxime illius inſervire deſiderio; igitur rogo ut hanc rem cures ut mihi gratiſſimam.

DE Palinodia, quam ſcripſiſti, in noviſſimis tuis 7 Nov. gratias ago maximas. Eodem tenore & ubique proceditur. Habeo enim de Gallis apud nos, quod poſſit ferre ſecundas, imo quod ſuperat omnibus bene trutinatis. Sed de his alias ſi cupias, jam enim nimis turgeſcit pagina.

CLERICO noſtro ante 15, Guenelloni ante 10 dies ſcripſi. Spero jam omnia pacata & amice compoſita in iſta familia, cui omnino omnia bona opto. Hos cæteroſque meos omnes, imprimis optimam tuam uxorem liberoſque, quæſo, meo nomine officioſiſſime ſalutes, & me, ut facis, ama,

Oates, 28 Nov. Tui amantiſſimum,
1692. J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

QUAMPRIMUM ad urbem acceſſi nudiuſtertius, reverendiſſimus archiepiſcopus me ad ſe vocari curavit, & ut conveni, de te & libro tuo multa cum laude præfatus, tandem dixit ſe ad te ſcripſiſſe negotiorum multitudine hactenus impeditus, paratamque epiſtolam ſigillo muniens mihi in manus tradidit, ut inſcriptione, illo dictante, mea manu exarata, tibi tranſmittendum curarem, quod libens ſuſcepi. Inſuper mihi tradidit libellum concionum nuper à ſe editarum, ut etiam ad te illum tranſmitterem, quod itidem diligenter curabo, & quamprimum hinc ad vos proficiſcentem quempiam invenero ei tradam ad te perferendum. Hactenus de archiepiſcopi mandatis. Ad me quod attinet multas tibi & habeo & refero gratias pro ea, quam ex hiſtoriæ tuæ lectione percepi voluptate. Illud credo exhauſiſti argumentum; certe illud myſterium iniquitatis mundo palam expoſuiſti, è tenebris in lucem protractum. Multarum rerum importuno impeditus interventu nondum integram perlegi, poſt brevem ac in urbe moram rus reverſurus, pergam porro ut ſatisfaciam ei quod in me excitâſti deſiderio. Noviſſimis tuis literis mihi pro more gratiſſimis reſponſum, hac in charta expectare non debes. Feſtinans ad urbem eas rure reliqui, illuc cum rediero, ad otii & quietis receſſus, opportunior dabitur tecum colloquendi occaſio, hic vix reſpirandi mihi conceditur facultas. Interim amicitiam humanitatemque tuam conſuetam agnoſco. Te maximo cum affectu ſaluto, tuoſque omnes, imprimis dilectiſſimam conjugem, liberoſque Veenios, Guenelloneſque noſtros, omniaque tibi proſpera & felicia precor. Vale & me, ut facis, ama,

Lond. 10 Jan. Tui amantiſſimum,
1692-3.
J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

JUSTE meum à te reprehendi ſilentium libens fateor, nec ſi ſeveriore manu delinquentem correxiſſes, queri poſſim. Etſi enim pudet me adeo tardum fuiſſe ad officia, ut non niſi bis monitus excitarer: gaudeo tamen me tanti apud te fuiſſe, ut me primis vocibus male reſpondentem, iterum tentandum arbitrareris: excuſatione valetudinis, quam ipſe tibi pro me ſuggeſſiſti, uti non poſſum. Gratias enim Deo, ex quo ad te ultimas dedi, recte ſatis pro more meo valui, nec tamen ſine omni cauſa à ſcribendo abſtinui. Maximam partem libri tui ſumma cum voluptate perlegeram, progredi mihi in animo erat, & ad finem uſque pervolvere, ut de toto opere, à capite ad calcem perſpecto, eas quas poſſem gratias laudeſque redderem. Non multum aberam à fine libri, & pauca illa capita, quæ mihi reſtabant legenda, ſpem quotidie fecerunt, intra paucos

paucos dies potuiſſe abſolvi. Sed ſic negotiorum & inviſentium ſeries, dum nova & inexpectata continuato ordine ſe invicem exciperent, me de die in diem protraxerunt & adhuc protraxiſſent, niſi noviſſimæ tuæ tam amica objurgatione, labentis temporis immemorem, primiſque cogitationibus indormientem excitâſſent. En habes fatentem reum, negligentem agnoſco; ſed eo conſilio, eo animo negligentem, quem culpare vix poſſis: aut ſi qua fuerit culpa, ei ſpei toties deceptæ forte fuit (amicitiæ certe non fuit) quam eandem, quæ erga te ſemper fuit, nec minime, dum ego tacerem, ſiluiſſe profiteri geſtio. Hiſtoria tua inquiſitionis, ut de ea parte quam legi libere pronuntiem, mihi maxime placet: ordine, methodo, perſpicuitate, teſtium fide mihi plane videtur opus abſolutiſſimum, nec video quid in eo deſiderari poſſit. Et ab omnibus, quotquot conſulere contigit, maxime laudatur. Clericum noſtrum nullas à me jam à pluribus hebdomadis (ut ſcribis) accepiſſe doleo; ſcripſi enim ad eum, ante duos circiter menſes, iis incluſas à Comite Pembrokienſi ad illum miſi literas, quas intercidiſſe vereor, quandoquidem D^{us} Clericus in noviſſimis ſuis 11 Septemb. datis de iis ne verbum quidem. Me illum de Spenceri obitu monuiſſe recte memini, & credo ea in epiſtola, quandoquidem tu id hactenus ignorare videris. Bibliorum Caſtellionis editionem, qualem tu narras, apud vos deſignari valde lætor, & viris literatis apud nos gratum acceptumque fore opus, non dubito: Poſt diuturnam ruſticationem nuperus meus in urbem reditus nondum mihi conceſſit plurimorum doctorum colloquia; prout datur occaſio, alios conſulam, quamvis vix credi poteſt elegantem editionem, tam elegantis verſionis notis etiam aliiſque ſcriptis eo ſpectantibus tam docti viri ornatam, non omnibus non placituram. Filiam tuam dilectiſſimam, quam febre continua laborâſſe ſcripſeras, tibi ſuiſque ſanam ſalvamque reſtitutam ſpero, reliquos tuos noſtroſque recte valere gaudeo. Eos omnes, quotquot ſunt, meo nomine, rogo, quam officioſiſſime ſalutes, quibus diuturnam ſanitatem & proſpera omnia largiatur Deus optimus maximus; te imprimis ſoſpitet. Vale, & ut facis perge me amare,

Lond. 10 Nov. Tui amantiſſimum,
1693. J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

QUALEM te, Vir ſpectatiſſime, ſemper crediderim, talem re ipſa experior, ad omnia infucatæ amicitiæ officia natum, qui non ſolum pronus in beneficia bene merendi, nullam prætermittis occaſionem, ſed, quod difficilius eſt, eadem facilitate ignoſcis amicorum delictis, qua alii offenſiones objurgant. Diuturnum meum ſilentium graviori reprehenſione dignum, ſimulac tardas tandem à me literas acceperis, quaſi prima vocula penitus deletum condonas. Agnoſco beneficium candoremque illum tuum, quo tuis, quo omnibus gratus, in quo me tuto repono: dum non ex literis amicitiam meam æſtimas, nec ſilentio imminutam ſuſpicatus fueris. Id enim tibi perſuaſum vellem, tempus mihi & verba deeſſe poſſe, amicitiam, qua te amplector, qua ſemper amplexurus ſum, mihi deeſſe vel labefactari nunquam poſſe.

IN hiſtoria tua Inquiſitionis, ex quo noviſſime ad te dedi literas, non magnos progreſſus feci, quotidianis negotiis hactenus impeditus. Quod ſi ex duobus primis libris, quos ſumma cum voluptate perlegi, de duobus reliquis judicare licet, nihil poteſt eſſe in eo genere perfectius, nec ad perfectam illius tribunalis cognitionem aliquid deſiderari poteſt. Laudo ſtudium tuum, quod pleriſque in locis ipſa authorum verba citaveris, etſi nihil contineant quod tu breviore & elegantiore ſtylo exprimere non potuiſſes, ſi lectori placere unica eſſet cura; ſed cum quo genere hominum tibi res eſt, recte tecum reputâſti, & eorum crimina, fraudes & ſævitia ex eorum ipſorum ore optime diſcenda, vix enim credi poterant, ſi ab extraneo vel adverſario afferrentur. Quæ autem ex aliis hauſeris authoribus tam ſero, ut editioni inſeri ſuis apte in locis non potuerint,

tuerint, tuique in marginibus libri adſcripſeris, ea, ſi nimis longa non ſint, ut tibi nimiam tranſcribendi creent moleſtiam, ſi mihi per otium excerpta tranſmittere velis, gratiſſimum mihi facies, ut meum etiam librum iis ornem, & ſuis omnibus numeris perfectum habeam, ut nihil deſit huic myſterio iniquitatis revelando. Literas tuas, per Hibernum illum tranſmiſſas, ille ſuis manibus rus huc ad me profectus mihi tradidit. Talem illum reperio, qualem tu deſcripſeris, nec deſunt hic tantæ ſpei fautores. Editionem illam Caſtellionis, quam meditantur elegantem, libens viderem, & noſtratibus gratam fore, nullus dubito. Quod de harmonia evangelica doctiſſimi mei Toinardi ad me ſcribis, de editione illius ego quidem nunquam cogitavi, nec quod amplius eſt, unquam cogitabo, niſi ut ipſum authorem ad opus ſuum luce digniſſimum edendum, qua data occaſione, & quantum poſſum, impellam & inſtigem. Non quod ego hunc theſaurum literato orbi invideam; ego ſumma ope, donec commercio literarum uti licuit, editionem ejus ſemper efflagitavi. Sed non ea (ut mihi viſum eſt) fide mihi concreditum eſt hoc exemplar, ut ego harmoniam hanc, illo inſcio aut inconſulto, typis mandarem. Si mihi integrum eſſet, ſtatim ſub prælo mitterem, ſed dum ille vivit, aut aliunde à ſuis ſpes eſt proditurum, nulla quantivis pretii mercede è meis manibus in publicum elabi patiar. Nuper prodiit hic liber, quem Toinardo gratiſſimum fore ſcio. Si reperire poſſis viam, qua ad illum tranſmitti poteſt, mihi feceris acceptiſſimum beneficium. Liber, quem ad illum mittere vellem, eſt Joannes Mallela Antiochenus, Oxonii non ita pridem editus. Si occaſionem mittendi reperias, emptum apud vos librum, ſive compactum ſive incompactum, prout commodiſſimum erit vecturæ, quæſo ad illum mittas, à Monſieur Toinard à Orléans. Gaudio Venium noſtrum ſanum ſalvumque in urbem & ad praxin rediiſſe. Vir, qui in artis ſuæ exercitatione à juventute uſque conſenuerat, continui tædio otii, credo, langueſceret. Illum & Guenellonem noſtrum uxoreſque cum tota familia, quæſo meo nomine officioſiſſime ſalutes. Pacem, concordiam, & amicitiam inter eos ſtabilitam ſpero, omnia fauſta, uti par eſt, illis & tibi tuiſque opto. Salutes etiam rogo optimam fœminam tuam, liberoſque, quos ſanos ſalvoſque tibi Deus diu conſervet. Vale, vir humaniſſime, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 13 Jan. 1694.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir colendiſſime,

ETSI meam in ſcribendo tarditatem prorſus excuſare nequeam, me tamen eo proceſſiſſe negligentiæ, ut per totos novem menſes te inſalutatum præterirem nolim credas. Diuturnum nimis ſilentium haud invitus fateor, quod cum nec literarum tuarum ſatietas, nec imminuta erga te voluntas mea effecerit, facilem apud te veniam inventurum ſpero. Puduit ſane ad te iterum ſcribere, antequam, opere tuo penitus perlecto, meam de eo ſententiam ſive potius gratulationem potuerim perſcribere. Quantum voluptatis, quantum lucis ex accurata tua inquiſitionis hiſtoria perceperim, vix dicere poſſum. Ita ſcripta eſt, ut decet hiſtoriam ſcribi, ubi non ad faſtum aut delectationem inventa, vel ornata res eſt, quo facilius incautis lectoribus fucum faciat, ſed omni authorum fide & documentorum teſtimoniis rata & ſuffulta ſunt: adeo ut quorum maxime intereſt redarguere, ne hiſcere quidem audeant. Opus illud tenebrarum & occultas nefandæ crudelitatis artes in tam claram lucem ex latibulis ſuis protraxiſti, ut ſi qua reſtarent in iſtis eccleſiæ, ſive potius antichriſti, ſatellitibus, humanitatis veſtigia, puderet illos tandem tam iniqui, tam horrendi tribunalis, ubi omne jus, fas, & juſtitia ſuſque deque habetur. Verum ſi hæc opprobria, quæ refelli non poſſunt, nihil illos moveant, reformatis ſaltem & ex ſæviſſimo hoc ergaſtulo ereptis, animos addet, contra tam inhumanam tyrannidem, quacunque ſpecie ſive religionis ſive concordiæ, irrepere iterum conantem. Ea eſt diſputantium ſæpe contentio, ea argumentorum ſubtilitas & longa ſeries, ut non ſit uniuſcujuſque ſe argutiis & fallaciis innodatum expedire, & de ſumma controverſiæ judicare. Si quis vero è plebe indoctus tuam perlegat hiſtoriam, ſentiat ſtatim illic certe deeſſe religionem, charitatem, juſtitiam, ubi violata æquitatis regula, omnique juris dicendi per orbem terrarum methodo, tam inhumana, tam crudelia perpetrantur, & ab evangelii genio remotiſſima: ideoque dignum opus exiſtimo, quod in cujuſque gentis linguam vulgarem traducatur, tam diſtincta enim & exacta methodo omnia tradidiſti, & teſtibus exceptione majoribus confirmâſti, ut nihil in eo deſiderari videatur, quod vulgus erudiat, literatos inſtruat, omneſque ſtabiliat. Si quid forte tibi, uti mones, occurrat, ad hoc argumentum pertinens, ex libris ante editam hiſtoriam tuam non viſis, rogo ut per otium, ſi non ſit nimis operoſum, ad me velis tranſmittere; omnia enim huc facientia in librum tuum ad marginem, aptis in locis adſcripta, conjicere animus eſt, uti nuper ex itinerario in orientem hoc quod ſequitur excerptum, paginæ 276. libri tui inſerui.

LE St. Office, ce redoutable tribunal fameux par ſes injuſtices, & ſes cruautés, règne ici [à Malthe] plus tyranniquement qu'à Rome même, & on m'a fait cent funeſtes recits, dont je vous épargnerai la triſteſſe, ſeulement vous dirai-je, que les confeſſeurs, qui par tout ailleurs ſont tenus de garder le ſecret ſur peine de feu, ſont ici dans l'obligation de les réveler toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'un cas d'Inquiſition, quoiqu'ils ne l'avoüent pas, car ce ſeroit le moyen d'empêcher les gens de ſe confeſſer: mais c'eſt une choſe qu'on ſçait pourtant bien. Cependant pour en ôter tout ſoupçon, on demeure quelquefois un an ou deux ſans dire mot aprés quoi l'Inquiſiteur envoye prendre un homme, & lui demande s'il ſçait bien pourquoi il l'a fait ſaiſir, alors c'eſt à lui de ſe reſſouvenir de tout ce qu'il peut jamais avoir dit; que ſi malheureuſement la memoire ne lui fournit pas, ou que le délit, dont il eſt coupable, ait été ſi ſecret que le ſeul confeſſeur en ait en connoiſſance, & que ſe repoſant là-deſſus il ne veuille pas avoüer; c'eſt fait de cet homme-là, on l'étrangle dans la priſon, & puis quelque tems après on dit à ſes parens qu'il n'eſt pas beſoin de lui porter à manger. Heureux ſont ceux qui ne ſont point aſſuejettis à ce joug. Du Mont nouveau voyage au Levant $\frac{158}{475}$. imprimé en 12° a la Haye, 1694.

Quas minatus es prolixiores literas avide expecto, & ſi ſic ulciſcaris ſilentium meum, quomodo remuneraberis diligentiam? Theologiam tuam tam brevi iterum prodituram gaudeo, pauca in ea emendanda facile crediderim; quanta quanta addideris, ex eodem erunt fonte, & augebunt apud lectores pretium. In magna æſtimatione apud eccleſiæ Anglicanæ theologos ſcio. Quid in poſterum futurum ſit, neſcio, audio enim nonnullos Calviniſmum amplexuros, & prædeſtinationem (ſic inter illos convenit) palam ſcriptis propugnaturos. Quot & quales in partes ſuas pertrahet nova hæc paucorum & adhuc privata ſocietas, nondum conjicere licet. Latent omnia & ſecreto peraguntur, & ſi ex auctoribus, quorum nomina mihi amicus quidam ſecreto in aurem dixit, rem metiri libeat, non credo longe evaſurum, niſi aliunde oriatur hoc conſilium, alioſque habeat fautores. Si quid ultra privata aliquot inter ſe colloquia producat, hoc nonnullorum molimen dies indicabit, & tunc quid velint, quo tendant, rectius judicabimus. Sed hæc hactenus. Dolet certe tantam inter nos loci eſſe intercapedinem: ſi vicinus eſſem, haberes me conſultorem quotidie oſtia tua pulſantem. Pauci admodum ſunt limati judicii homines, quibuſcum poteris liberè de ſpeculationibus quibuſcumque, multo minus de rebus religionis diſſerere. Deeſt mutua charitas, deeſt candor, & ut ſuæ quiſque ignorantiæ velum obtendat, non facile dat veniam alienæ. Nec dubia quæcunque licet proponere, niſi paratus venias te totum illis tradere, & in verba jurare, vel cenſuris onuſtus hæreticus abire. Non hoc de meipſo queror, tanquam aliquid paſſus ab iniquo amicorum judicio; ſed tamen jucundum eſt in proximo habere, quem de maximis minimiſque aperte & audacter conſulas. Libri mei de intellectu humano ſecunda editio diſtrahitur, celerius quam credere poſſem, nec adhuc invenit diſſertatio illa, utcunque heterodoxa, oppugnatorem. Utinam eo eſſet ſermone conſcripta, ut tuo uti, de univerſis eo in opere contentis, judicio liceret. Urgent aliqui verſionem, quærit traductorem bibliopola, & ſperat brevi repertum iri, nam mihi non vacat. Vix per valetudinem & ſuccreſcentia quotidie negotia licuit mihi, niſi lento gradu & interciſis temporibus, tuam perlegere hiſtoriam, quanquam legendi voluptas me vix patiebatur ingreſſum avelli. Bibliopola efflagitat, tamen, ut verſionem recenſere velim, ut ſi qua à meo ſenſu aberraverit corrigam, quod ſane vix recuſare poſſum. Sed quid his te tædio prolixioris epiſtolæ jam fatigatum detineo? Vale, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 26 Oct. Tui amantiſſimum,
1694.
J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

MAGNA cum voluptate tuas accepi & legi: etſi enim affectum erga me tuum nullatenus fuiſſe imminutum plene perſuaſus eſſem, nihilominus, poſt tam diuturnum ſilentium, literas tuas videre non potuit non eſſe gratiſſimum. Hiſtoriam meam Inquiſitionis calculo tuo probari, eſt quod mihi gratulor. Scio judicium tuum eſſe candidum ac limatiſſimum. In præconiis vero quæ addis agnoſco propenſiſſimum tuum erga me affectum, qui omnia quæ probas vero majora tibi repræſentavit. Ego veritati litare ſtudui, & tribunal illud ita exhibere, prout ipſi doctores pontificii, imo inquiſitores id nobis depingunt. Scio quidem, quando ſparſim in ipſorum libris procedendi modus deſcribitur, & fucatis coloribus palliatur, non ita patere ejus injuſtitiam & fœditatem, quam quando omnia ſimul inter ſe connexa nude, ſine fuco, omnium oculis exponuntur. Non crediderim quenquam, ne quidem ex acerrimis inquiſitionis patronis, me malæ fidei inſimulaturum; & ſi quis id auſit, ſtatim autorum, quorum nomina margini paſſim adſcripſi, teſtimoniis redargui poterit. Sed quam diſpari fato libri prodeunt? Tu hiſtoriam meam dignam judicas, quæ in cujuſque gentis linguam vernaculam traducatur. Romæ vero, 19 die Maii, hujus anni, edicto cardinalium, in tota rep. chriſtiana inquiſitorum generalium, condemnata eſt, ejuſque lectio ſeveriſſime prohibita, ſub pœnis in indice librorum prohibitorum contentis. Decretum hoc, quo & alii libri condemnantur, triduo poſt, videl. 22 Maii, fuit publicatum & affixum ad valvas Baſilicæ principis apoſtolorum, palatii S. Officii, & in acie campi Floræ, ac aliis locis ſolitis & conſuetis urbis. Sed mitiorem ſententiam quis ab Inquiſitione expectet, contra hiſtoriam, quæ artes ac crudelitates ipſius, quas occultas omnibuſque ignotas eſſe cupit, à tenebris erutas, palam totius mundi oculis exponit, tribunalque hoc non ſanctitate venerandum, ſed injuſtitia, crudelitate, fraudibus, & impoſturis execrandum exhibet? Aliter enim, ſi vere deſcribatur, exhiberi nequit. Quæ ego ex aliis autoribus, quos poſtmodum mihi videre contigit, annotavi, & quæ inpoſterum in aliis, qui forte mihi oſtendentur, reperiam, libentiſſime ad te mittam. Vidi quæ ex itinerario Du Mont annotâſti, quæ optime illo quem deſignâſti loco margini hiſtoriæ meæ adſcribi poſſunt. Sed, ut ingenue dicam, valde dubito, an narratio illius vera ſit. Malæ fidei ipſum neutiquam accuſo: ſed fieri facile poteſt, ut peregrinatores, non diu in religione aliqua commorantes, incidant in homines legum & conſuetudinum patriarum non admodum peritos, nonnunquam etiam mendaces, ex quorum ore quædam veritati minus conſentanea, ſine accuratiore inveſtigatione, annotant. Qualia multa in itinerariis eorum, qui patriæ noſtræ mores & conſuetudines deſcribunt, obſervavi. Ratio dubitandi eſt: quia video omnes doctores pontificios, necnon omnia decreta eccleſiaſtica ſolicite admodum urgere, arcana confeſſionis non eſſe patefacienda; imo ne hæreſin quidem ſub ſigillo confeſſionis revelatam; ſolummodo ſacerdotibus injungunt, ne hæreſin confeſſo abſolutionem impertiantur, ſed omnibus quas poſſunt rationibus hortentur, ut in judicio coram inquiſitoribus juridice confiteatur. Scio quidem, non omnia quæ legibus præcipiuntur, exacte in praxi Inquiſitionis obſervari, & ſub ſpecioſo confeſſionis non revelandæ prætextu, ſimpliciores ineſcari poſſe, ut ingenue, etiam quæ inquiſitoribus ignota ſunt, confiteantur, quæ à ſacerdotibus porro inquiſitoribus revelari poſſunt, neque à tali impoſtura tribunalis illius ſanctitatem abhorrere credo; attamen, quia omnes ipſorum conſtitutiones, inſtructiones & leges, omnia illius eccleſiæ decreta contrarium præcipiunt, non id affirmare auſim, niſi autor ſit probatus, cujus nec peritia nec fides in dubium vocari queat. Quare loco, quem mihi ſuggeſſiſti, ex itinerario Du Mont, addi poſſet, ſi vera ſit illius narratio, exinde evidenter liquere inquiſitorum praxin ſæpe adverſari inquiſitionis inſtructionibus & legibus: inquiſitoreſque unice tantum ſpectare, qua ratione miſeros captivos per fas & nefas decipiant, atque ita, fraudibus irretitos, miſera morte perdant. Poſt haſce ſcriptas, triſtis me de ſubita optimi Archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis morte nuntius non leviter perculit. Deſtinaveram ipſi Theologiæ meæ Chriſtianæ exemplar; pridie autem, antequam tradi potuerit, mortuus eſt. Eccleſiæ reformatæ tanto patrono, tam prudenti, perito, pacis amantiſſimo antiſtiti orbatæ, ſtatum doleo. Utinam Deus, qui potens eſt etiam è lapidibus Abrahæ filios excitare, alium nobis ſubſtituat, illi ſi non parem, quod vix ſperare auſim, tamen veſtigia ejus, quantum fieri poteſt, proxime prementem! Ille tibi & dominæ Maſham vitam ad ſeros uſque annos producat. Vale, & me, ut facis, amare non deſine

Amſtelod. 12 Dec. Tui amantiſſimum,
1694.

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

LIBRUM tuum à bibliopola, & epiſtolam tuam 12 datam, recte accepi, utrumque gratiſſimum, & quia tuam, & quia à te. Epiſtolam tuam, à capite ad calcem, ſumma cum voluptate perlegi, gratulorque filiæ tuæ nuperæ talem illi obtigiſſe patrem, cui nec mens defuit, nec viſcera. Qualis inde fuit nonnullorum animus chriſtiano homini eſſet mirandum, niſi inter hujuſmodi zelotas chriſtianæ religionis diu verſatus eſſem. Sed ubique ejuſdem farinæ homines reperire eſt, qui an ſalutem quærant animarum, an evangelio quæſtum faciant, judicent alii; ego, quod doleam, quod indigner, hic, illic, undique video. Theologiam tuam Chriſtianam, quamprimum otium nactus fuero, diligentius perſcrutabor; his enim jam fere ſtudiis mihi vacandum cenſeo, tantoque impenſius me tibi vicinum jam opto, quod erepto nobis magno illo & candido veritatis indagatore (ut cæteras illius virtutes taceam) vix jam habeo, quem de dubiis theologicis libere poſſum conſulere. Quantum virum reſpublica anglicana, quantum columen eccleſia reformata amiſerit, alii judicabunt. Ego certe à multis annis ſtabilem, candidum, ſincerum, ſummo meo cum damno & deſiderio, amiſi amicum.

ADDENDA tua ad hiſtoriam Inquiſitionis, quamprimum rus rediero, locis ſuis inſeram, novum amicitiæ tuæ monumentum. Recte mones de excerptis ex itinerario Du Mont. Nec enim ut reliqui tui ſcriptores (qua uſus es cautione) pro teſte citari poteſt, tum quia reformatus, tum quia peregrinus. Ego vero illius verba non inidonea judicabam, quæ fidem facerent iſti, quæ ex tota pontificiorum œconomia enaſcitur: illos ſcil. quicquid præ ſe ferant, non omiſſuros tantam rei ſuæ bene gerendæ & hæreſeos extirpandæ occaſionem, quæ ex confeſſionibus poſſit oriri: nec aliter confeſſiones tacitas eſſe, ſi quid habeant momenti, quam ut laicis, & quibus non opus eſſet, non evulgarentur. Hæc ego raptim inter urbis negotia & laborantium pulmonum anhelitus, ut ſcires tua munera, quibus me tam magnifice cumulâſti, ad me ſalva perveniſſe. Si ita ſilentium meum ulciſcaris, dubitare poſſit, an non commodum fuerit peccare: ſcias enim velim de tuis epiſtolis, quod de Ciceronis orationibus jure dici poſſe, optimam eſſe quæ longiſſima eſt. Die Veneris noviſſimo ad urbem appuli, in hoſpitio meo inveni literas Clerici noſtri 7 datas, quibus brevi reſponſurus ſum; interim rogo, ut illum Guenellonemque noſtrum meo nomine ſalutes; utrique gratias agam pro epiſtolis mea manu, ubi otium & ſolatium ruris nactus fuero, hic enim laborant pulmones, nec longam in urbe patietur valetudo mea moram. Uxorem tuam dilectiſſimam liberoſque, Veenium noſtrum optimamque uxorem illius ſaluto & Græviam ultrajectenſem, cui ego debeo epiſtolam, & illius humanitati nondum reſpondiſſe pudet. Vale, & perge, ut facis, me amare,

Lond. 11 Dec.
1694.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

ULTIMAM meam epiſtolam recte ad manus tuas perveniſſe gaudeo. Autographum ſententiarum inquiſitionis Tholoſanæ Romani in manus meas incidiſſe mirantur: quod N. N. ſacerdos quidam ab epiſcopo Hollandiæ ad ipſum miſſus, ut libri poſſeſſorem ex ipſo reſciſcat, affirmavit. N. N. imprudenter me eum à Furlæo accepiſſe reſpondit: verum alium ejus eſſe poſſeſſorem, cujus nomen ignorabat; aiebatque librum à te olim viſum Monſpeliis. Ego dixi N. N. librum à te in Gallia viſum alium eſſe ab hoc. Addit ille, ſacerdotem rogâſſe, ut ex me nomen poſſeſſoris exquirat. Reſpondi ego, me nomen illius ignorare; illud ſemel me ex fratre ipſius audiviſſe, ſed penitus illius oblitum eſſe: & licet ſcirem, inconſultum eſſe illud ſacerdoti indicare; quia hoc tam ſolicite inquiri judicem, ut poſſeſſore detecto, ingenti pretio exemplar hoc ſibi redimant, ac Romam mittant, ut ita occaſionem habeant me falſi accuſandi. Idem ſibi videri aiebat. Addidi ego, optâſſe me, ut nomen Furlæi non indicâſſet: ſed quoniam vox emiſſa reverti nequit, nihil ulterius eſſe aperiendum: ſed paucis tantum reſpondendum me poſſeſſoris nomen ignorare. Hoc in ſe ſuſcepit, ſed non recte ſervavit; nam ex fratre ſuo poſtea nomen hoc reſcivit, & proculdubio ſacerdoti indicavit. Nam à me rogatus, ſe neſcire ait, an indicaverit; affirmare ſe non poſſe, nec quod indicaverit, nec quod non indicaverit. Hoc certum eſt, nomen ſacerdoti innotuiſſe, quia alius poſtea Furlæum, ad quem hæc ſcripſeram, acceſſit, & poſſeſſorem nominavit, prout tibi Furlæus ſcripſit. Spero librum à te jam emptum, ac Furlæum illius eſſe poſſeſſorem. Ita omnes illorum conatus irriti erunt. Laudo ego Furlæi prudentiam, quod à ſacerdote teſtimonium de libri authenteia exegerit, & ſacerdotis candorem, qui id tam luculenter dedit. Interim ſi forte exemplar ipſum nacti fuiſſent, & Romam miſiſſent, non video qua ratione volumen, quod edidi, ſuppoſititium dicere poſſent. Adeo enim ævum illud barbarum redolet, hiſtoriaſque ſingulares illius temporis refert, ut tale quid à quoquam nunc temporis fingi minime queat. Præſtat tamen id in manibus non eſſe illorum, quorum intereſt myſteria hæc iniquitatis tegi, & coram ſole non propalari. Vides hic duo adhuc additamenta ad hiſtoriam inquiſitionis epiſtolæ huic adſcripta, quæ, ſi operæ pretium videatur, reliquis junges. Lutheranus quidam profeſſor Kilonienſis, contra Theologiam meam Chriſtianam, exercitationes Anti-Limborchianas edidit. Ita Romæ & in Germania vapulo. Librum ſatis, ut audio, craſſum nondum vidi: ſed in Lipſienſibus ejus compendium legi. Verum in ejuſmodi antagoniſtam ego calamum non ſtringam. Non pugnant illi homines, quantum ex actis illis mihi colligere licet, pro veritate; ſed pro recepta opinione, decretis humanis, & autoritate eccleſiaſtica. Orthodoxiæ illis norma ma eſt conſenſus cum doctrina Lutherana. Contra tales fruſtra diſputatur. Non enim operæ pretium eſt, ut inquiramus quid eccleſia Lutherana doceat, quod ex libris & decretis illius eccleſiæ ſatis notum eſt, ſed, an illius doctrina vera ſit, & à ſcriptoribus divinis dictata. Ita papatum ubique reperimus, & ſub ſpecioſo orthodoxiæ conſervandæ prætextu propria dominatio ſtabilitur. Sic orthodoxia ſemper penes potentiorem erit, veritaſque alia erit Romæ, alia Genevæ, alia Wittenbergæ. Hæc incommoda vitari nequeunt, ſi humana placita orthodoxiæ κριτήριον ſunt. Quæ in illis Excercitationibus maxime odioſa occurrunt, Lipſienſes accurate annotârunt. Obſervavi hanc in illis malignitatem dicam, an inconſultum zelum, quod ſi in autoribus, quos recenſent, quædam reperiantur aut convitia, aut inclementius in Remonſtrantes dicta, ea ſolicite indicare ſoleant, verbiſque odioſiſſimis exprimere. Neſcio quo ſuo facto Remonſtrantes inimicitiam eorum in ſe provocaverint, niſi forſan liberiore veritatis inquiſitione, & diſſentientium fraterna tolerantia. In ipſos enim calamum nunquam ſtrinximus, neque ego in eos ſcribam, aut me à criminationibus eorum purgabo; non enim me illis purgatum dabo, niſi me aliis, quibus jam placeo, ingratum reddam. Itaque ſilentio & contemptu illos ulciſcar. Sed aliud quid eſt quod te velim. Marcus Teuto in gratiam reverendiſſimi Bathonienſis ac Wellenſis in ſe ſuſcepit verſionem vitæ Epiſcopii, à me conſcriptæ, in linguam latinam. Varia ego citavi ex epiſtolis eccleſiaſticis præſtantium ac eruditorum virorum, & ex actis Remonſtrantium ſynodalibus, quæ cum à me è latino in belgicum ſermonem tranſlata ſint, ipſe è belgico in latinum vertere non debet, ſed prout in ipſis libris latine leguntur, exhibere. Deſtitutum autem ſe illis queritur, nec uſquam ſe eos reperire poſſe. Non dubito quin in multorum Anglorum bibliothecis reperiantur. Si tua opera eos habere poſſit à quopiam, magnum illi non tantum facies laboris compendium, ſed & verſionem efficies & meliorem & gratiorem. Ego, ſi quid hac in parte illi prodeſſe queas, mihi præſtitum agnoſcam. Vale, vir ampliſſime, mihique dilectiſſime,

Amſtelod. 26 Apr. Tui amantiſſimus,
1695.

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

QUAMPRIMUM ego noviſſimas tuas 26 Aprilis datas acceperam, ſtatim Londinum ſcripſi, & quantum in me eſt curavi, ut libri, quos ad opus ſuum deſiderat Marcus ille noſter, ſicubi reperiri poſſint, ei ſuppeditentur. Eo diutius reſponſum diſtuli, ut quid in hoc & altero illo negotio Tholoſano factum ſit, certiorem te facerem; ſed nec D'Aranda, nec alter, cujus curæ librorum perquiſitionem commiſi, hactenus quicquam reſcripſerunt, ſed ex eorum ſilentio nolim ego male ominari.

DE autographo, an Furleii jam ſit, rectius ex ipſo quam ex me cognoſces: non quod ego negligens ea in re vel otioſus fuerim procurator: ſed cum per valetudinem Londinum ea tempeſtate adire non auderem, totum negotium amico noſtrûm communi, commiſi viro prudenti & ſedulo, cui ſcirem rem cordi fore; & ne mora circuitu literarum per manus meas tranſeuntium officeret, poſt primum quod ab amico Londinenſi accepi reſponſum, quo intellexi illum omnem navaturum operam, ut rem tranſigeret, monui ut recte ad Furleium ſcriberet, ut ex illo reſciret quod ſcitu ad rem recte perficiendam adhuc opus eſſet. Hoc ab eo factum nullus dubito: ſi quid amplius à me præſtari poſſit, omnem operam, curam, induſtriam me in eo locaturum pro certo habeas.

Quod de Oxonienſibus noſtris dicis, quanquam nihil fando audiverim, facile crediderim: quod Kilonienſem adverſarium negligis, laudo; quodque ab aliis

inter

inter ſe diſſentientibus vapulas tanto magis æſtimo, veritatis enim ſinceris & incorruptis authoribus ſic fieri ſolet. Pro Theologia tua Chriſtiana jam denuo à me tibi reddendæ ſunt gratiæ, non quod bibliothecam volumine, ſed me ſcientia auxerit. Hac enim hyeme, in quo conſiſteret fides chriſtiana, diligenter apud me cogitando, ex ipſis ſcripturæ ſ. fontibus hauriendum duxi, ſemotis quibuſcunque ſectarum & ſyſtematum opinionibus & orthodoxiis. Ex intenta & accurata N. Teſtamenti lectione novi fœderis ſtatus & evangelii doctrina mihi apparuit, ut mihi videbatur meridiana luce clarior, nec quid eſſet fides chriſtiana dubitari poſſe, ſincero evangelii lectori, mihi perſuaſiſſimum eſt. Ideoque cogitata mea in chartam conjeci, ut eo melius partium inter ſe convenientiam, & harmoniam, & fundamenta, quibus inniterentur, ſedate & per otium contemplarer. Cum omnia in hoc meo ſymbolo ſana, & verbo divino ubique conformia videbantur, theologos conſulendos duxi (reformatos videlicet) ut quid illi de fide ſenſerint, viderem. Calvinum adii, Turretinum, alioſque, quos ita id argumentum tractaſſe fateri cogor, ut quid dicant, quid velint, capere nequaquam poſſim; adeo diſſona mihi in illis omnia videntur à ſenſu & ſimplicitate evangelica, ut illorum ſcripta intelligere, nedum cum ſacro codice reconciliare, non valeam. Tandem ſpe meliore tuam in manus cepi theologiam, nec ſine ſummo gaudio legi, cap. viii. lib. v. quo intellexi aliquem reperiri theologum, cui ego non plane eſſem hæreticus. Ut in libro tuo legendo ultra pergerem, nondum ſatis vacui temporis nactus ſum. Nihil mihi optatius eſſe poſſit, quam te videre, & te coram, quæ commentatus ſum, legere & explicare, ut limato & incorrupto tuo judicio ſubjicerentur. Hæc tibi in aurem dicta ſunto, nam me hoc tractaſſe argumentum tibi ſoli communicatum volo. Saluto Veenios, Guenellones tuamque imprimis familiam. Vale, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 10 Maii, Tui amantiſſimum,
1695.

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

UTRI noſtrum diuturnum ac pertinax illud ſilentium imputandum ſit, ignoro. Importunus ſim, ſi à te, negotiis publicis occupatiſſimo, ad ſingulas meas reſponſum efflagitem, aut ſilentium tuum ſilentio ulciſcar. Amicitia ſincera rigorem illum averſatur, neque epiſtolarum æquali numero, ſed fide ac charitate mutua conſtat. Interim dulciſſimo conſuetudinis noſtræ fructu jam ultra annum carui. Ultimæ enim tuæ, quibus me reſpondiſſe memini, decimo Maii die anni præcedentis ſcriptæ ſunt. Salutem mihi à te aliquoties dixerunt D. D. Clericus & Guenellonus, & literas mihi à te brevi ſcribendas nuntiârunt, quas tamen hactenus fruſtra expectavi; hoc autem negotiorum tuorum, quibus obrutus es, frequentiæ unice abſcribendum duco. Aliquoties tibi ſcribere geſtii; ſed veritus ſum, ne importunior ſcriptio ab amico occupatiſſimo reſponſum minus tempeſtivum extorquere videretur. Nunc vero, cum munus tibi honoratiſſimum, à primoribus Angliæ demandatum eſſe, conſtans ad nos fama pertulit; ſilentium abrumpendum cenſui, ut dignitatem hanc non tam tibi, quam Angliæ, gratuler, quæ in collegio ampliſſimo, una cum ſummis regni proceribus, te aſſeſſorem habet, cujus conſilia omnia prudentia, fide, candore ac ſinceritate diriguntur, & communi civium ſaluti unice deſtinantur. Deus vitam tibi largiatur longævam, conſiliiſque tuis ſucceſſum, quem merentur, concedat. Ego hic occupatus vivo; & tamen vix quicquam promoveo, non aliter ac ſi otio deſidioſo torperem. Arminii ſcripta inedita me occupatum tenent: promiſi ego bibliopolæ Germano, me ea paraturum ad editionem; ſed in ſcriptis ejus relegendis, ob characterum exilitatem & ductum lectu neutiquam commodum, tantam reperio difficultatem, ut niſi tanti viri memoria, & non exigua, quam inde ad publicum redituram video, utilitas, ingrati laboris moleſtiam levaret, jam operæ promiſſæ pœnituiſſet. Hoc opus ubi edidero, nullis amplius poſthumis aliorum operibus edendis me fatigabo. Oculorum acies ſæpiſſime intendenda eſt, ut characteres exiles, & vetuſtate multis in locis ferme evaneſcentes legantur. Ita multum temporis impendo, non tamen eo cum fructu, qui temporis diuturnitatem compenſare poſſit. Sed quoniam alea jacta eſt, pergendum eſt. Prodibunt de novo prælectiones in Jonam & Malachiam, quibus annectitur diſputatio contra Judæos, in poſteriorem ad Theſſalonicenſes, in ſecundum & tertium caput Apocalypſeos; & diſputatio contra cardinalem Perronium: quæ cum opuſculis antehac editis juſtum conficient volumen. Præmiſit D. Caſper Brantius prolixiorem vitæ Arminii hiſtoriam, quæ multa hactenus exteris ignota continebit. Prodiit nuper apud nos tractatus Anglici, "quod Religio Chriſtiana, qualis nobis eſt "repræſentata in ſcriptura ſacra, ſit ſumme rationalis," verſio Gallica. Illius autorem volunt multi eſſe amicum meum. Ego reſpondeo, mihi nihil de eo conſtare; & cum autor, quiſquis ille ſit, latere vult, noſtrum non eſſe conjecturis, ut plurimum fallacibus, indulgere. Ego ſumma cum voluptate lectioni illius incumbo, & in præcipuo (quod toto libro, de fidei chriſtianæ objecto tractat) argumento illi prorſus aſſentior. Hoc recte percepto, graviſſimas ac acerbiſſimas in eccleſia chriſtiana diſputationes feliciter componi poſſe puto; ſaltem eccleſia, non obſtante opinionum diverſitate, pacem facili negotio poſſe reſtitui: ea enim quæ nunc à pleriſque ut unicum ferme chriſtianiſmi fundamentum urgentur, objecto fidei non comprehendi planum fiet. Quod unicum anathematiſmis, ſchiſmatibus, & odiis tollendis remedium eſt. Ego, ut videas me attente tractatum hunc legere, omniaque argumenta exacte ponderare, non poſſum, quin tibi obſervationem quandam indicem, quæ licet forte non magni videri poſſet eſſe momenti, tamen argumento autoris, quo utitur, pondus aliquod afferre poteſt. Cap. iv. autor ad ſuæ ſententiæ ſtabilimentum adducit locum ex 2 epiſt. Joan. ver. 7. quem optime ab ipſo allegatum judico: verum verſio Gallica ita eum exhibet, ut, me judice, non exacte exprimat ſenſum, qui in Græco extat, quique ſententiam autoris validius confirmat. Qua ratione eum Anglice expreſſerit autor, ignoro. Gallice autem ita extat: Que pluſieurs impoſteurs ſe ſont élevez dans le monde, leſquels ne confeſſent point, que Jeſus, le Meſſie, ſoit venu en chair: quæ ſenſum hunc continere videntur, quod impoſtores hi non confeſſi ſunt, quod Jeſus, qui eſt Meſſias, venerit in carne. Græcus autem textus ita habet: Ὅτι πολλοὶ πλάνοι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί. Quæ poſteriora verba ego verto, non, qui non confitentur Jeſum, qui eſt Chriſtus, ſeu Meſſias, in carne veniſſe; ſed, qui non confitentur Jeſum, Meſſiam, qui in carne venit: non enim eſt infinitivus in Græco, ſed participium. Hic ſenſus eſt longe alius, & autoris hujus ſcopo multo accommodatior. Priore enim ſenſu hæc eſſe impoſtorum falſa doctrina arguitur, quod non confiteantur Jeſum, qui eſt Meſſias, in carne veniſſe. Inde ſequeretur, quod qui confitetur Jeſum, de quo Joannes affirmat quod ſit Meſſias (vox enim Χριστὸς, per appoſitionem, hoc ſenſu eſt legenda) in carne veniſſe, maneat in doctrina Chriſti, ut eſt ver. 9. Atqui multi, qui non credebant Jeſum eſſe Meſſiam, credebant tamen Jeſum, qui Meſſias eſt, in carne veniſſe. Si poſteriore ſenſu vertantur, tum ſenſus eſt, impoſtores non confiteri Jeſum Chriſtum, qui in carne venit; hoc eſt, non confiteri, quod ille Jeſus, qui in carne venit, ſit Meſſias. Confiteri enim Jeſum Meſſiah, eſt, confiteri quod Jeſus ſit Meſſias, ſeque illius diſcipulum profiteri; juxta Matth. x. 32. Illum autem Jeſum, quem confiteri oportet, deſcribit Joannes, quod ſit ille qui in carne venit, & inter Judæos verſatus eſt. Inde ſequitur, quod ille in doctrina Chriſti maneat, qui confitetur quod Jeſus, qui in carne venit, ſit Meſſias. Et hæc eſt ſincera fidei in Chriſtum confeſſio. Eundem eſſe ſenſum puto, 1 Joan. iv. 2, 3. ubi ſimiliter non reperitur infinitivus, ſed participium ἐληλυθότα. Non eſt quidem hæc obſervatio tanti in hoc negotio, facit tamen ad genuinam textus Græci intelligentiam, & autoris inſtituto favet. In aliis autem diſputationibus, quæ cum Mennonitis noſtratibus inſtituuntur, maximi eſt uſus. Sed tempus eſt ut abrumpam. Vides

des tibi cum homine loquace rem eſſe, quis cum literis ſuis te compellat, calamo imperare non poteſt. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & feliciter age.

Amſtelod. . . . . .
1696.

Tui obſervantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

SI omnes in religione eo uterentur candore, quo tu uſus es in amicitia, non majorem offenſionem inter diſſentientes parerent argumenta, quam inter nos nuper peperit dituturnum nimis ſilentium. Si epiſtolarum reciprocationem æſtimem, an tua major taciturnitas, an mea, dicere non auſim, credo me ea ex parte peccâſſe. Ea vero utcunque ſe res habeat, tu certe humanitate tua & ignoſcendo prior effeciſti, ut culpa omnino mea ſit, eoque magis probroſam mihi ſentio, quod tu & leviſſima quidem reprehenſione abſtinuiſti; negotiorum excuſatione, qua pro me apud te uſus es, aliquid momenti erga alium habere potuiſſet, certe tibi me eo nomine excuſatum nolim, addere etiam poteram valetudinem, tota præterita hyeme valde incommodam. Sed nec hoc quidem, quo minus tam charo tam fido amico ſcriberem, impedimento eſſe debuit. Vis rem ipſam ut tibi ſcriberem, ſemper quæro tempus omnino vacuum, animumque ab aliis curis & cogitationibus liberum; hoc cum raro accidit ita ad voluntatem, ut non ad aliud & magis opportunum tempus rejiciam, de die in diem differendo annus elabitur, & tandem pudor culpæ ſuperveniens tardiorem reddit. Si hoc ignaviæ latebram dicas, non recuſo; hoc certo ſcio imminutæ amicitiæ, vel mutatæ voluntatis non eſſe crimen; & forſan ut omnia fatear, non expeditus linguæ Latinæ uſus faſtidium menti non bene ſe explicanti oggerit. Sed tua amicitia & benevolentia, vir ampliſſime, omnia ſuperat. Gratulationem tuam, eo, quo tu ſcripſiſti animo, id eſt, amiciſſimo, accipio: ſed quid tandem mihi, ſenectutis & valetudinis onere ſuccumbenti, cum negotiorum publicorum tumultu? Seceſſus mihi jam quærendus eſſet, & vel annis vel ſtudiis meis quies. Hoc, ſi mihi credas, & magis aveo, & mihi magis accommodatum credo, ſed neſcio quo fato, quod alius ambitioſe & fruſtra quærit, alii vel inſcio, vel etiam detrectanti tribuitur. Viri iſtius magni ſcripta inedita, tua opera proditura, gratulor reipub. chriſtianæ. De libro Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verſo, cujus lectioni, cum ad me ſcripſeras, incubuiſti, idem tecum ſentio, contentionum & ſchiſmatum radices evellit, quantum id poteſt religionis chriſtianæ veritas & fundamentum, ſi id auctor recte explicuerit, ut mihi videtur; cum vero totum perlegeris, & tuam & aliorum de tractatu illo ſententiam ſcire vellem. Theologis noſtris tam conformiſtis, quam non-conformiſtis, diſplicere audio; reliqui (ut fit) probant, improbantve, prout ſuo vel alieno innituntur judicio. Quod monuiſti de loco Joannis tecum ſentio: idem eſt in verſione noſtra, quem in Gallica obſervâſti, error; ſed ad rem facit, verum appoſitè magis textus Græcus, quem tu rectiſſime, ut mihi videtur, interpretaris. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & me ama,

Lond. 3 Sep.
1696.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

CITIUS tuis, decimo quinto demum Octobris die mihi redditis, reſpondiſſem, verum quoniam judicium meum de tractatu Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verſo petiiſti, tempus à reliquis curis vacuum quæſivi, ut tractatum illum elegantiſſimum uno tenore perlegere, omniaque illo contenta conſiderare & expendere poſſem. Maxime mihi opportunum videbatur tempus hoc hibernum, quo ab exercitiis academicis feriari ſolemus; ſed & illud frigore ſuo acutiſſimo non leviter impetum ſcribendi remoratum eſt. Legi totum tractatum à capite ad calcem; nec unicâ lectione contentus, eum relegi. Interim huc perlatus eſt actorum Lipſienſium menſis October, quo compendium tractatus illius, pro doctorum illorum more, nobis exhibetur. Primo aiunt autoris illius Pockii nomen eſſe dici (credo eos incerto rumori temere fidem adhibuiſſe, & in nomine una aberrâſſe litera) tum compendio quod confecere, omnia, quibus aliquam autori invidiam conflari poſſe putant, ſedulo enumerant, ut ſyſtematum theologicorum contemptum ulciſci velle videantur. Extollunt magnifice Joannem Edvardum, quod præclare hactenus in Anglia contra Socinianam hæreſin variis ſcriptis militaverit, librumque ediderit meditationum quarundam de cauſis & occaſione atheiſmi, hodierni præſertim ſæculi; in quo paſſim autoris hujus anonymi ſententias, ut periculoſas & à ſocinianiſmo ac atheiſmo non alienas, perſtrinxit. Subjungunt hiſce compendium duorum ſcriptorum, quorum alterum brevis pro tractatu illo eſt apologia: alterum Joannis Edvardi, titulo, "Socinianiſm unmaſked." Tu illos tractatus rectius me nôſti. Videntur dolere, quod meditationes Edvardi ipſis ad manum non fuerint; alias & illarum compendium habuiſſemus. Syſtema theologiæ me ſcripſiſſe nôſti: non tamen eo in pretio apud me ſyſtemata ſunt, ut non hunc exiguum tractatum multis ſyſtematibus præferam; imo plus veræ theologiæ ex illo, quam ex operoſis multorum ſyſtematibus, hauſiſſe me ingenue profiteor. Sed vero theologiam autor ille tradit nimis facilem, nimis laxam, quæ ſalutem anguſtis humanorum decretorum vinculis alligatam minime cupit; nec orthodoxiam ex ſectarum confeſſionibus, ſed ſolo verbo divino acceſſit. Hoc crimen eſt, quod ſocinianiſmi & atheiſmi infami convitio à doctoribus ſyſtematicis traduci meretur: non aliter ac ſi, qui humana placita religioſe adorare recuſant, eo ipſo omnem religionem ejurare cenſendi eſſent. Eo autoris in hoc tractatu ſcopum ſummopere laudo; ſcopum ſuum feliciter aſſecutum eſſe, ſolideque ipſum, quod intendit, probâſſe judico. Imprimis placent mihi duo: methodus accurata hiſtoriæ evangelicæ, quam cap. ix. tradit, & per quam varia loca in evangeliis, in ſpeciem obſcura, feliciter admodum interpretatur: & perſpicua illa deductio argumentorum, quibus oſtendit, cur D. Jeſus Chriſtus, in terris degens, non expreſſis verbis docuerit ſe eſſe Meſſiam. Hæc autori huic peculiaria ſunt, ipſiuſque judicium ingeniique perſpicaciam clarè demonſtrant. In iis autem plurima ſunt, quibus præcipuum libri ſui argumentum, quod eſt, fidem, quod Jeſus ſit Chriſtus, eam eſſe, per quam juſtificamur, luculenter confirmat. Habes hic judicium meum de tractatu hoc, quem & tertio relegere ſtatui. Petis autem ut, ſi quædam in illius lectione obſervarem, tibi ſcriberem. Ego in tractatu adeo eximio vix quicquam, quod tibi proponi meretur, obſervavi: ita ſibi penitus me habet aſſentientem, ut exigua ſint, quæ obſervaverim, quæque principali ipſius ſcopo nihil officiunt, & quæ forſitan à me non plene intellecta ſunt. Quia vero judicium meum requiris, ego hæc, qualiacunque, tibi expendenda propono; non quia alicujus pretii ſunt, ſed ut morem geram tuæ voluntati. Statim in initio autor dicit, ſuper lapſu Adami fundatam eſſe doctrinam de redemptione. Equidem certum eſt, lapſum Adami à doctrina de redemptione non excludi: attamen & propria cujuſque noſtrûm peccata ab ea ſecludenda non ſunt. Plurimorum doctorum ſententia eſt, Dominum Jeſum nos liberâſſe è miſeria, in quam per Adami peccatum incidimus, & in eundem felicitatis ſtatum, quem in Adamo amiſimus, reſtituiſſe. Ego puto illos exiliter nimium de immenſo Chriſti beneficio ſentire, ipſumque ex multis peccatis, ut Apoſtolus, Rom. v. loquitur, nos liberâſſe, & ad ſtatum multo feliciorem, vitam nempe æternam in cœlis perduxiſſe. Huic addo: quod ibidem dicatur, Adamum per peccatum amiſiſſe immortalitatem, & factum eſſe mortalem. Si immortalitas autori huic ſignificet, quod Adamus ſi non peccâſſet, moriturus non fuiſſet, & mortalitas, quod per peccatum neceſſitatem moriendi contraxerit; veriſſimam ejus ſententiam judico. Si vero immortalitas, ut vox illa proprie ſonat, illi ſignificet moriendi impoſſibilitatem, non recte dici puto Adamum fuiſſe creatum immortalem. Ego ſententiam meam plenius explicui in theologia mea Chriſtiana, lib. ii. cap. 24. Verum hæc immortalitas, hoc eſt, immunitas è morte, alterius plane eſt generis quam immortalitas Dei: ſicut & mortalitas, ſeu moriendi potentia, multum differt à morte, ſeu moriendi neceſſitate. Quare etiam minus commode mihi dictum videtur, p. 230. quod Adami immortalitas ſit imago Dei, ad quam conditus eſt: & licet concederetur, alibi immortalitatem vocari imaginem Dei, non tamen exinde ſequeretur, quando Adamus ad imaginem Dei conditus dicitur, illam imaginem eſſe immortalitatem; non enim neceſſe eſt, omnia quæ alibi ſcriptura imagine Dei deſignat, ea comprehenſa eſſe, quando hominem ad imaginem Dei conditum dicit: ſufficit eximiam quandam in homine eſſe qualitatem, reſpectu cujus imaginem Dei referre dici poſſit. Inter alia loca video, p. 232. citari ad Rom. cap. viii. 29. ubi dicimur à Deo præcogniti & prædeſtinati "ut ſimus conformes imagini filii ejus, ut ipſe ſit primogenitus "inter multos fratres." Putat autor illa imagine, cui conformes eſſe debemus, deſignari immortalitatem & vitam æternam. Ego autem non tam vitam æternam, quam modum ad vitam æternam perveniendi, quo fideles Chriſti ſimiles eſſe debent, hic ſignificari credo, nimirum per crucem & afflictiones: quam imaginem Dominus diſcipulis indicat, Luc. xxiv. 26. "nonne oportuit Chriſtum iſta pati, "atque intrare in gloriam ſuam?" Hanc explicationem totius capitis ſeries evincit: jam enim, v. 17. dixerat "hæredes ſumus Dei, cohæredes autem Chriſti, "ſiquidem cum ipſo patimur, ut una cum ipſo glorificemur." Eaque occaſione multus eſt, ut fideles hortetur ad crucem & afflictiones evangelii cauſa ſuſtinendas, inter alia, argumento à voluntate divina petito, quod per crucem nos ad ſalutem velit perducere: & ne id ipſis abſonum videatur, Deum, quos diliget, tot dura in hoc mundo immittere, exemplum illis Chriſti proponit, cujus imagini ut ſint conformes, Deus eos prædeſtinavit, & conſequenter ad crucem ferendam vocavit: & in ſequentibus porro oſtendit, illas afflictiones non poſſe ipſos ſeparare ab amore Dei, quo ipſos in Chriſto complectitur. Hinc & ſcriptura paſſim aliis locis inculcat, nos gloriæ Chriſti fore conſortes, ſi & cum ipſo crucem ſuſtinuerimus, 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. & præſertim, Heb. ii. 10. "Decebat ut "ipſe, propter quem ſunt omnia, & per quem ſunt omnia, multos filios in glo"riam adducendo, principem ſalutis ipſorum per afflictiones conſecraret." Et hoc potiſſimum argumento fideles ad conſtantem perſecutionum tolerantiam hortatur, 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13. Heb. xii. 1, 2, 3. Hanc credo eſſe imaginem Chriſti, cui ut conformes ſimus Deum nos prædeſtinâſſe ait apoſtolus, Rom. viii. 29. conſentaneè iis quæ leguntur Act. xiv. 22. 2 Tim. iii. 12. pag. 526. ait autor ſibi non occurrere, quod D. Jeſus ipſe ſibi tribuat titulum ſacerdotis, aut mentionem faciat ullius rei, quæ ad ſacerdotium refertur. Munus Chriſti ſacerdotale in apoſtolorum epiſtolis, & præcipue in epiſtola ad Hebræos nobis plenius eſſe deſcriptum, manifeſtum eſt; nec negari poteſt D. Jeſum nuſquam in evangeliis ſibi ſacerdotis titulum tribuere. Attamen negandum non videtur, quod ſibi alicubi actionem ſacerdotalem tribuat: diſerte enim ait, ſe "animam ſuam "λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν daturum," Matth. xx. 28. Sanguinem ſuum vocat "ſanguinem novi fœderis, qui pro multis effunditur, in remiſſionem peccato"rum," Matth. xxvi. 27. Negare non poſſumus hunc eſſe actum, qui ad ſacerdotium reſpectum habet. Quare fortaſſe præſtitiſſet id præteriiſſe, neque hominibus calumniandi occaſionem quærentibus quicquam ſuppeditâſſe, quod cum ſpecie aliqua carpere poſſe videatur. Præter hæc, in tractatu hoc, quædam mihi occurrere videntur, quæ vix inter ſe conciliari poſſunt, niſi forte autor mentem ſuam plenius explicet. Pag. 13. ait. Cum Adam pulſus ſit è paradiſo terreſtri, omniſque ejus poſteritas ea propter naſcatur, extra hunc deliciarum locum; inde naturaliter ſequi debet, omnes homines morituros, & in æternum ſub potentia mortis manſuros, atque ita penitus fore perditos: ex eo ſtatu autem omnes per Chriſtum liberatos docet, & quidem per legem fidei, quam poſtea fuſe oſtendit evangelio contineri. Hæc meo judicio vere dicuntur: verum non ſatis capio, quomodo cum his bene concilientur, quæ leguntur, pag. 525, & 527. quod qui juſti ſunt non indigent gratia, ſed jus habent ad arborem vitæ. Illi enim quatenus Adami poſteri, etiam ſub potentia mortis æternum manere debent: quomodo ergo per ſuam juſtitiam jus poſſunt acquirere ad arborem vitæ, ita ut nulla gratia indigeant? cum antea docuerat, omnes ex illo ſtatu neceſſariæ mortis liberatos, & quidem per legem fidei: unde ſequi videtur, liberationem illam non poſſe fieri, niſi per legem fidei. Ergo non per perfectam legis operum obedientiam: nam è miſeria liberare gratiæ eſt, quam lex operum excludit. Tum nec cum principio iſto commode ſatis conciliare poſſum, quod author dicit, qua ratione illi, qui de Chriſto nihil quicquam inaudiverunt, ſalvari poſſint. Si enim per Adamum neceſſariæ ac æternæ morti ſunt obnoxii, è qua per ſolam legem fidei beneficio Chriſti liberentur, non videtur illis ſufficere poſſe, quod lumine naturæ aliquas fidei illius, quod Deus ſit miſericors, ſcintillas habeant; ſed per illam fidei legem, quam Deus ſalutis obtinendæ conditionem ſtatuit ſervari debere videntur. Video doctores ſyſtematicos hic multum offendi: atque ideo neque acquieſcere illis quinque fructibus, quos D. Jeſum adventu ſuo in mundum hominibus contuliſſe docet autor. Ego in doctorum ſyſtematicorum gratiam nihil in veritatis præjudicium docendum judico: & ſi quid illi præter rationem carpant, indignationem eorum ſpernendam cenſeo: ſed conſiderandum, an non majus quid dici poſſit & oporteat, quod ipſis licet non ſatisfaciat, minus tamen forſan offendet, & meo judicio plenius rei veritatem exhibet. Video fructus quidem indicari prophetici ac regii muneris Chriſti, nullos vero ſacerdotalis. Quid ſi ergo hic addatur muneris ſacerdotalis fructus; quod mundus Deo ſit reconciliatus, adeo ut nunc per Chriſtum omnibus omnino hominibus remedium paratum ſit è miſeria ſua in quam, occaſione peccati Adami, propriiſque peccatis inciderunt, emergendi & ſalutem æternam conſequendi? Hoc poſito, puto explicari poſſe, qua ratione, ſalvis principiis ante poſitis, ii, qui de Chriſto nihil ne fando quidem audiverunt, per Chriſtum ſalvari poſſint. Nempe quod Deus illis qui (ut autor hic ait, pag. 529.) inſtinctu luminis naturæ ad gratiam & miſericordiam ejus confugiunt, delictorumque reſipiſcentiam agunt, eorumque veniam ſupplices petunt, gratiam per Chriſtum impetratam applicet, ipſiſque propter Chriſtum remiſſionem peccatorum & juſtitiam imputet. Atque ita beneficium, quod ubi Chriſtus prædicatus eſt, non niſi per directam in Chriſtum fidem, obtineri poteſt, illi ſine directa in Chriſtum, ipſis non prædicatum, fide conſequantur per gratioſam imputationem divinam; qui favores & beneficia ſua latius extendere poteſt, quam promiſſorum verba ferunt. Ut ita omnium ſalus in ſacrificio Chriſti propitiatorio fundetur. Puto hæc non multum à ſententia hujus autoris differre, & iis, quæ evangelio continentur, conſentanea eſſe. Ultimum caput per omnia amplector: omnia credenda & obſervanda ut ſalutem conſequamur evangeliis & actis contineri credo; nullumque novum articulum in epiſtolis apoſtolicis ſuperaddi: quæ alii novos fidei articulos urgent, non novi articuli ſunt, ſed aut magis dilucidæ articulorum jam antea traditorum explanationes; aut doctrinæ antea traditæ ab objectionibus præcipue Judæorum vindicationes, cujus illuſtre nobis documentum præbet epiſtola ad Romanos. Hæc ſunt paucula illa, quæ mihi inter legendum occurrerunt, quæque tibi expendenda propono. Fortaſſe autoris mentem per omnia non plene aſſecutus ſum. Verum exigua hæc ſunt, & extra principalem autoris ſcopum, quem argumentis omni exceptione majoribus eum probâſſe judico, adeo ut me ſibi habeat penitus aſſentientem. Imprimis laudo, quod tam candide & ingenue, nec minus ſolide, demonſtret reſipiſcentiæ & bonorum operum neceſſitatem, & per legem fidei non penitus eſſe abolitam legem operum, ſed mitigatam. Ego illorum hominum theologiam non capio, qui fidem, qua nobis merita Chriſti applicamus, etiam ante ullum reſipiſcentiæ actum, nos coram Deo juſtificare docent.

docent. Hac enim perſuaſione imbuti facile, mediis in ſceleribus, homines incauti ſibi juſtitiam & ſalutem adſcribunt, modo in ſe fiduciam minime vacillantem deprehendant. Et doctores improvidi hanc temerariam confidentiam alunt, dum hominibus impiis & ſceleratis, modo circa vitæ finem fiduciam in Chriſti meritis firmam profiteantur, ſalutem ſine ulla hæſitatione addicere non verentur. Hujus generis exemplum in noſtra civitate recens, quod oblivione obliterari non debet, commemorabo. Præterita æſtate ancilla quædam, ut heri ſui ædes ſpoliare poſſet, noctu eas incendit. Mortis damnata fidem ſuam in Chriſti meritis verbis emphaticis, coram miniſtro verbi divini, qui morituræ adfuit, prolixe profeſſa eſt: Ille ſceleratæ non tantum indubiam ſalutis ſpem fecit, ſed & poſtridie pro concione illius fidem prolixe populo commendavit, adeo quidem, ut dicere non veritus ſit, ſe, ſola ignominia excepta, talem ſibi vitæ exitum optare; multis applaudentibus, aliis vero (non Remonſtrantibus modo, ſed & contra-Remonſtrantibus) non ſine indignatione talem Encomiaſtem cum ſuo encomio reprehendentibus. Verum tandem manum de tabula. Tu pro ſolita tua benevolentia prolixitati meæ ignoſces. Vale, vir ampliſſime, mihique ſemper venerande.

Amſtelod. 26 Martii, 1697.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

INTER negotia publica & privatam valetudinem tam parum mihi conceditur otii literarii, ut ſperem diuturnum meum ſilentium, non ex imminuta omnino in te voluntate aut amicitia ortum, tibi, quæ tua eſt in amicos lenitas, excuſatum fore. An tu mihi egove tibi noviſſime literas dederim, quærere nolo. Satis egomet mihi culpandus videor, quod tam diu careo fructu ſuaviſſimæ tuæ conſuetudinis, & magnus mihi dolenduſque in curriculo vitæ meæ hiatus apparet, qui deſtitutus literarum inter nos commercio, vacuus ea voluptate fuit, quæ maxima cum ſit, ex benevolentia ſolum mutuiſque amicorum ſermonibus percipitur. Præteritam hyemem cura infirmæ ſanitatis rure totam abſumpſit. Niſi quod negotia nonnulla importuna ſubinde irrepentia totum, id, quicquid erat temporis, quod amicis deſtinaveram invito abriperent. Adeo ut non in tuo ſolum, ſed & multorum mihi amiciſſimorum ære alieno ſim, nec quomodo me redimam ſcio, ſi taciturnitas mea nomine negligentiæ ſuſpecta ſit. Tu, ſcio, humanior es quam ut eo me condemnari velis crimine. Quamquam enim tardior aliquando mihi in reſpondendo calamus, animus tamen nunquam deficit, & ſi quando hac utor libertate, erga eos ſolum utor, quibuſcum non ſolummodo vitam civilem, ſed intimam ſolidamque amicitiam mihi colendam propono, quibus multum me ſcio debere, & quibus inſuper cupio me plurimum debere. Ego nuper Londinum profectus poſt octidui incommodam & anheloſam moram præpropero reditu huc me recipere coactus ſum. Hæc pulmonum imbecillitas me brevi ſpero reſtituet priſtino otio. Valetudinario ſeni quid reſtat præter vota pro patria? Naturæ & imbecillitati cedendum eſt. Hoc mihi ſi concedatur, libri & literæ, amicorumque interrupta vel impedita commercia, optima illa ſenectutis oblectamenta, redibunt. Quid enim in republica literaria agatur, civili implicato vix ſcire vacat. Apud nos ſane diſceptationibus & rixis maximam partem impenditur ſcripturientium atramentum. Si diſputantium fervor ſolo veritatis amore accenderetur, laudanda eſſet litigantium induſtria & contentio; ſed non ita ſemper tractantur argumenta, ut ea ad veritatem ſtabiliendam elucidandamve quæſita, credere poſſis. In mea de Intellectu Humano diſſertatione jam tandem aliquid repertum eſt non ita ſanum, idque à viris haud infimi ſubſellii reprehenſum. Si quid ego eorum argumentis edoctus repre-

reprehenſione dignum reperirem, gratus agnoſcerem, & haud invitus corrigerem. Id cum non ſit, rationem mihi reddendam cenſeo, cur non mutaverim ſententiam, cum nihil reperiam in ea à veritate alienum. Hæc mea defenſio aliquam partem præteritæ hyemis, prout tulit valetudo, occupatam habuit. Sed quid ego te moror noſtris nugis? Quid tu illic, voſque alii ſtudiis utilioribus intenti agatis, aveo ſcire. Næ ego iniquus officiorum exactor, ſi à te feſtinatas poſtulem literas in ſcribendo ipſe tantus ceſſator. Verum tu ſcio id facies ne nimis ſerio mihi iraſci videaris. Vale, vir optime, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 4 Mar. Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,
1696-7.
J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

MENSE Martio ſcripſi tibi epiſtolam ſatis prolixam. Hac æſtate cum viris aliquot primariis ſermonem de variis habui: inter alia incidit ſermo de tractatu, de quo, in ſuperioribus meis, judicium meum ſcripſi. Omnes eum ſummopere laudabant. Unus vero titulum ſibi non ſatis placere affirmabat; tanquam nimis exilem pro dignitate materiæ, quæ toto libro tractatur. Autoris hujus longe diverſum aiebat fuiſſe inſtitutum à plerorumque ſcriptorum conſuetudine, qui exigui pretii libris titulos magnificos præfigere ſolent: hunc autem libro magnifico exilem præfixiſſe titulum. Oportuiſſe titulum aliquatenus reſpondiſſe dignitati operis, ut & ille poſſet lectores allicere. Alius vir (idem qui tibi antehac Sladum noſtrum commendatum eſſe voluit, quod tibi ſoli dictum velim) ſe bis tractatum illum perlegiſſe aiebat: laudabat illum ſummopere, autoremque fidei chriſtianæ objectum, quod præcipuum totius libri argumentum eſt, ſolidiſſime probâſſe affirmabat; unum deſiderabat; nim. quod autor jam ſtatim ab initio vulgarem de peccato originis ſententiam rejecerit ac refutaverit, potuiſſe autorem, intacta illa ſententia, nihilominus præcipuum tractatus ſui argumentum adſtruere: nunc multos, quorum mentibus alte ſententia illa inſedit, lecto libri initiô, antequam ad principale ejus argumentum accedant, offendi, atque ita præjudicium contra autorem concipere, ut ſequentia non ea animi ſerenitate quæ requiritur, legant, ſicque alieniores reddi: cum potius ipſorum benevolentia captanda fuiſſet, ut judicio integro expendant ſententiam, veram quidem, ſed communi theologorum appetitui minus conſentaneam; qui omnes ferme fidei chriſtianæ aliquid de ſuo admixtum cupiunt; quaſi ea ſuo cœtui peculiaris ſit, & alii ab illa excludantur. Qui error ut ipſorum animis eruetur, alliciendi potius ſunt, quam aſſertione alicujus dogmatis ſibi minus probati alienandi. Candide tibi ſcribo quid viri hi deſideraverint. Hac occaſione, ut fieri ſolet, ſermo ad alia deflexit, & quidem quibus argumentis ſolidiſſime unitas Dei probetur. Idem ille vir primarius affirmabat, ſe argumenta quædam irrefragabilia requirere, quibus probetur Ens æternum, ſeu per ſe exiſtens, ſeu undiquaque perfectum, eſſe tantum unum. Deſiderabat quædam in argumentis Hugonis Grotii, libro primo de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ. Addebat, audiviſſe ſe tractatum tuum de Intellectu Humano in linguam Gallicam verti; multum ſe tribuere judicio tuo, ac ſummopere verſionem illam deſiderare. Quæſivit ex me, num in illo tractatu etiam unitatem entis à ſe exiſtentis adſtruxiſſes? Ego me ignorante reſpondi, qui tractatum, utpote lingua mihi ignota conſcriptum, nunquam legerim. Voluit itaque tibi ſerio per me commendari, ut ſi in tractatu tuo quæſtionem hanc intactam reliqueris, illius adſtructione tractatum augere velis, unitatemque entis independentis ſolide adſtruere. Manifeſtum videtur ens independens, quod omnem in ſe complectitur perfectionem, unicum tantum eſſe: ille tamen hoc ita probari cupiebat, ut argumentum nulla parte laboraret. Ante triduum aurem mihi vellicari juſſit, & à me quæri,

an jam ad te ſcripſiſſem, & aliquod à te reſponſum accepiſſem. Non credideram ipſum id tam enixe voluiſſe; ſed quia video rem hanc ipſi cordi eſſe, ſcriptionem meam ulterius differendam minime ſtatui. Rogo, ſi id negotia tua permittant, ut mihi reſponſum ſcribas, quod ipſi prælegere poſſim, ita tamen temperata tua ſcriptione, ut minime ſubolere ipſi poſſit, me tibi ipſum aliquatenus indicâſſe; poſſes ita reſpondere, quaſi ego tibi ſcripſerim, viros quoſdam eruditos de hac materia diſſerentes, ex ipſis aliquem, qui te magni æſtimat, de ea tuum voluiſſe audire judicium, & ut quæſtionem hanc in tuo de Intellectu Humano tractatu expenderes deſiderâſſe. Vides quam aperte tecum agam, & quid ab amicitia tua expectare auſim. Hagam Comitis nuper excurri; ſalutavi honoratiſſimum Comitem Pembrokienſem, & per integram horam varios cum ipſo, etiam de rebus theologicis, ſermones habui. Virum in tam excelſa dignitate conſtitutum tantum in rebus ſacris ſtudium poſuiſſe ſummopere miror. Ita ſermonibus ejus afficiebar, ut vix per ſemihoram ipſi adfuiſſe mihi viſus ſim, cum tamen ab eo digreſſus integram horam eſſe elapſam deprehenderim. Ego viro illi excellentiſſimo longævam vitam precor, ut regni Anglicani negotia ipſius auſpiciis feliciter adminiſtrentur: tibi vero valetudinem proſperam, ut cogitata tua orbi erudito communicare poſſis. Vale, ampliſſime vir, & ſalveat plurimum Domina Maſham. Salutat te uxor mea & filia.

Amſtelod. 8 Octob. Tui amantiſſimus,
1697.

P. à LIMBORCH.

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE à Mr. LIMBORCH.

Monſieur,

SI mon nom eſt venu à là connoiſſance de ces habiles gens avec qui vous vous entretenez quelquefois, & s'ils daignent parler de mes écrits dans les converſations que vous avez avec eux, c'eſt une faveur dont je vous ſuis entierement redevable. La bonne opinion que vous avez d'une perſonne que vous voulez bien honorer de vôtre amitié les a prévenuë en ma faveur. Je ſouhaiterois que mon Eſſai concernant l'Entendement fut écrit dans une langue que ces excellens hommes pûſſent entendre, car par le jugement éxact & ſincere qu'ils porteroient de mon ouvrage, je pourrois compter ſurement ſur ce qu'il y a de vrai ou de faux, & ſur qu'il peut y avoir de tolerable. Il y a ſept ans que ce livre a été publié. La premiere, & la ſeconde édition ont eû le bonheur d'être generalement bien reçuës: mais la derniere n'a pas eû le même avantage. Après un ſilence de cinq ou ſix années on commence d'y découvrir je ne ſçai quelles fautes dont on ne s'étoit point apperçu auparavant; & ce qu'il y a de ſingulier, on prétend trouver matiere à des controverſes de religion dans cet ouvrage, ou je n'ai eû deſſein de traiter que des queſtions de pure ſpéculation philoſophique. J'avois reſolu de faire quelques additions, dont j'ai déja compoſé quelques-unes qui ſont aſſez amples, & qui auroient pû paroître en leur place dans la quatriéme édition que le libraire ſe diſpoſe à faire. Et j'aurois volontiers ſatisfait à vôtre deſir, ou au deſir d'aucun de vos amis en y inſerant les preuves de l'unité de Dieu qui ſe preſentent à mon eſprit. Car je ſuis enclin à croire que l'unité de Dieu peut être auſſi évidemment démontrée que ſon exiſtence; & qu'elle peut être établie ſur des preuves qui ne laiſſeront aucun ſujet d'en douter. Mais j'aime la paix, & il y a des gens dans le monde qui aiment ſi fort les criailleries & les vaines conteſtations, que je doute ſi je dois leur fournir de noveaux ſujets de diſpute.

LES remarques que vous me dites que d'habiles gens on fait ſur le Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity, &c. ſont ſans doute fort juſtes, & il eſt vrai que pluſieurs lecteurs ont été choquez de certaines penſées qu'on voit au commencement de ce livre, leſquelles ne s'accordent pas tout-à-fait avec des doctrines communément reçuës. Mais ſur cela je ſuis obligé de renvoyer ces meſſieurs aux deux défenſes que l'auteur a fait de ſon ouvrage. Car ayant publié ce petit

livre, comme il le dit lui-méme, principalement afin de convaincre ceux qui doutent de la religion chrêtienne, il ſemble qu'il a été conduit à traiter ces matieres malgré lui ; car pour rendre ſon livre utile aux déïſtes, il ne pouvoit point ſe taire entierement ſur ces articles, auxquels ils s'aheurtent deſqu'ils veulent entrer dans l'éxamen de la religion chrêtienne. Je ſuis,

Londres, 29 Octob. 1697.

Monſieur,

Vôtre très-humble,

& très-obéïſſant ſerviteur,

J. LOCKE.

Vir ampliſſime,

NE mireris quod lingua Gallica reſponſum à me ſit acceptiſſimis tuis Latinis 8. hujus menſis mihi ſcriptis, liceat mihi me tibi excuſare & negotiorum multitudine, quæ otium negat, & linguæ Latinæ deſuetudine, quæ expedite ſcribere prohibet. Hanc meam epiſtolam aliis vel prælegendam vel monſtrandam ex tuis colligo: virorum præcellentium cenſuræ ſtyli negligentia me objicere minime decorum judicavi. Quicquid enim tua vel humanitas vel amicitia in me excuſare ſolet, aliis vel nauſeam vel certe non condonandam moleſtiam creare poteſt. Scripſi igitur quod dicendum habui lingua vernacula feſtinatim, Galloque in ſuam linguam vertendam tradidi. Ex quo exorta eſt inter epiſcopum Wigornienſem (qui me quæſita cauſa aggreſſus eſt) & me diſputatio: gens theologorum togata in librum meum mire excitatur, laudataque hactenus diſſertatio illa tota jam ſcatet erroribus (vel ſaltem continet latentia errorum vel ſcepſeos fundamenta) pia doctorum virorum cura nunc demum detegendis. Ad unitatem Dei quod attinet, Grotii, fateor, in loco à te citato argumenta non abunde ſatisfaciunt. Putaſne tamen quempiam, qui Deum agnoſcit, poſſe dubitare numen illud eſſe unicum? ego ſane nunquam dubitavi; etiamſi, fateor, mihi ex hac occaſione cogitandi videtur altius aliquanto elevandam eſſe mentem, & à communi philoſophandi ratione ſegregandam, ſi quis id philoſophice, vel, ſi ita dicam, phyſice probare velit; ſed hoc tibi ſoli dictum ſit. Uxorem tuam dilectiſſimam liberoſque officioſiſſime ſaluto.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

GRATISSIMAS tuas 29 Octobris ſcriptas recte accepi, viroque magnifico, cujus potiſſimum rogatu ad te ſcripſi, prælegi. Res ipſa, de qua queritur, à nemine ſano in dubium vocari poſſe videtur; ipſa enim deitatis notio unitatem involvit, nec permittit, ut illa pluribus communis credi poſſit. Quare, me judice, nemo, qui attente ſecum conſiderat, quid voce Dei intelligamus, pluralitatem Deorum aſſerere poteſt. Quia tamen eam ab ethnicis aſſeri videmus, & contra eos ſcripturæ autoritate pugnari non poteſt, rationibus è natura petitis convincendi ſunt. Quare ejuſmodi requirit argumenta vir magnificus, quibus ſolide demonſtretur ens independens & perfectum unicum tantum eſſe poſſe. Ex ſolide adſtructa eſſentiæ divinæ unitate porro facili negotio omnia attributa divina, noſtrumque tam erga Deum, quam proximum officium deduci poſſe certiſſimus eſt. Carteſium dicit unitatem illam non probâſſe, ſed præſuppoſuiſſe. Ipſe ſibi demonſtrationem ſcripſit, ſed eam aiebat ſubtiliorem eſſe. Et quia multum tuo tribuit judicio, tua argumenta avidiſſime videre deſiderat. Prælegi illi epiſtolam tuam: gaudebat, quod in ea affirmes te id præſtare poſſe: tanto enixius jam argumenta tua deſiderat. Dolebat tibi litem temere motam: quoniam autem, ne fortaſſe novis litibus & ſuſpicionibus præter tuam intentionem vel minimam præbeas anſam, publico ſcripto argumenta tua proferre gravaris,

gravaris, rogat ut ea privatim ad me ſcribas, ſub promiſſo ſilentii: ille hæc evulgare minime intendit, ſed ad propriam ſuam inſtructionem, & in veritate confirmationem requirit. Duobus præter illum viris, intima mihi amicitia conjunctis, qui priori noſtræ converſationi interfuerunt, D. de Hartoge Fiſci Hollandici advocato, & D. advocato Van den Ende, & præter illos, nulli omnino mortalium ea communicabuntur, niſi fortaſſe & D. Clerico ea prælegi permittas, quod tui arbitrii eſt; ipſo enim ignaro hæc omnia ad te ſcribo. Rem facturus es & viro magnifico maximopere gratam: & quod fidis ſolummodo amicis, & quidem paucis adeo, concreditur, cujuſque nullum à me cuiquam apographum dabitur, id diſpaleſcere non poteſt. Quinimo, ut tanto honeſtius apographum denegare queam, ſuaſerim ut id in epiſtola tua enixe à me ſtipuleris. Nolim ego te genti togatæ, tanquam ſcepſeos fundamenta jacientem, magis ſuſpectum fieri: pleroſque illorum alieno judicio, tanquam nervis alienis mobile lignum, præcipites in laudem ac vituperium immerentium rapi certus ſum. Cum tuas legerem, lepida mihi incidit Thomæ Mori in ſuo Utopia fabella. Refert is, cum Raphael Hythlodæus, coram Cardinale Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi doctiſſime de republica diſſeruiſſet, legis quendam peritum commoto capite & labiis diſtortis quicquid dixerat improbâſſe; ac ſtatim omnes, qui aderant, pedibus in juriſperiti illius iviſſe ſententiam. Cum vero Cardinalis Hythlodæi ſententiam probabat, mox quæ ipſo narrante contempſerant omnes, eadem neminem non certatim laudibus eſſe proſecutum. Simile quid tractatui tuo evenit, qui antea integro ſexennio communi applauſu exceptus fuit, nunc inſurgente contra te magni nominis epiſcopo totus erroribus ſcatet, & latentia continet ſcepſeos fundamenta. Ita ſolet theologorum vulgus non ex ſuo ſed alieno ſapere cerebro. Verum talium judicio epiſtola tua nequaquam exponetur. Quod vero linguæ Latinæ deſuetudinem prætextis, quæ expedita ſcribere prohibet, plane me in ruborem dedit. Quale itaque tuum de me judicium eſſe cenſebo, cujus ſtylus cum tuo comparatus plane ſordet? Epiſtolæ tuæ omnes, etiam veloci calamo ſcriptæ, ſunt non tantum puræ & terſæ, ſed & vividæ ac elegantes: quæ ſi tibi diſpliceant, quid de meis judices non difficile mihi eſt colligere. Nihilominus amicitia tua fretus, confidenter quicquid in calamum venit tibi ſcribo, benignitatis tuæ, quæ defectus meos boni conſulere novit, plane ſecurus: impoſterum vero, ſi ea excuſatione uti pergas, timidiorem me in ſcribendo facies. Excuſationem itaque hanc minime admitti poſſe facile vides. Si vero negotia tua tardius nobis concedant reſponſum, nolim nimia feſtinatione graviora negligas, ſed tempus ad ſcribendum eligas minus occupatum. Quicquid & quandocunque ſcripſeris, gratiſſimum erit: interim ſi cito des, bis te dediſſe gratus agnoſcam. Dedit mihi hebdomade proxime elapſa D. Clericus tuum, de Educatione liberorum, tractatum, in linguam Belgicam verſum; pro quo dono magnifico ſummas tibi ago gratias. Uxor & filia eum attente legunt: ego, ubi illæ ſatiatæ fuerint, integrum, quod & ipſis commendo, à capite ad calcem perlegam. Salutari te quam officioſiſſime juſſit vir magnificus. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

HAC occaſione mitto tibi quædam ex Paulo Servita excerpta, quæ hiſtoriæ Inquiſitionis inſeri poſſunt. Ego autores, quos nunc evolvo, majore cum applicatione ad materiam inquiſitionis lego, quam antehac, & ſi quid, quod ad majorem illius illuſtrationem facere poſſit, occurrat, illud excerpere ſoleo, & hiſtoriam meam locupletiorem reddere. Tu ſi velis, aliis à me antehac ad te miſſis & hæc adjungere poteris. Quæ mihi ante triennium ex itinerario Du Mont ſuppeditaſti, ea quanto magis conſidero, tanto magis hiſtoriæ meæ inſerenda judico. Licet enim leges pontificiæ ſecretum confeſſionis revelari vetent, multa tamen in favorem fidei fiunt legibus prohibita; quas ſanciviſſe videntur eum tantum in finem, ut ſimpliciores iis irretiti facilius caperentur. Itaque non tantum inquiſitionis leges, ſed præcipue geſta ac acta illius, quæ cum legibus ſæpiſſime adverſa fronte pugnant, conſideranda cenſeo. Unum hoc expendi meretur, quod Du Mont ait, confeſſarios Melitenſes obligatos eſſe inquiſitoribus revelare, quicquid ipſis in ſecreta confeſſione negotium fidei ſpectans confitentur homines. Secretas illas confeſſiones inquiſitoribus revelari nullus dubito: legem de ea revelanda extare credere vix poſſum: fortaſſe confeſſariis hoc viva voce mandatur, licet nulla hujuſmodi lex extet. Quibus accedit, quod ſit homo reformatus, & peregrinus, qui inter peregrinandum hoc ex quorundam incolarum ſermonibus hauſit; quorum relationes quandoque valde eſſe incertas, imo falſas, ex itinerariis, quibus Belgium deſcribitur, ſæpius ipſe deprehendi. Quare conſiderandum, quomodo ejuſmodi cavillationes pontificiorum ſolide retundi poſſint. Quicquid vero hujus ſit, digna mihi hæc narratio videtur, quæ hiſtoriæ meæ inſeratur, ſi ſcriptoris alicujus pontificiis non ſuſpecti autoritate confirmari poſſet. Si quæ talia tibi inter legendum plura occurrunt, rogo ut & mihi ea impertiri velis.

SCRIPSI, ante duos aut tres menſes, virum quendam eximium argumenta tua de unitate divina videndi deſiderio teneri. Ego aperte & rotunde tecum agere volui, & quod mihi in mandatis datum erat celare non potui. Nolui ego graviora tua negotia interturbare, aut aliquid tibi moleſtiæ creare. Scio, ſi ab animo ac negotiis tuis impetrare poſſis, argumenta tua viro magnifico fore gratiſſima, maximi enim & acumen & judicium tuum facit. Si vero negotia tua tempus attentæ ejuſmodi meditationi, & diffuſiori paulum ſcriptioni requiſitum, tibi non concedant, aut aliquam inde tibi forte creandam moleſtiam verearis (de quo tamen te ſecurum eſſe jubeo) ego à te monitus viro magnifico, prout potero, te excuſatum reddam: velim tamen eo in caſu excuſationis rationes à te mihi ſuppeditari: malim autem, ut, ſi ſine incommodo, aut incommodi metu poſſis, te viro magnifico gratiam hanc facere, ut materiam hanc, quam jamdiu animo volvit, tua opera explanatiorem habeat. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Tui amantiſſimus,

Amſtelod. 11 Martii, 16)$^{9}_{3}$(98 P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

DOCTISSIMAS tuas literas 21 Februarii datas Martii 21. die recte accepi. Paucis id eadem de literis per filium meum tibi tradendis ſignificavi. Attente tuas cum D. Clerico relegi. Ita judicamus argumentis invictis te unitatem eſſentiæ divinæ adſtruxiſſe, nihilque in argumentatione tua deſiderari. Verum nondum viro magnifico eas oſtendendas cenſuimus, niſi ſententia tua propius explorata. Eſt enim aliquid quod mihi imputandum credo, qui viri magnifici mentem non plane tibi aperuerim. Quantum ex ipſius ſermonibus percepi, agnoſcit ille quidem evidens ſatis eſſe, unum tantum hujus univerſi eſſe rectorem: ſed argumentum deſiderat, quo probetur ens, cujus exiſtentia eſt neceſſaria, tantum poſſe eſſe unum; & quidem ut id argumentum à neceſſitate exiſtentiæ deſumatur, & à priori (ut in ſcholis loquuntur) non à poſteriori concludat, hoc eſt, ex natura neceſſariæ exiſtentiæ probetur eam pluribus non poſſe eſſe communem. Narrabat enim, ſe cum aliis de materia hac diſſerentem, dixiſſe, quid ſi tale ens exiſtat, præter Deum unicum à quo nos dependimus: illud ens minime nos ſpectare, quia ab eo non dependemus; atque hoc nobis ſufficere, ut Deum

unum toto corde amemus & colamus. Sed tum diſquirendum, an tale ens neceſſario exiſtens poſſit eſſe, præter Deum neceſſario exiſtentem, à quo nos dependemus. Si quid itaque ut viri magnifici curioſitati plene ſatisfiat, addendum putes, illud expectabo: interim literas tuas ſolicite aſſervabo, ac nulli oſtendam. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & ſi quid in toto hoc negotio à me per imprudentiam forte peccatum ſit, benignus ignoſce.

Tui amantiſſimus,

1
Amſtelod. Kal. Apr. 16) (98 P. à LIMBORCH.
19

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE à Mr. LIMBORCH.

Monſieur,

LA queſtion que vouz m'avez propoſée, vient de la part d'une perſonne d'un genie ſi vaſte, & d'un ſi profonde capacité, que je ſuis confus de l'honneur qu'il me fait de deferer ſi fort à mon jugement dans une occaſion, ou il lui ſeroit plus advantageux & plus ſeur de s'en rapporter à lui-même. Je ne ſçai quelle opinion vous avez pû lui donner de moi, ſéduit par l'amitie que vous me portez; mais une choſe dont je ſuis fort aſſûré, c'eſt que, ſi je ne conſultois que ma propre reputation, j'eviterois d'expoſer mes foibles penſées devant une perſonne d'un ſi grand jugement, & que je ne me hazerderois pas à regarder cet article comme une queſtion à prouver: bien des gens étant peut-être d'avis qu'il vaut mieux le recevoir en qualité de maxime, parce que, ſelon eux, il eſt mieux établi ſur les fondemens ordinaires que ſi l'on tâchoit de l'expliquer par des ſpéculations & des raiſonnemens auxquels tout le monde n'eſt pas accoutumé. Mais je ſçai que la perſonne, par qui je crois que cette queſtion vous a été propoſée, a l'eſprit autrement tourné. Sa candeur & ſa probité égalent la ſcience & ſes autres grandes qualitez. S'il ne trouve pas mes raiſons aſſez claires ou aſſez convainçantes, il ne ſera pour cela porté à condamner auſſitôt mon intention, ni à mal juger de moi ſous prétexte que mes preuves ne ſont pas auſſi bonnes qu'il l'auroit ſouhaité. Enfin, moins il trouvera de ſatisfaction dans mes raiſonnemens, plus il ſera obligé de me pardonner, parce que, quelque convaincu que je ſois de ma foibleſſe, je n'ai pas laiſſé d'obéïr à ſes ordres. J'écris donc ſimplement parce que vous le voulez l'un & l'autre; & je veux bien, Monſieur, que vouz faſſiez voir s'il vous plaît ma lettre à cette excellent homme, & aux autres perſonnes, qui ſe trouverent dans vôtre conference. Mais c'eſt aux conditions ſuivantes: La premiere, que ces Meſſieurs me promettront de m'apprendre librement & ſincerement leurs penſées ſur ce qui je dis; la ſeconde, que vous ne donnerez aucune copie de ce que je vous écris à qui que ce ſoit, mais que vous me promettrez de jetter cette lettre au feu quand je vous prierai de la faire. A quoi je ſerois bien aiſe que vous euſſiez la bonté d'ajouter une troiſiéme condition, c'eſt, que ces Meſſieurs me feront l'honneur de me communiquer les raiſons ſur leſquelles ils établiſſent eux-mêmes l'unité de Dieu.

LA queſtion dont vous me parlez, ſe réduit à ceci, " Comment l'unité de Dieu " peut être prouvée? ou en d'autres termes, " Comment on peut prouver " qu'il n'y a qu'un Dieu?

POUR reſoudre cette queſtion il eſt néceſſaire de ſavoir, avant que de venir aux preuves de l'unité de Dieu, ce qu'on entend par le mot de Dieu. L'idée ordinaire, & à ce que je crois, la véritable idée qu'ont de Dieu, ceux qui reconnoiſſent ſon éxiſtence, c'eſt, qu'il eſt " un Etre infini, éternel, incorporel " & tout parfait." Or cette idée une fois reconnuë, il me ſemble fort aiſé d'en déduire l'unité de Dieu. En effect un Etre qui eſt tout parfait, ou pour ainſi dire, parfaitement parfait, ne peut être qu'unique, parce qu'un Etre tout parfait ne ſçauroit manquer d'aucun des attributs, perfections ou dégrez des perfections, qu'il lui importe plus de poſſéder, que d'en être privé. Car autrement

ment il s'en faudroit d'autant qu'il ne fut entierement parfait. Par exemple, avoir du pouvoir eſt une plus grande perfection, que de n'en avoir point; avoir plus de pouvoir eſt une plus grande perfection, que de n'en avoir moins; & avoir tout pouvoir (ce qui eſt être tout puiſſant) c'eſt une plus grande perfection que de ne l'avoir pas tout. Cela poſé; deux Etres tout puiſſans ſont incompatibles; parce qu'on eſt obligé de ſuppoſer que l'un doit vouloir néceſſairement ce que l'autre veut; & en ce cas-là, l'un des deux, dont la volonté eſt néceſſairement déterminée par la volonté de l'autre, n'eſt pas libre, & n'a pas, par conſéquent, cette perfection-la: car il eſt mieux d'être libre, que d'être ſoumis à la détermination de la volonté d'un autre. Que s'ils ne ſont pas tous deux réduits à la neceſſité de vouloir toûjours la même choſe, alors l'un peut vouloir faire ce que l'autre ne voudroit pas qui fut fait, auquel cas la volonté de l'un prévaudra ſur la volonté de l'autre, & ainſi celui des deux, dont la puiſſance ne ſauroit ſeconder la volonté, n'eſt pas tout-puiſſant; car il ne peut pas faire autant que l'autre. Donc l'un des deux n'eſt pas tout-puiſſant. Donc il n'y a, ni ne ſauroit y avoir deux tout-puiſſans, ni par conſéquent deux Dieux.

PAR le même idée de perfection nous venons à connoître, que Dieu eſt omniſcient. Or dans la ſuppoſition de deux Etres diſtincts, qui ont un pouvoir & une volonté diſtincte, c'eſt une imperfection de ne pouvoir pas cacher ſes penſées à l'autre. Mais ſi l'un des deux cache ſes penſées à l'autre, cet autre n'eſt pas omniſcient, car non ſeulement il ne connoit pas tout ce qui peut être connu, mais ill ne connoit pas même ce qu'un autre connoit.

ON peut dire la même choſe de la toute-preſence de Dieu: il vaut mieux qu'il ſoit par tout dans l'étenduë infinie de l'eſpace, que d'être exclus de quelque partie de cet eſpace, car s'il eſt exclu de quelque endroit, il ne peut pas y operer, ni ſavoir ce qu'on y fait, & par conſequent il n'eſt ni tout-puiſſant ni omniſcient.

QUE ſi pour anéantir les raiſonemens que je viens de faire, on dit que les deux Dieux qu'on ſuppoſe; ou les deux cent mille (car par la même raiſon qu'il peut y en avoir deux il y en peut avoir deux millions, parce qu'on n'a plus aucun moyen d'en limiter le nombre) ſi l'on oppoſe, dis-je, que pluſieurs Dieux ont une parfaite toute puiſſance qui ſoit éxactement la même, qu'ils ont auſſi la même connoiſſance, la même volonté & qu'ils éxiſtent également dans le même lieu, c'eſt ſeulement multiplier le même Etre, mais dans le fonds dans la verité de la choſe on ne fait que réduire une pluralité ſuppoſée à une véritable unité. Car de ſuppoſer deux Etres intelligens, qui connoiſſent, veulent & font inceſſamment la même choſe, & qui n'ont pas une exiſtence ſeparée, c'eſt ſuppoſer en paroles une pluralité, mais poſer effectivement une ſimple unité. Car être inſéparablement uni par l'entendement, par la volonté, par l'action, & par le lieu; c'eſt être autant uni qu'un Etre intelligent peut être uni à lui meme, & par conſéquent, ſuppoſer que là, où il y a une telle union, il peut y avoir deux Etres, c'eſt ſuppoſer une diviſion ſans diviſion, & une choſe diviſée d'avec elle-même.

JE me ſuis hazardé à vous écrire mes réflexions ſur ce ſujet, comme elles ſe ſont preſentèes à mon eſprit, ſans les ranger dans un certain ordre qui pourroit ſervir peut-être à les mettre dans un plus grand jour, ſi on leur donnoit un peu plus d'étenduë. Mais ceci doit paroître devant des perſonnes d'une ſi grand pénétration, qui ce ſeroit les amuſer inutilement que déveloper davantage mes penſées. Telles qu'elles ſont je vous prie de m'en écrire vôtre opinion & celle de ces Meſſieurs, afin que ſelon le jugement que vous en ferez, je puiſſe, pour ma propre ſatisfaction, les éxaminer de nouveau, & leur donner plus de force (ce que ma mauvaiſe ſanté & le peu de loiſir qui me reſte, ne me permettent pas de faire preſentement) ou bien les abandonner tout-à fait comme ne pouvant être d'aucun uſage. Je ſuis,

Oates, 2 April
1698.

Monſieur,
Vôtre trés-humble,
& trés-obéïſſant ſerviteur,
J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE, PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

LITERAS tuas poſtremas recte mihi fuiſſe traditas jam intellexeris. Statim eas viro magnifico prælegi: verum quia tunc occupatior erat, aliud deſignavit tempus magis opportunum prolixiori colloquio, quod materiæ gravitas mereri videtur. Paucis itaque abhinc diebus me denuo ad ſe vocavit; iterumque epiſtolam tuam legimus. Probat argumenta tua, ſuppoſita illa, quam adhibes, Dei definitione; ens enim undiquaque perfectum, ſeu, quod eodem redit, omnes in ſe complectens perfectiones, non niſi unum eſſe poſſe manifeſtum eſt. Verum ille quærit argumentum, non ex definitione Dei deſumptum, ſed ex ipſa ratione naturali, & per quod deducamur in definitionem Dei. Hac nempe methodo inſtituit demonſtrationem ſuam. I. Datur ens æternum, independens, neceſſitate naturæ ſuæ exiſtens, & ſibi ipſi ſufficiens. II. Ens tale eſt tantum unum, & plura iſtiuſmodi entia eſſe nequeunt. III. Illud ens, quia eſt unicum, omnes in ſe complectitur perfectiones; atque hoc ens eſt Deus. Primam propoſitionem, ait vir magnificus, te in tractatu tuo de Intellectu Humano egregie adſtruxiſſe, iiſdem plane argumentis, quibus ipſe in demonſtratione ſua uſus eſt, adeo ut ſuas cogitationes in argumentatione tua expreſſas viderit. Tanto enixius ſecundam propoſitionem à te probatam videre deſiderat: qua ſolide probata, tertia nullo negotio ex duabus prioribus deduci poteſt. Secundam ait, omnes theologos ac philoſophos, quin & ipſum Carteſium, non probare, ſed præſupponere. Non dubito, quin mihi omnem ſuam argumentationem communicaturus ſit; credo autem non id facturum, antequam tua argumenta viderit; ut tuas cogitationes, quas ipſe es meditatus, cum ſuis conferre poſſit. Verum hic ambigere quis poſſit, an non propoſitionum harum ordo mutari, & quæ nunc ſecunda eſt, tertia, & quæ nunc tertia eſt, ſecunda eſſe debeat: hoc eſt, an non, quando probatum eſt, dari ens æternum, independens, ſibi ipſi ſufficiens, exinde poſſit porro probari, illud in ſe omnes complecti perfectiones; quia fieri nequit, ut enti æterno, independenti, ſibique ſufficienti ulla perfectio deſit: atque ita probato, ens illud omnes in ſe complecti perfectiones, porro inferatur illud ens tantum eſſe unum. Verum huic methodo hæc objicitur difficultas, quod deprehendamus eſſe duas naturas tota eſſentia diverſas (loquor terminis eorum, qui hanc movent difficultatem) cogitationem & extenſionem: ſuppoſito dari cogitationem æternam, & independentem, à qua ego dependeo, ſtatuere quis poſſit etiam eſſe extenſionem ſeu materiam æternam, ſibi ipſi ſufficientem, & à cogitatione æterna minime dependentem? ſic ſtatuerentur duo entia æterna: & tamen ex poſitione materiæ æternæ & independentis minime ſequeretur, eam in ſe complecti omnes perfectiones. Quare primo probandum videtur, ens æternum & independens eſſe tantum unum, antequam omnes in ſe complecti perfectiones probari poſſit.

QUOD ſi ſecunda propoſitio, ens independens eſſe tantum unum, non poſſit probari nihil religioni, ſeu neceſſitati ens illud unice colendi, decedere videtur: quia ego totus ab illo uno ente, quod me produxit, dependeo: illi ergo ſoli ſum obligatus, illud ex toto corde, tota anima diligere, illiuſque præceptis per omnia obedire debeo. Si præter illud ens aliud forte exiſtat, quia ab eo non dependeo, illud neutiquam me ſpectat, neque ego ullum ad id relationem habeo, neque id ullam in me operationem exſerere poteſt. Imo neutrum horum entium de altero ullam notitiam habere, aut ullam in alterum operationem edere poſſet. Quoniam enim ſibi ipſi eſt ſufficiens, ergo nec per alterius poſitionem, aut remotionem, ullam acquirere poteſt majorem perfectionem, aut de ſua perfectione quicquam amittere; alias ſibi non eſſet ſufficiens. Licet itaque veritatis ſcrutatori ſummopere gratum ſit, evidenter demonſtrare poſſe, ens independens eſſe tantum unum: ſi tamen forte contingat, illud evidenter demonſtrari non poſſe, nihil tamen religionis neceſſitati & perfectioni propterea deceſſurum videtur, quoniam ens, à quo ego dependeo, eſt tantum unum. Hæc fuit ſermonum viri magnifici ſumma, quantum ego mentem ejus percepi.

Ego argumentationis tuæ filum, in tractatu tuo de Intellectu Humano, non legi. Probaſſe te, ens aliquod eſſe à quo dependes, illudque ens eſſe æternum & ſibi ipſi ſufficiens, nullus dubito. Argumentum, quo id probatur, evidens eſt & clarum. Verum, an ibidem probaveris, te ab uno ente tantum dependere, neque fieri poſſe ut à pluribus dependeas, ignoro. Argumentatio viri magnifici quidem infert, me ab ente æterno dependere; ſed nondum vidi ab ipſo probatum ab uno tantum ente me dependere: quod tamen ſpectat primam propoſitionem. Nam in ſecunda ponitur, præter illud ens æternum, à quo ego dependeo, aliud nullum eſſe ens æternum. Itaque ſimiliter hic præſupponi videtur, me ab uno tantum ente dependere, ſaltem id nondum diſtincte probatum audivi: quod tamen primo probandum videtur, antequam ad probationem propoſitionis ſecundæ precedatur. Tum & diſpiciendum, an quidem ratio permittat, ſupponi materiam æternam ac ſibi ſufficientem: ſi enim ens ſibi ſufficiens & æternum, neceſſario ſit omni modo perfectum; ſequitur, materiam, quæ iners eſt ſubſtantia, omni motu ac vita deſtituta, non poſſe concipi æternam ac ſibi ſufficientem.

Voluit vir magnificus, ut tibi diſtinctius, qualem deſiderat probationem, præſcriberem: verbis ſuis te quam officioſiſſime ſalutari juſſit; pro ſuſcepto in ſui gratiam labore gratias agit: dolet valetudinem tuam afflictam; & ſi ea minus permittat ſubtilioribus indulgere cogitationibus, minime cupit ut te fatiges meditationibus, tibi ob valetudinem afflictiorem moleſtis, aut valetudini noxiis. Precatur interim tibi valetudinem firmam ac vegetam; & ſi ea permittat, ut de propoſitionis ſecundæ, prout nunc à me ex mente illius propoſita eſt, judicium tuam ſcribas, rem facies ipſi gratiſſimam. Tu ipſe judicabis de illius methodo, & quid reſcribendum ſit. Hoc unum addo, ipſum, lecta tua epiſtola, nullum illius apographum petiiſſe; ſed conditionibus, quas ſtipularis, acquieviſſe: & ſi petiiſſet, ego modeſte negâſſem: verum ea eſt humanitate, ut hoc à me flagitare noluerit. Verum tandem tempus eſt manum de tabula tollere. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. 16 Maii
1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Lettre de Mr. Locke à Mr. Limborch.

Monſieur,

Si ma ſanté ne me permettoit pas de ſatisfaire commodément l'envie que j'ai d'éxécuter les ordres de ce grand homme qui reçoit ſi favorablement me réflections, toutes médiocres qu'elles ſont, il eſt pourtant vrai que je ne ſaurois la ſacrifier pour une meilleure occaſion que celle qui me porte à éxaminer la ſujet où il m'a engagé, & qui me fournit le moyen de lui faire voir combien je ſuis prêt à lui obéïr. Mais je ne prétens pas qu'un cette rencontre il me ſoit obligé d'un tel ſacrifice; car ſi je ne hazarde point ma réputation auprès de lui, je ſuis fort aſſuré que ma ſanté ne ſera point intéreſſée parce que je vais écrire. Ayant à faire à un homme qui raiſonne ſi nettement, & qui a ſi bien approfondi cette matiere, je n'aurai pas beſoin de parler beaucoup pour me faire entendre. Son extreme penetration lui ſera ſentir d'abord le fondement de la preuve que je vais propoſer, de ſorte que, ſans qu'il ſoit néceſſaire que je m'engage dans de longues déductions, il pourra juger ſi elle eſt bien ou mal fondée.

Je ne puis m'empêcher de remarquer l'exactitude de ſon jugement par rapport à l'ordre qu'il a donné à ſes propoſitions, & il eſt vrai comme il l'a fort bien remarqué qu'en mettant la troiſiéme à la place de la ſeconde, les Théologiens, les Philoſophes, & Deſcartes lui-même, ſuppoſent l'unité de Dieu, ſans la prouver.

SI par la queſtion qui me fut d'abord propoſée, j'euſſe compris comme je fais préſentement, quel étoit le but de cet habile homme, je n'aurois pas envoyé la réponſe que je vous ai envoyé, mais une beaucoup plus courte & plus conforme à l'ordre de la nature & de la raiſon, où chaque choſe paroit dans ſon meilleur jour.

JE crois que quiconque réfléchira ſur ſoi-méme, connoîtra évidement ſans en pouvoir douter le moins du monde, qu'il y a eû de toute éternité un Etre intelligent. Je crois encore qu'il eſt évident à tout homme qui penſe, qu'il y a auſſi un Etre infini. Or je dis qu'il ne peut y avoir qu'un Etre infini, & que cet Etre infini doit être auſſi l'Etre éternel; parce que, ce qui eſt infini doit avoir été infini de toute éternité, car aucuns additions faites dans le tems, ne ſauroient rendre une choſe infinie, ſi elle ne l'eſt pas en elle-même, & par elle-même, de toute éternité. Telle étant la nature de l'infini qu'on n'en peut rien ôter, & qu'on n'y peut rien ajouter. D'où il s'enſuit, que l'infini ne ſauroit être ſéparé en plus d'un, ni être qu'un.

C'EST-là, ſelon moi, une preuve à priori, que l'Etre éternel indépendent n'eſt qu'un; & ſi nous y joignons l'idée de toutes les perfections poſſibles, nous avons alors l'idée d'un Dieu éternel, infini, omniſcient, & tout-puiſſant, &c.

SI ce raiſonnement s'accorde avec les notions de l'excellent homme, qui doit le voir, j'en ſerai extrêmement ſatisfait. Et s'il ne s'en accommode pas, je regarderai comme une grande faveur s'il veut bien me communiquer ſa preuve, que je tiendrai ſecrete, ou que je communiquerai comme venant de ſa part, ſelon qu'il le jugera à propos. Je vous prie de l'aſſurer de mes tres-humbles reſpects. Je ſuis, &c.

Oates, 21 Mai, 1698. J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

VIRO magnifico poſtremas tuas oſtendi; illo pro labore rogatu ſuo à te ſuſcepto maximas agit gratias: non tamen in tua argumentatione acquieſcit. Methodus illius primo loco probat, dari ens aliquod per ſe exiſtens ac ſibi ſufficiens: deinde, illud ens eſſe tantum unum: tertio, illud ens in ſe complecti omnes perfectiones, ac proinde eſſe Deum. Tu vero in tua argumentatione præſupponis, omni homini attente meditanti, evidens eſſe dari ens infinitum, cui nihil addi aut demi poteſt, atque id idem ipſi eſt ac ſupponere, dari ens undiquaque perfectum: quæ eſt tertia ipſius theſis; adeo ut ex præſuppoſita illius theſi tertia probes ſecundam: cum ſecunda prius probari debeat, antequam ex illa poſſit concludi tertia. Hæc fuit cauſa cur ego tibi conſiderandum dederim, an non ordo illius mutari debeat, & quæ illius tertia eſt non debeat eſſe ſecunda theſis: verum ut argumentatio procedat, non deberet ea theſis præſupponi, ſed ex prima theſi probari: aut ſi illius methodus placeat, deberet prius ex eo, quod ſit ens æternum ac ſibi ſufficiens, probari illud eſſe unum; & hoc probato porro exinde deduci illud eſſe infinitum, ſeu undiquaque perfectum. Argumentationem ſuam mihi nondum communicavit: an communicaturus ſit, valde dubito. Idem ipſum qui te ſcrupulus retinet: metuit iniquas theologorum cenſuras, qui omnia è ſchola ſua non hauſta, atro carbone notare, ac infami exoſiſſimarum hæreſium nomenclatura traducere ſolet. Tentabo tamen, an prolixiore colloquio, quod mecum inſtituere velle dixit, aliquatenus elicere poſſim, quod ſcripto tradere gravatur. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. Cal. Jul.
1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

POST ultimum meum cum viro magnifico colloquium nulla ipſum conveniendi occaſio fuit: aliquamdiu febricula laboravit. Colloquium habui cum quodam illius amico, qui inter alia dixit, minime ſibi probari viri magnifici argumentationem, qua contendit, ſi ſupponamus dari cogitationem per ſe exiſtentem, & præterea extenſionem, ſeu materiam, quod neutra ullam alterius poſſit habere cognitionem: extenſionem quidem (aiebat) nullam habituram cognitionem cogitationis; fieri autem non poſſe, quin cogitatio cognitionem ſit habitura extenſionis: quia cum cogitatio per ſe exiſtat, ſibique ſit ſufficiens, etiam eſt infinita; ac proinde vi infinitæ ſuæ cogitationis neceſſario cognoſcit extenſionem exiſtentem. Sed cum regererem, virum magnificum improbare methodum, qua enti per ſe exiſtenti ſibique ſufficienti probantur ineſſe alia attributa, antequam probatum ſit illud eſſe tantum unicum; reſpondebat, neceſſario de tali ente debere affirmari illud eſſe infinitum, ſed in ſua natura; cogitationem quidem eſſe infinitæ ſcientiæ; materiam infinitæ extenſionis, ſi quidem per ſe exiſtat. Sed inde ſequi colligebam, etiam alia attributa poſſe probari: probata enim infinitate etiam probari poſſe alia illi ineſſe, ſine quibus infinitas concepi nequit. Quod non negavit. Atque ita mecum ſentire videbatur unitatem ejuſmodi entis tali methodo fruſtra quæri, ſed oportere theſin ſecundam eſſe tertiam. Crediderim ego virum magnificum hanc ſibi inveſtigandæ veritati præſcripſiſſe methodum, & cum ipſe, quæ ſibi ſatisfaciant, argumenta invenire nequeat, ea apud alios quærere. Difficile mihi videtur probatu, ens neceſſitate naturæ ſuæ exiſtens eſſe tantum unum, antequam ex neceſſaria exiſtentia, alia, quæ eam neceſſario comitantur, attributa deduxeris. Sir vir magnificus ea habeat, operæ pretium foret ea erudito orbi communicare.

NUPER profeſſor Vander Weeyen tractatulum quendam Rittangeliæ edidit, illique prolixam ac virulentam contra D. Clericum præfixit præfationem, qua explicationem initii evangelii Joannis à D. Clerico editam, refutare conatur. Ego æquitatem & judicium in illo ſcripto deſidero. In fine etiam contra me inſurgit, verum paucis, quia in Theologia mea Chriſtiana ſcripſi Burmannum pleraque, quæ in ſua Synopſi Theologiæ habet de omnipotentia divina, deſcripſiſſe ex Spinozæ Cogitatis Metaphyſicis. Ille non negat, ſed contendit Burmannum propterea non eſſe Spinoſiſtam, quod ego nuſquam ſcripſi. Neuter noſtrûm tam inepto ſcriptori quicquam reponet. Dedi ante paucas hebdomadas N. N. literas ad te perferendas; verum ille adhuc Roterodami commoratur; vir eſt eruditus & moribus probatis. Non tu ex eorum es genere, qui viri, non per omnia tecum in religione ſentientis, alloquium horreas. Ille quando advenerit, de ſtatu noſtro plura dicere poterit. Hac hebdomade D. Guenellonus me tuis verbis ſalutavit, quodque poſtremis meis literis nondum reſponderis excuſavit. Gratiſſimæ mihi ſemper ſunt literæ tuæ, & quanto crebriores tanto gratiores; ſed non ſum importunus adeo exactor, ut cum meliorum laborum diſpendio eas à te flagitem. Scio reſponſi tarditatem non oblivioni mei, ſed negotiis, quibus obrueris, abſcribendam. Spem fecit Guenellonus nonnullam profectionis tuæ inſtante hyeme in Galliam, & reditus tui in Angliam per Hollandiam noſtram. Si id confirmandæ valetudini inſervire queat, opto ſummis votis, ut iter hoc perficias, ut tui poſt tam diuturnam abſentiam videndi & amplectendi, & fortaſſe ultimum valedicendi occaſio detur. Vale.

Amſtelod. 12 Sept.
1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime, Lond. 4 Octob. 1698.

ROGO ut magnificum virum meo nomine adeas, dicaſque me magnopere rogare ut ſuam methodum, qua unitatem entis per ſe exiſtentis ſibique ſufficientis adſtruit, mihi indicare velit: quandoquidem mea ea de re argumentandi ratio ipſi non penitus ſatisfaciat. Nollem ego in re tanti momenti, falſo vel fallaci innixus fundamento, mihimet imponere. Si quid ſtabilius, ſi quid rectius noverit, ut candidus impertiri velit, enixè rogito. Si tectum, ſi tacitum velit, pro me meoque ſilentio ſpondeas. Sin tantum beneficium orbi non invideat, in proxima, quæ jam inſtat, libri mei editione palam faciam, agnito, ſi libet, vel velato auctore.

CARTESIANORUM, quam in epiſtola tua reperio loquendi formulam, nullatenus capio. Quid enim ſibi velit cogitatio infinita, plane me fugit. Nullo enim modo mihi in animum inducere poſſum cogitationem per ſe exiſtere, ſed rem, vel ſubſtantiam, cogitantem, eamque eſſe, de qua affirmari poſſit eſſe vel finitam vel infinitam. Qui aliter loqui amant, neſcio quid obſcuri vel fraudulenti ſub tam dubia locutione continere mihi videntur, & omnia tenebris involvere: vel ſaltem quod ſentiant clare & dilucide enuntiare non audere, faventes nimium hypotheſi non undique ſanæ. Sed de hoc forſan alias, quando majus ſuppetet otium.

QUOD de profeſſore Vander Weeyen ſcribis non miror. Iſtius farinæ homines ſic ſolent, nec aliter poſſunt; recte facitis quod negligitis.

LITERAS tuas, quæ Roterodami hærent, avide expecto, & virum illum cui eas ad me perferendas tradidiſti. Ex tua commendatione mihi erit gratiſſimus. Viros probos fovendos colendoſque ſemper exiſtimavi. Ignoſcant alii meis erroribus; nemini propter opinionum diverſitatem bellum indico, ignarus ego & fallibilis homuncio. Evangelicus ſum ego chriſtianus, non papiſta.

HUCUSQUE ſcripſeram die ſupra notato, quo autem die epiſtolam hanc finiri permiſſum eſt, infra videbis.

QUOD velim cum me chriſtianum evangelicum, vel ſi mavis orthodoxum, non papiſtam dico, paucis accipe. Inter chriſtiani nominis profeſſores duas ego tantum agnoſco claſſes, evangelicos & papiſtas. Hos, qui tanquam infallibiles dominium ſibi arrogant in aliorum conſcientias: Illos, qui quærentes unice veritatem, illam & ſibi & aliis, argumentis ſolum rationibuſque perſuaſam volunt; aliorum erroribus faciles, ſuæ imbecillitatis haud immemores: veniam fragilitati & ignorantiæ humanæ dantes petenteſque viciſſim.

HYEMS jam ingraveſcens & pulmonibus meis infeſta me brevi urbe expellet; & abitum ſuadet invaleſcens tuſſis & anhelitus. Iter in Galliam dudum propoſitum langueſcere videtur: quid fiet neſcio, ſed ubicunque fuero totus ubique tuus ſum. Saluto uxorem tuam optimam liberoſque amicoſque noſtros communes, Veenios, Guenellones, Clericos. Accepi nuper à D° Guenellone epiſtolam, 3 Octobris datam, pro qua nunc per te gratias reddere cupio, ipſi prima data occaſione reſponſurus. Vale, vir amiciſſime, & me ama

Tui amantiſſimum,

18 Octob.

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime Vir,

QUOD literis tuis hactenus non reſponderim valetudo minus proſpera in cauſa fuit. Aliquot hebdomadibus febricula laboravi, acceſſere dolores colici acres admodum ac vehementes. Tandem benignitate divina convalui, & ad intermiſſa ſtudia reverſus ſum.

Cartesianam illam loquendi formulam ego tecum non capio; cogitationem enim per ſe exiſtentem non percipio, ſed quidem ſubſtantiam cogitantem: verum ne ſententiam ſuam minus candide proponi querantur, iiſdem, quibus illi eam explicant verbis uti, neceſſe habui: ego autem quando me explico, ita loqui non ſoleo.

Quæ de chriſtianis evangelicis & papiſtis diſſeris, optima ſunt & veriſſima. Ego utramque claſſem in omnibus chriſtianorum ſectis reperiri credo. Nullum enim cœtum ita prorſus corruptum mihi perſuadeo, ut nemo in tanto numero ſit evangelicus; licet enim cœtus ipſe profeſſionem edat papiſmi, nonnullos tamen in eo latere credo evangelicos, quibus dominatus ille in aliorum conſcientias diſplicet, ac diſſentientibus ſalutem abjudicare religio eſt. Rurſus licet cœtus evangelicam charitatem profiteatur, non adeo in omnibus & per omnia purgatum, ſperare auſim, quin & degeneres aliquot in eo reperiantur, qui profeſſionis ſuæ obliti, tyrannidem animo fovent, libertatemque ſentiendi, quam ſibi cupiunt, aliis invident. Ita ubique zizania tritico permixta in hoc ſæculo habebimus. Evangelicos ego, quocunque in cœtu ſunt, amo ac fraterna charitate complector. Papiſtas, licet ejuſdem mecum cœtus membra, tanquam ſpurios Chriſtianos conſidero, nec genuina eſſe corporis Chriſti membra agnoſco, utpote charitate, ex qua diſcipulos ſuos agnoſci vult Chriſtus, deſtitutos.

Bibliopolæ Churchill tradetur faſciculus, quem ad te mittet, complectens Hiſtoriam Inquiſitionis, quam cum epiſtola addita Franciſco Cudworth Maſham tradi velim: addidi tria defenſionis meæ contra Joannem Vander Weeyen exemplaria, quorum unum tibi, alterum Franciſco, tertium Dº Coſte deſtinavi. Adverſarius meus ſe reformatum vocat: an evangelicus, an vero papiſta ſit, tu dijudicabis. Amicorum hortatui obſecutus ſum: verum bonas meas horas melioribus ſtudiis deſtinavi, nec facile me iſtiuſmodi ſcriptis inde denuo avelli patiar. Ut ſcias quo reſpiciam, quando de ſpatiis imaginariis ultra polos loquor, adſcribam lineas aliquot ex tractatu quodam Weeyeni contra Spanhemium, quibus Spanhemio geographiæ ignorantiam objicit, ipſe adeo rudis, ut diſcrimen inter gradus longitudinis & latitudinis prorſus ignoret. Hæc ſunt ejus verba: * “ Ridere in calce ſi lubeat, lege quæſo Diſſertat. “ Hiſtor. p. 298. Americæ longitudinem protendit [Spanhemius] ultra 180 “ gradus. Forte pars ejus in ſpatiis imaginariis collocanda erit! cum hactenus “ ab uno polo ad alium non ultra 180 gradus ponant geographi. Arcticæ & “ antarcticæ terræ partibus nullus jam locus erit, ubi America ultra polos ignorantiſſime protenditur. Cave credas [Spanhemio] adeo craſſe philoſophanti, “ cum ad matheſin ventum eſt.” Monitus ab amico, reſciſſo hoc folio, aliud ſubſtituit: ſed libellus jam toto Belgio diſperſus erat, & in omnium officinis proſtabat. Vide cum quali heroë mihi res ſit. Hyemem hanc ſine gravi incommodo ruri ut tranſigas voveo. Domino ac Dominæ Maſham, totique familiæ officioſiſſimam à nobis dicas ſalutem. Uxor ac filia te plurimum ſalutant, imprimis ego

Amſtelod. 9 Dec.
1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime Vir,

Literas tuas vir eruditiſſimus fideliter mihi ante duos circiter menſes tradidit. Edidit Weeyenus diſſolutionem defenſionis meæ, verum adeo diſſolutam, maledicam, & nihil ad principale argumentum facientem, ut ſponte evanitura ſit. Ego nolo mihi cum tam impotenti adverſario quicquam negotii eſſe. Ut exiguum aliquod ſpecimen tibi referam, carpit quod dixi indolem,

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* Spanhemii epiſt. ad amicum, & neceſſ. animadverſ. p. 72. & ſeq.

qua à litibus abhorreo, mihi eſſe innatam; atque propterea me criminatur, quod glorier de propriis meis viribus, ſe vero omnia gratiæ divinæ adſcribere jactat, idque duobus aut tribus primis foliis plus ſexies repetit: talis farinæ totus eſt liber. Si dixiſſem me natura eſſe propenſum ad odium Dei & proximi, fuiſſem illi orthodoxus. Hanc ſibi indolem naturalem agnoſcit: actiones vero ejus oſtendunt, regenerationem (quam ſibi tribuit) admodum eſſe imperfectam, partemque irregenitam multum prædominari regenitæ. D. Clericus edidit Gallice ſua Parrhaſiana, in quibus de variis diſſerit, & paucis etiam hunc hominem perſtringit: verum accuratiorem illius refutationem Latinam brevi editurus eſt. Prodiit etiam alterius docti viri tractatus, quem tibi in Anglia oſtendit. Quænam de illo aliorum futura ſint judicia brevi audiemus. Multa ſupponit tanquam certa, quæ mihi incertiſſima ſunt, aliis falſa habebuntur.

LEGI nuper Camdeni Hiſtoriam Angliæ ſub Elizabetha, in cujus parte II. anno 1579. hæc verba reperi: “Execranda Matthæi Hammonti impietas, quæ in Deum Chriſtumque ejus, Norwici, hoc tempore debacchata eſt, & cum illius vivicomburio, ut ſpero, extincta, oblivione potius eſt obruenda, quam memoranda.” Velim Camdenus paulo diſtinctius impietatem illam indicâſſet, ut de criminis, quod tam horrendo ſupplicio vindicatum fuit, atrocitate conſtare poſſit. Scimus innoxios quandoque errores à theologis blaſphemias & impietates execrandas vocari, ut crudelitati, qua in diſſentientes ſæviunt, prætextum quærant. Fruſtra ego hactenus in autoribus, qui mihi ad manum ſunt, exactiorem hujus Hammonti hiſtoriam quæſivi: non dubito tamen, quin ea in ſcriptoribus Anglis reperiri poſſit. Si ſine tuo incommodo explicatiorem illius narrationem mihi ſuppeditare queas, rem feceris mihi longè gratiſſimam. Plura illius generis collegi, quæ in ordinem redigere ſtatui, non ut alios traducam, ſed ut omnes à ſævitia in diſſentientes, quantum in me, deterream. Guenellonus noſter plurimam tibi ſalutem ſcribi juſſit. Literas traditurus eſt nobili Muſcovitæ ad te perferendas, qui propediem hinc in Angliam trajiciet, quod tibi ſignificari voluit. Salutant te ac Dominum & Dominam Maſham totamque familiam uxor ac liberi: Franciſci Maſham epiſtola mihi perplacet, ſed jam non eſt reſpondendi otium: à tali indole egregia quævis expecto. Nominatim illi, ut & D^{o} Coſte ſalutem dices à me

Amſtelod. 23 Junii, Tui amantiſſimo,
1699.

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S.P.D.

Vir ampliſſime,

LITERAS meas, circa menſis Junii finem ſcriptas, fideliter tibi eſſe traditas nullus dubito. Indicavit mihi D. Clericus ſibi à te miſſum D. Allix tractatum Anglicum, quo probare contendit, Paraphraſtas Judæos æternam filii Dei generationem agnoviſſe. Nuperrime hic prodiit tractatus ante plures annos, ut præfatio habet, & argumentum libri clare oſtendit, ab autore ignoto ſcriptus, qui duos ſcriptores Rittangelium & Voiſinum, idem quod D. Allix aſſerentes, impugnat. Commodo mihi, per nautam mihi notum, oblata occaſione exemplar, illius ad bibliopolam Churchill tibi porro tradendum mitto, ut hujus cum tractatu D. Allix collatione inſtituta, de tota controverſia judices. Ego non video cauſæ principali aliquod creari periculum, etiamſi argumento hoc, ex Judæorum ſcriptis deprompto, propugnari non poſſet: nec ego tali argumento, in diſputatione contra Judæos, multum tribuere auſim. Alia ſunt majoris momenti, & quæ fortius ſtringunt: verum hoc ſine occultæ cum fidei hoſtibus conſpirationis ſuſpicione affirmari non patiuntur orthodoxiæ, ſemel decretis humanis definitæ, jurati vindices, quibus piaculum eſt vel unum argumentum, licet elumbe ac ſtramineum, modo à zelotis adhiberi ſolitum, omittere, aut de illius evidentia ac robore vel minimum dubitare.

Adfuere mihi nuper aliquot præſtantiſſimi Angli, de quibus, an tibi noti ſint, ignoro. Omnes mihi narraverunt T——— quendam, juvenem Hibernum, & ut audio, non magnifice de ſ. ſcripturæ divinitate ſentientem, aliquoties gloriatum de honore, ſibi ab aliquot viris eruditis in patria noſtra exhibito: inter alia etiam amicitiam ac familiaritatem mecum contractam jactare. Miror quid hominem, nunquam mihi viſum, quique ater an albus ſit ignoro, moveat, falſo jactare familiaria mecum habita colloquia. Quoniam autem juſtam mihi cauſam præbet ſuſpicandi, ſimilia eum de noſtra amicitia in Anglia diſſeminaturum, hac occaſione id ſcribere tibi conſultum duxi: ut ſi quid ſimile jactet rumorem illum falſi coarguere queas. Antehac de D. Clerici amicitia multum gloriatus eſt; ipſum hunc bis convenit, ſed ſemel in alienis ædibus: verum ita à Clerico exceptus eſt, ut de conſenſu illius ſecum minime gloriari queat. Sub prælo jam habet D. Clericus aliquot epiſtolas, quibus ſe contra criminationes Cavei, Weeyni, aliorumque defendit. Semel hoc labore defungi cupit, ideoque pluribus ſimul reſpondet. Vitam Epiſcopii à Marco Teute in Latinum ſermonem verſam relegi: quædam emendavi; omnia autem ſi emendare cupiam, res magni eſſet laboris: addidi etiam quædam, quibus Hiſtoria noſtra exteris plenius paulo explicatur: veram quoniam non Remonſtrantiſmi, ſed ſolummodo vitæ Epiſcopii hiſtoriam conſcripſi, intra cancellos rerum ab ipſo Epiſcopio geſtarum continere me debui. Fortaſſe verſio illa, qualiſcunque ſit, brevi prælo ſubjicietur. Vale, vir ampliſſime: ſalutem dices Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ, à me, uxore, & filia, qui omnes tibi ſalutem precantur.

Amſtelod. 3 Auguſt. Tui amantiſſimus,
1699.

P. à Limborch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

Nudiustertius tractatum contra Rittangelium, quem mihi miſiſti, accepi. Benigne mecum actum erit, ſi hoc nomine mihi ignoſcas tarditatem reſponſi ad literas tuas, tertio Auguſti datas. Nondum mihi vacui temporis ſatis datum eſt, ut Allixii librum hoc de argumento aggrederer, qui mirus pleriſque primo auditu viſus eſt, quod trinitatis doctrinam è ſynagoga haurire præ ſe fert. Accingam me quamprimum jam per otium liceat ad utriuſque lectionem; multi enim, ut audio, apud nos dictitant quæſtionem hanc, prius non intellectam, jam primum in lucem produxiſſe Allixium, & ſuis fundamentis innixam, mundo obtuliſſe. Quas partes hac in controverſia habent Judæi, perpenſis utrinque argumentis jam videbimus.

Hibernum quem nominas, vanæ hujuſmodi gloriolæ avidum, ex aliis audivi; ſi de te tuaque amicitia aliquid jactitet apud communes amicos familiareſque meos, quam omnino tibi ignotus ſit, ex me ſcient.

Criminationes hujuſmodi adverſariorum, quibuſcum res eſt Domino Clerico, an negligendæ, an refutandæ, haud facile eſt ſtatuere. Quidam enim non aliud quærunt niſi calumniandi rixandique anſam. Non dubito quin amicus noſter ſatis habet quod reſpondeat. Ego ſane laudo tuum conſilium, qui placide juxta ac ſolide refutaveris quæ contra te maligne ſcripſerat Weeyenus. De controverſiarum, quæ me aliquamdiu exercuerunt, eventu, etiamſi non multum habeam quod querar, piget tamen pœnitetque tantum temporis mihi ſuffuratum, quod aliis ſtudiis majore cum fructu poterat impendi. Si quæ novæ oriantur vellicationes, eas impoſterum mihi negligendas cenſeo.

Vitam Epiſcopii latinitate donatam lubens viderim; Belgica enim lingua non ſatis mihi nota, ut quam tu edideris legere poſſim. Non dubito quin multa contineat ſcitu & jucunda & utilia, ſive mores privatos reſpicias, ſive rerum eo tempore geſtarum hiſtoriam.

HACTENUS ad tuas 3 Auguſti datas, ſed qua excuſatione utar, cum reſpicio ad antiquiores, ſcilicet menſe Junio ſcriptas? Si delictum conſuetudine delinquendi defendi poſſit, habeo quod dicam: nôſti tarditatem meam hoc in genere. Fac ut ſoles, & inveteraſcentem in me delinquendi morem tu conſuetudine ignoſcendi vincas.

CUM in noviſſimis tuis de viro magnifico ne verbum quidem, amici tui opinionem pronus amplector. Operoſe ab aliis quærit, non quod domi habet, ſed quod nuſquam adhuc reperire potuit, & quod forſan reperiri poſſit *.

TRACTATUS viri docti, quem in Anglia videram, apud vos editus, nondum ad manus meas pervenit: de fundamentis quibus tanquam certiſſimis ſuperſtructum cenſuit, minime mihi ſatisfecit, cum de iis coram diſceptavimus.

EXACTIOREM Hammonti hiſtoriam quæſivi, nondum autem reperi quenquam, qui eam mihi explicatius tradere poſſit, vel ſcriptorem aliquem indicare in quo eam reperire licet. Non tamen deſiſtam. Laudo enim conſilium tuum in colligendis hujuſmodi exemplis.

GUENELLONI noſtri literas, quas me expectare juſſeras, nondum vidi, nec nobilem Muſcovitam, cui tradendæ erant ad me perferendæ. Quo infortunio hoc acciderit, nondum ſcio. Doleo interim mihi ablatam occaſionem teſtandi, quam paratus eſſem inſervire peregrino, à tam caro amico adventanti. Illum uxoremque ipſius, ſocerumque ejus Veenium noſtrum, officioſiſſime meo nomine quæſo ſalutes: imprimis autem uxorem liberoſque tuos. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama

Lond. 5 Sept. Tui amantiſſimum,
1699.
J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

LICET nihil mihi literis tuis gratius ſit, abſit tamen, ut amicum plurimis ac graviſſimis diſtractum negotiis, ad ſingulis meis reſpondendum conſtringi cupiam. Amicitia arithmeticam illam ſcribendi & reſpondendi proportionem non requirit, ſed in prompto ac benevolo amici animo acquieſcit, & bene ſecum actum credit, quotieſcunque amicus aliquam à gravioribus curis reſpirationem nactus, vel tantillum temporis, epiſtolio, licet breviori, impendit. Ego ex tuis te recte valere lætus intellexi: Deus hanc tibi diu continuet valetudinem. Anonymi librum contra Rittangelium recte ad manus tuas perveniſſe gaudeo. Ubi eum legeris & cum Allixii libro contuleris, rem mihi facies maximopere gratam, ſi vel tribus lineis judicium tuum de utroque ad me ſcribas.

D. CLERICI epiſtolæ criticæ, quibus pluribus, qui calamum in ipſum ſtrinxerunt ſimul reſpondet, brevi lucem videbunt. Adverſarios habet parum candidos, & eorum quoſdam imperitos admodum ac indoctos; præſertim illum qui ipſum & me non provocatus invaſit. Homo ille omnium imperitus de omnibus judicium pronuntiat, quæque minime intelligit magno cum ſupercilio carpit. Contra Clericum ſcribit, Philonem à Spencero vocari fabularum ſterquilinium: verum quod Spencerus ſcribit de fictitio antiquitatum biblicarum libro, Philoni falsò tributo, quique nuſquam in Philonis operibus exſtat, ille de genuino Philone dicta putat. Et hic heros, adeo in Philone hoſpes, Clericum malæ fidei in Philone citando accuſare audet. Me ſibi ſeditionem objicere putat, quando triumphum in ſpatiis imaginariis agere jubeo, innumerabili ex fœcunda gente Meneni turba currum fauſtis acclamationibus proſequente: ignarus fœcundam gentem Meneni non ſeditioſos, ſed ſtolidos, quorum magna ubique copia eſt, deſignare. Clerico contra talem adverſarium ſimilem,

quanquam

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* Mirum viros clariſſ. latuiſſe quæ ſuper hac queſtione meditatus eſt B. Spinoza. Vide epiſt. 39, 40, 41. & oper. poſthum.

quanquam non adeo glorioſum, propter adverſarii exiguam eruditionem, eventum, qualem tu nuper omnium judicio conſecutus es, prævideo. Scripſit de eo nuperrime ad me doctus quidem Anglus, qui me præterito anno vidit, his verbis: “ Non dubito quin jamdudum audiviſti de indubitata victoria, quam “ amicus tuus D. Locke retulit de epiſcopo Vigornienſi, in ejus reſponſione ultima ad objectiones epiſcopi, contra librum de Intellectu Humano. Epiſcopus “ eam vidit, nec multo poſt mortuus eſt. Sed etiamſi diutius vixiſſet, vix credo “ eum reſponſurum fuiſſe: omnia enim iſtic adeo ad vivum demonſtrantur, ut “ nullus locus contradictioni relinquatur.”

EXACTIOREM Hammonti hiſtoriam quærendo nolo multum te fatiges: ſi abſque tuo incommodo eam mihi ſuppeditare potuiſſes, gratum fuiſſet. Credidi ego lingua Anglicana exſtare hiſtorias eccleſiaſticas, in quibus hoc hæretici adeo horrendi exemplum prætermiſſum neutiquam eſt. Ejuſmodi enim orthodoxiæ de hæreſibus triumphos zelotæ, in ſuis hiſtoriis, magnifice deprædicare ſolent. Sed quoniam illud exemplum tibi obvium non eſt, ego brevi illa Camdeni narratione contentus ero. Epiſcopii vitam jam paucas intra hebdomadas prælo ſubjiciendam credo, quoniam ingens, quod ſub prælo habebat typographus, opus jam jam in lucem proditurum eſt, ut jam illius præla hujus opuſculi editione occupari poſſint.

DE magnifico viro nihil jam audio, nihil etiam ab ipſo reſponſi expecto. Videtur aliquatenus congreſſum meum vitare, fortaſſe quia me reſponſum flagitaturum credit: verum ego ſtatui eum amplius non urgere, ne reſponſum, quod declinet, flagitando importunus videar.

ME Guenelloni, quæ de eo ſcripſiſti, prælegiſſe teſtes ſunt literæ ipſius, quibus has incluſas voluit. Ipſe de nobili illo Muſcovita pluribus ad te ſcribit. Salutem quam officioſiſſime à nobis dices Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ. Salutant te uxor & liberi, imprimis ego

Amſtelod. 2 Oct.
1699.

Tui amantiſſimus,
P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

QUOD à me petiiſti, quærendo apud veterem hiſtoricum tandem inveni. En tibi igitur Hammonti crimen & vivicomburium.

MATTHÆUS HAMMONT aratrorum faber ex vico Hetharſet, tribus miliaribus à Norwico diſtante, reus factus coram epiſcopo Norwicenſi accuſatus, quod negaverat Chriſtum ſalvatorem noſtrum. Comparenti in judicio objectum eſt, quod ſequentes propoſitiones hæreticas publicâſſet, nempe quod novum teſtamentum & evangelium Chriſti pura ſtultitia erat, inventum humanum, & mera fabula. Quod homo in gratiam reſtituitur ſola miſericordia divina, ſine ope ſanguinis, mortis, & paſſionis Chriſti. Inſuper, quod Chriſtus non eſt Deus, nec ſalvator mundi, ſed merus homo, peccator, & idolum abominandum; & quod omnes, qui illum colunt, ſunt idololatræ abominandi. Item, quod Chriſtus non reſurrexit à morte ad vitam, poteſtate ſuæ divinitatis, neque in cœlum aſcendit. Item, quod Spiritus ſanctus non eſt Deus, nec quidem omnino eſt. Item, quod baptiſmus in eccleſia Dei non eſt neceſſarius, nec uſus ſacramenti corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti. Propter quas hæreſes condemnatus eſt in conſiſtorio, epiſcopo ſententiam pronunciante, 13 die Aprilis 1579, & deinde traditus vicecomiti Norwicenſi. Et quia verba blaſphemiæ (non recitanda) locutus fuerat contra reginam alioſque è concilio reginæ ſanctiore, condemnatus eſt à judice Norwicenſi Windamo, & prætore Norwicenſi Roberto Wood, ut ei amputarentur auriculæ, quod factum eſt in foro Norwicenſi 13 Maii, & poſtea 12 ejuſdem menſis vivicomburium paſſus eſt, in foſſa caſtelli Norwicenſis.

HACTENUS Hollinſhead ad annum 21 Elizabethæ. Huic ſimile exemplum reperio in eodem hiſtorico, ad annum Elizabethæ 25. Verba authoris hæc ſunt:

18 Die Septembris anno 1583, Johannes Lewes, hæreticus obſtinatus, qui negavit deitatem Chriſti, & profeſſus plures alias deteſtandas hæreſes, quales fere erant prædeceſſoris ſui Hammonti, combuſtus eſt Norwici.

LUBET etiam duo alia exempla ejuſmodi ex alio autore ſuggerere, quæ tibi etiam forte uſui eſſe poſſunt in eo, quod præ manibus habes, argumento. Primum eſt vivicomburium Bartholomæi Legatt Londinenſis, anno 1611, & Jacobi primi 9, ob varios errores, hæreſes, & blaſphema dogmata aſſerta & publicata, præcipue in his tredecim poſitionibus ſequentibus. Nempe quod ſymbolum dictum Nicænum, illudque alterum Athanaſii, non continent veram profeſſionem fidei chriſtianæ: vel quod ille ipſe non vult profiteri ſuam fidem ſecundum illa ſymbola. Quod Chriſtus non eſt de Deo Deus genitus, non factus; ſed & genitus & factus. Quod nullæ ſunt in Deitate perſonæ. Quod Chriſtus non fuit Deus ab æterno, ſed incipit eſſe Deus, quando carnem aſſumpſit ex virgine Maria. Quod Mundus non fuit factus per Chriſtum. Quod apoſtoli docent Chriſtum eſſe merum hominem. Quod in Deo nulla ſit generatio niſi creaturarum. Quod hæc aſſertio, Deus factus eſt homo, contraria eſt fidei regulæ & blaſphemia enormis. Quod Chriſtus non fuit ante plenitudinem temporis, niſi promiſſione. Quod Chriſtus non fuit aliter Deus quam unctus Deus. Quod Chriſtus non fuit in forma Dei æqualis Deo, i. e. in ſubſtantia Dei, ſed in juſtitia & dando ſalutem. Quod Chriſtus deitate ſua nulla operatus eſt miracula. Quod preces Chriſto non ſunt offerendæ.

HIC Bartholomæus Legatt ab epiſcopo Londinenſi, aſſiſtentibus conſentientibuſque aliis reverendis epiſcopis, doctiſque clericis, hæreſeos condemnatus eſt, & brachio ſæculari traditus, & deinde igni commiſſus & combuſtus in Weſt-Smithfield Londini.

EODEM ſupplicio affectus eſt Eduardus Wightman, in civitate Lichfield, anno 1611, ab epiſcopo Coventriæ & Lichfield, hæreſeos damnatus, ob has ſequentes opiniones:

1. QUOD non eſt trinitas perſonarum, patris, filii, & ſpiritus ſancti, in unitate Deitatis.

2. QUOD Jeſus Chriſtus non eſt verus, naturalis filius Dei, Deus perfectus, & ejuſdem ſubſtantiæ, æternitatis, & majeſtatis cum patre, reſpectu deitatis ſuæ.

3 QUOD Jeſus Chriſtus eſt homo ſolummodo, & mera creatura, & non Deus ſimul & homo in una perſona.

4. QUOD ſalvator noſter Chriſtus non ſibi ſumpſit carnem humanam ex ſubſtantia virginis Mariæ matris ſuæ; & quod promiſſio illa; "Semen mulieris "conteret caput ſerpentis," non adimpleta erat in Chriſto.

5. QUOD perſona ſpiritus ſancti non eſt Deus, coæqualis, coæternus, coeſſentialis cum patre & filio.

6. QUOD tria ſymbola, ſc. Apoſtolorum, Nicænum, & Athanaſii, continent hæreſin Nicolaïtarum.

7. QUOD ille, nempe Eduardus Wightman, eſt propheta ille, cujus mentio facta eſt xviii. Deuteron. his verbis: "Suſcitabo illis prophetam," &c. Et quod verba Iſaiæ, "Ego ſolus torcular calcavi." & Lucæ, "Cujus ventila-"brum in manu ejus," pertinent proprie & perſonaliter eidem dicto Eduardo Wightman.

8. QUOD ille, nempe Wightman, eſt perſona illa ſpiritus ſancti, cujus mentio facta eſt in ſcriptura, & paracletus ille, de quo loquitur Joannes, c. xvi. evangelii ſui.

9. QUOD verba ſalvatoris noſtri Chriſti, de peccato blaſphemiæ contra ſpiritum ſanctum, de ſua perſona intelligenda ſunt.

10. QUOD Elias ille venturus, de quo loquitur Malach. c. iv. ſuam perſonam deſignat.

11. QUOD anima æque ac corpus dormit in ſomno primæ mortis, & eſt mortalis, reſpectu ſomni primæ mortis, uti corpus; & quod anima ſervatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti in illo ſomno mortis dormivit, æque ac corpus ejus.

12. QUOD animæ ſanctorum defunctorum non ſunt membra, quæ poſſident eccleſiam triumphantem in cœlo.

13. QUOD Pædobaptiſmus eſt ritus abominandus.

14. QUOD celebratio cœnæ dominicæ in elementis panis & vini in eccleſia eſſe non debet; neque baptiſmi in elemento aquæ, uti nunc in eccleſia Anglicana uſus obtinet. Sed baptiſmus in aqua adminiſtrari debet ſolis adultis à paganiſmo ad fidem converſis.

15. QUOD Deus ordinavit & miſit illum, ſcil. Eduardum Wightman, ad exequendum ſuam partem operis ſalutis mundi, ut ſua doctrina ſuiſque monitis mundum liberaret ab hæreſi Nicolaïtarum, ut Chriſtus ordinatus fuit & miſſus ad mundum ſervandum, & à peccato liberandum morte ſua, & Deo reconciliandum.

16. QUOD Chriſtiano religio non integra, ſed pars ſolum illius prædicatur & admittitur in eccleſia Anglicana.

HÆC ex lingua Anglicana nimis fidus interpres, verbatim pene, neglecta latinitatatis elegantia & ſermonis proprietate, tranſtuli, ut dogmata illa hæretica & capitalia, quæ ſupplicium illud meruerunt, tibi, ut apud nos memoriæ mandantur, perfecte innoteſcerent. Si qua alia hujus generis exempla apud nos extant, ſi cupias, ex noſtra hiſtoria eruam & ad te mittam.

DUM hæc præ manibus haberem, allata mihi eſt gratiſſima tua 2. hujus menſis ſcripta epiſtola, adjunctis duabus aliis. Sentio te eundem ſemper quem fueras, facilem, dulcemque amicis.

QUAMPRIMUM per otium licebit Allixii & anonymi libros mihi perlegendos proponam, nec oſcitanter. Quandoquidem in eo cardine ſummam queſtionis verſari creditum eſt. Gaudeo D. Clerici Epiſtolas Criticas propediem prodituras; ut brevi confoſſis adverſariis in pace vacet ſtudiis melioribus. Controverſiarum enim tædium ingens, fructus exiguus. De magnifico viro idem quod tu plane ſentio, nec ultra fatigandum cenſeo. Guenellonis epiſtolæ amicæ brevi reſpondebo. Hos ambos interim rogo officioſiſſime meo nomine ſalutes, ut & uxorem tuam & filiam; Dominam Guenellonem, Veeneumque, reliquoſque amicos noſtros communes. Vale, &, ut facis, me ama

Lond. 7 Octob. Tui amantiſſimum,
1699.
J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE, PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime Vir,

PRO labore, quem meo rogatu ſuſcepiſti, maximas tibi habeo gratias. Gaudeo me ex literas tuas didiciſſe, quæ epiſcoporum illius temporis judicio horrendo illa crimina fuerint, non niſi atrociſſimo ignis ſupplicio luenda. Video quandoque unum idemque dogma diverſis verbis enuntiari, atque ita, quod uno comprehendi poterat articulo, in plures diſtendi, proculdubio ut plurium hæreſium reatus tam atroci ſupplicio prætexti poſſit. Malim dogmata ipſis eorum, qui ea profeſſi fuerint, verbis legere expreſſa; ſic certus forem, me non legere conſequentias, ſed ipſa dogmata, eaque non terminis odioſis concepta, forte in alienum ſenſum detorta, ſed ipſis autorum verbis nude & candide enuntiata, nihilque continentia, niſi quod ipſe, cujus cauſa agitur, pro ſuo agnoſcit. Quando autem procedendi modum video, ad ſancti tribunalis inſtar omnia exacte eſſe conformata, non ſine dolore, agnoſco. Bartholomæi Legatt ſupplicium, verum ſuppreſſo illius nomine, laudat Caſaubonus, in epiſtola dedicatoria in Exercit. ad Baronium. Wightmani ſupplicium paucis narrat

I

rat Gilbertus Clerke, in Antinicæniſſimo contra Bullum, p. 38. Utriuſque autem latius deſcribit Gerardus Croeſius Hiſtoriæ Quakerianæ, lib. iii. p. 479. Verum licet non penitus illorum ſuppliciorum ignarus ſim, rem mihi feciſti longe gratiſſimam, quod pleniorem hæreſium ipſis attributarum hiſtoriam miſeris: multa hactenus mihi ignorata, & ſcopo meo apprime inſervientia, me docuiſti. Verum unum eſt quod deſidero, nomen autoris ex quo hiſtoriam Legatti & Wightmani habes: illud enim in epiſtola tua non reperio. Tum & leviculum erratum, fortaſſe calami feſtinatione, commiſſum eſt. Ais Hammonto auriculas amputatas in foro Norwicenſi, 13 Maii, & poſtea 12 ejuſdem menſis illum vivicomburium paſſum. Atqui dies duodecimus antecedit decimum tertium. Præter hæc ſupplicia legi in Burneti Hiſtoria Reform. Eccl. Angl. ad annum 1549, ſub Eduardo VI. vivicomburium Johannæ Bocheræ, ſeu Johannæ de Kent, & Georgii Van Pare, utrumque ſatis diſtincte deſcriptum: itaque nihil eſt quod hic deſidero.

VERUM in Mennonitarum ſcriptis, ad annum 1575, reperio ſub Elizabetha ſævam, contra Mennonitas è Belgio profugos, excitatam perſecutionem. Narrant nimirum, cœtus ſuos in Anglia fuiſſe diſturbatos, aliquot ſuorum in carcerem conjectos, quorum quinque, poſt varias diſputationes & comminationes mortis, ad profeſſionem religionis reformatæ adacti ſunt: qui nihilominus in cœmeterio Divi Pauli publico ſpectaculo fuere expoſiti, ſingulorumque humero rogus fuit impoſitus, quod deſignabatur ignis ſupplicium fuiſſe meritos. Quatuordecim mulieres navibus ſunt impoſitæ, juvenis quidam currui alligatus flagris cæſus, unaque cum mulieribus regno exire juſſus, intentata pœna mortis ſi redirent. Quinque viri in ſqualido ac profundo carcere detenti ſunt, quorum unus in carcere diem ſuum obiit. Miniſtri Belgicarum & Gallicarum eccleſiarum Londini reliquos quatuor in ſuam ſententiam pellicere conabantur. Tandem Julii die 22. duo maximi natu, Johannes Petri & Henricus Terwoord, eodem in loco, in quo antehac reformatis ignis ſupplicium irrogatum fuit, vivi combuſti & in cineres redacti ſunt, &c. Hiſtoriam hanc ſatis diſtincte, multiſque circumſtantiis veſtitam narrant Mennonitæ. De hiſce nihil prorſus ſcribit Camdenus; ſolummodo ad annum 1560. refert Elizabetham anabaptiſtas & id genus hæreticos, qui in maritima Angliæ oppida ex tranſmarinis regionibus, ſpecie declinandæ perſecutionis, convolârant, & ſectarum viris in Anglia ſparſerant, è regno intra viginti dies excedere imperâſſe, ſive illi indigenæ, ſive exteri, ſub pœna incarcerationis & bonorum amiſſionis. Velim ſcire, ſi levi labore fieri poſſit, an quæ de ſupplicio hoc narrant ſcriptores Angli conſentanea ſint illis, quæ hic ex Mennonitarum ſcriptis excerpſi. Talia in reformationis opprobrium cedunt. Mihi enim perinde chriſtianæ charitati adverſari videtur tribunal de fide, ſive id prope Tiberim, ſive Lemanum, ſive Thameſin conſtituatur: eadem quippe exercetur crudelitas, licet alio in loco & ab aliis hominibus. Et ut noſtrate proverbio dicitur, “Idem eſt monachus, ſed “alio indutus cucullo.” Judicium tuum de Allixii & Anonymi libro audire geſtio. In hoc argumento quæſtionis cardinem verti à veſtratibus credi miror. Ego nihil cauſæ principali contra Judæos deeſſe credo, etiamſi hoc argumento deſtituatur. D. Clerici Epiſtolæ Criticæ nondum prodeunt; propediem vero eas expectamus. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. 6 Nov.
1699.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

RECTE quidem mones, vir ampliſſime, errore feſtinantis calami tranſpoſiti ſunt characteres numerales, & 12 ſcriptum pro 21: nam 21 Maii Hammontus paſſus eſt vivicomburium. Quereris inſuper, idque non ſine cauſa, quod nomen auctoris, ex quo hiſtoriam Legatti & Wightmani hauſi, omiſerim. Id autem negligentia non factum mea eſt. Libellus proſtat Anglicè, cui titulus. "The hiſtory of the firſt fourteen years of king James;" i.e. Hiſtoria quatuordecim primorum annorum Jocobi regis. Autor nomen ſuum tacuit. Huic libello annectitur ad finem tractatulus, cui titulus, "A true relation of the commiſſions and warrants for the condemnation and burning of Bartholomew Legatt and Edward Wightman, the one in Weſt-Smithfield, the other in Litchfield, in the year 1611, ſigned with king James's own hand."

De Mennonitis quod quæris, nondum aliquid ex noſtris hiſtoricis eruere mihi contigit, quod tibi ſatisfaciat, vel lucem afferat: forſan quia idonei hic rure non ad manus ſint ſcriptores, quos conſulam. Ne tamen tibi in tam deſiderato opere quicquam, quod in me eſt, opis tibi deſit, id negotii dedi ingenuo doctoque amico, ut ſi qua opera reperire poſſit, inter autores noſtros, illius rei monumenta, id totum quicquid eſt, excerptum ad me tranſmittere velit. Quamprimum aliqua teſtimonia, ad rem tuam facientia, mihi oblata fuerint, tibi confeſtim tranſmittenda curabo.

Allixii librum, quamprimum prodiit, coëmi, animo legendi, ſed otioſe hactenus præ manibus jacuit, nec dum, ſive per valetudinem, ſive per alias avocationes, legere licuit; ſpero propediem pinguius & fructuoſius otium. Quid de eo audias interim mihi dicas. Quidam apud nos valde paradoxam credunt doctrinam trinitatis, Judæis tribuere, & ſtabilimentum iſtius dogmatis è ſynagoga petere. Alii è contra dictitant, hoc jugulum cauſæ eſſe; & hoc fundamento ſtabiliri orthodoxiam & everti omnia unitariorum argumenta. Quid ipſa res doceat, aveo videre, opem enim in hac cauſa à Judæis & Rabbinis olim non expectavi. Sed lux ſemper gratiſſima, undecunque affulgeat.

Domina Maſham reliquique ex hac familia te plurimum ſalvere jubent. Noſque omnes tibi tuiſque omnibus felicem annum exoptamus. Vale, vir optime, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 6 Jan.
1700.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Veenium, Guenellonem, Clericum, reliquoſque noſtros, quæſo meo nomine officioſiſſime ſalutes, quibus omnibus felicem hujus ſæculi exitum & futuri introitum opto.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

Quod hactenus ad amiciſſimas tuas ſiluerim, ulla tui oblivione factum credas nolim. Multa reſponſum diſtulere; præcipue quidem triſtis ille caſus tibi ſatis notus, & mœror inde contractus. Ego ad ſtudia, hoc infelici caſu multum languentia, reverſus ſum; recuperata jam ſanitate, quæ valde afflicta fuit. Relegi epiſtolam tuam; video nihil eam continere quod promptum reſponſum flagitet; attamen benevolus tuus affectus, quo propoſitum meum promovere contendis, citius merebatur reſponſum: tu autem tarditatem facile condonabis mœrori meo.

De Bilibra hic apud nos altum eſt ſilentium. Verum vidi reverendiſſimum epiſcopum Bathonienſem & Wallenſem, in præfatione tertiæ partis contra Judæos, eam breviter & generatim oppugnâſſe. Ego velim genuinum ſtatum controverſiæ ingenue ac terminis minime ambiguis proponi, & argumenta candide ac ſolide in utramque partem expendi, quod prolixiorem tractatum & animum non ſtudio partium abreptum, ſed veritatis ſincere ſtudioſum, requirit. Prodiit hac hyeme liber Gallice ſcriptus, cui autor titulum præfixit, "Le Platoniſme

"Platoniſme dévoilé." Autorem jam obiiſſe præfatio docet. Dicitur in Anglia ſcriptus, indeque huc miſſus, ut in lucem edatur. Quamvis eruditus ſit tractatus, multis diſpliciturum credo: & licet ego diſcrepantes de religione ſententias, ſine ulla erga autores indignatione, inveſtigare ſoleo, non poſſum tamen diſſimulare, aculeatos ipſius ſarcaſmos in materia ſacra mihi quam maxime diſplicere: licet enim credere poſſet, adverſarios, quos oppugnat, illos meruiſſe; materiæ tamen quam tractat majeſtas cohibere eum debuiſſet, ne hic quicquam gravitati chriſtianæ adverſum immiſceret. Tum & prudentia fuit, mordacibus ejuſmodi ſarcaſmis adverſariorum contra ſe hac ſuos indignationem, alias ſatis acrem, non magis exacerbare. Audio plura illius exemplaria in Angliam eſſe miſſa; quare à te viſum eſſe nullus dubito.

BURMANNI filios, dehortantibus nequicquam amicis, contra me tractatum ſcripſiſſe aiunt, eumque jam ſub prælo eſſe, ac brevi proditurum: Weeyenum habuere continuum inſtigatorem, qui cum Burmannum purgare non potuit, illius filios in me concitavit, ut ipſi ſub ſpecioſo defendendi patris prætextu, inanem in ſe hac inglorium laborem ſuſciperent: non enim verba parentis ſui, nec Spinozæ, è libris editis eradere poſſunt; neque inficiari eadem eſſe quæ in Spinoza, & parentis ſui Synopſi Theologiæ leguntur verba. Quæſtio facti eſt, quæ, prolatis ex utroque autore teſtimoniis, in dubium vocari nequit. Ego talia ſcripta maxima animi ſerenitate contemnere poſſum. Vale, vir ampliſſime. Salveat Domina Maſham cum tota familia. Omnes mei te ſalutant.

Amſtelod. 11 Maii, Tui amantiſſimus,
1700. P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime Vir,

ANTE hebdomadas aliquot, tuo nomine, mihi datus eſt præſtantiſſimus tuus de Intellectu Humano liber, in linguam Gallicam verſus. Pro eximio illo dono gratias tibi, quas poſſum maximas, ago. Nondum eum legere potui; verum nunc inſtant feriæ meæ, quibus ejus lectionem deſtinavi. Materiæ enim, quæ in illo tractatur, gravitas ac varietas, quam ex capitum indice didici, ſummam animi attentionem, & continuatam minimeque interruptam lectionem requirit. Itaque tempus, quo à quotidianis negotiis immunitatem habeo, illi impendam, ut tanto majore meo cum fructu eum evolvam.

LEGI in novellis noſtratibus, quod & D. Clericus literis tuis confirmavit, te ob ætatem ingraveſcentem & valetudinem minus firmam, honoratiſſimi muneris, ante aliquot annos tibi demandati, dimiſſionem obtinuiſſe. Equidem inſtitutum tuum minime improbare poſſum, quinimo laude dignum cenſeo, quod extremos vitæ tuæ dies, procul à ſtrepitu politico, quieti, ſtudiis ac meditationibus ſacris conſecrare, quam negotiis honeſtis quidem, attamen nihil ultra vitæ hujus tranquillitatem ſpectantibus, implicatos habere malueris. Hanc tibi quietem ex animo gratulor, Deumque precor, ut ſenectutem tuam eximiis, quibus vera paratur felicitas, donis magis magiſque exornet, ac quicquid corpuſculi viribus decedit, vivaciore mentis acie & ſpiritus robore compenſet.

TANDEM prodiit contra me Burmannorum Pietas, is libri titulus eſt, mole ingens, verboſus, contumelioſis plurimis declamationibus & invectivis refertus. Illi per D. Crucium, fratrem ſuum uterinum, à civitate Leidenſi in collegium rerum maritimarum deputatum, mihi pietatis ſuæ exemplar tradi voluerunt. Legi illam, ſed cum nauſea; & niſi in me ſcriptus fuiſſet liber, lectionem abſolvere non potuiſſem. Illi in eo ſummis viribus probare nituntur, parentem ſuum à me Spinociſmi accuſatum; & eum prolixe excuſare contendunt. Ægerrime ferunt, parenti ſuo à me aſcribi imprudentiam, & quod ſine judicio Spinozam ſecutus ſit. Aiunt parentem ſuum hæc ex Spinoza cum judicio exſcripſiſſe, ut mere Carteſiana: Spinozam enim in eo libro ſuam doctrinam nec aperte inculcaſſe, nec tecte inſinuaſſe, ſed ſola Carteſii dogmata tradidiſſe. Verum ego non credo Carteſianos hæc quatuor pro ſuis agnituros. 1. Tota natura naturata non eſt, niſi unicum ens. 2. Poſſibilitas & contingentia non ſunt affectiones rerum, ſed intellectus noſtri defectus. 3. Si homines clare totum ordinem naturæ intelligerent, omnia æque neceſſaria reperirent, ac omnia illa, quæ in matheſi tractantur. 4. De extraordinaria Dei potentia, qua miracula facit, non immerito valde dubitari poſſe: quæ tamen omnia in illo Spinozæ libro diſertis verbis reperiuntur. Sarcaſmis plurimis in paralleliſmum inter Spinozæ & Burmanni verba ludunt; verum nihil in eo reprehendere, aut falſi arguere poſſunt. Ego illi libro nihil reponam, præſertim cum ob molem ſuam non diſtrahatur & à nemine legatur.

"Verſiculos in me narratur ſcribere Cinna:
"Non ſcribit, cujus carmina nemo legit."

Idem mihi cum Martiale dicere licet. Addo, quod quicunque meam contra Weeyenum defenſionem legerit, nova defenſione non indigebit: qui eam legere non vult, illi nec decem apologiis ſatisfecero. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. 20 Julii, 1700.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

HAC æſtate binas ad te literas dedi, quas ad manus tuas perveniſſe ſpero. Dolerem ſi aberrâſſent. Nunc ad te mitto vitam Epiſcopii, ante plures annos, uti nôſti, à me lingua Belgica ſcriptam, & præfixam concionibus aliquot Epiſcopii, quarum exemplar illo tempore ad te miſi. Quoniam nunc Latino ſermone prodit, à noſtro Marco Teute, cum in Anglia eſſet verſa, illius ad te duo mitto exemplaria, quorum alterum filio Dominæ Maſham trades alterum ut benigno à me recipias vultu, rogo. Videbis ibi ſpecimen aliquod perſecutionis in patria noſtra, libertatis aſylo inſtitutæ; unde quomodo erga integras eccleſias, & ingenuos veritatis confeſſores, paſſim ſævitum fuerit, facile colliges. Utinam & hodie omnes hanc ſævitiam deteſtentur! verum qua nunc fruimur, quietem, non moderatioribus eccleſiaſtarum conſiliis, ſed magiſtratûs prudentiæ & benignitati debemus; quæ niſi igneum illorum zelum compeſceret, eadem nos hodie, quæ olim majores noſtros, procella obrueret. Jam magnam libri tui eruditiſſimi partem maxima cum voluptate legi. Omnia mihi mirifice placent. Verum quoniam non tantam linguæ Gallicæ quam Latinæ cognitionem habeo, aliquando ut vim phraſium Gallicarum intelligam, atque mentem tuam diſtincte percipiam, bis terve quædam mihi relegenda ſunt; quod lectionem mihi aliquanto tardiorem reddit; verum moleſtiam hanc dilucida veritatis explicatione, argumentorumque quibus eam adſtruis pondere, abunde compenſas. Quando ad finem pervenero, caput xxi. de la puiſſance, ubi prolixe de voluntate ac hominis libertate in volendo diſſeris, relegam: quædam enim ibi habeas nova, quæ attentum requirunt lectorem. Ego totum ubi perlegero, candide meum tibi judicium ſcribam. Verum vix credo in quoquam à te diſſenſurum, adeo omnia, quæ legi, mihi probantur. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & ſalve à me ac meis: ſalutem etiam officioſiſſimam dices D. Maſham totique familiæ.

Amſtelod. 30 Octob. 1700.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime Vir,

PRÆLEGIT mihi hiſce diebus Guenellonus noſter epiſtolam tuam, quæ te cum aſthmate graviter conflictari nuntiabat. Equidem valetudinem tuam afflictam ex animo doleo, eamque tibi firmiorem precor. Sed non ſine admiratione ex literis tuis intellexi, te binas tantum hoc anno à me accepiſſe; cum circa finem menſis Octobris tertias ſcripſerim, quibus addidi duo vitæ Epiſcopii, à Marco Teute latinitate donatæ, exemplaria, unum tibi, alterum Franciſco Cudworth Maſham, una cum literis ad ipſum, quæ jamdudum tibi reddita nullus dubitabam. Faſciculus quatuor comprehendebat exemplaria, quorum reliqua duo deſtinata erant rev. epiſcopis Saliſburienſi, ac Bathonienſi & Wellenſi. Doleo interim etiam epiſtolam aberrâſſe, in qua ſcripſi magnam me libri tui partem legiſſe, omniaque maximopere mihi probari. Poſtea retulit mihi amicus, ſe Carteſii quoſdam ſequaces, à quibus aliquot ex prioribus capitibus lecta erant, conveniſſe; illis maxime diſplicuiſſe duo, quæ ego veriſſima duco; nullas videlicet dari ideas innatas, & animam non eſſe nudam cogitationem. Verum quid aliud à Carteſii ſequace expectes? Alios audivi magnopere librum tuum laudantes, & ſententiæ tuæ applaudantes. Ego ſumma delectatione illum legi, & etiamnum lectionem illius continuo. Verum quoniam non tam exactam linguæ Gallicæ cognitionem habeo, ut phraſeon quarundam Gallicarum vim prima lectione aſſequar, præſertim in materia ſubtili & ardua, cogor nonnunquam, ut diſtincte mentem tuam percipiam, lectionem aliquoties repetere. Gratiſſimum foret, ſi librum tuum latinitate donatum conſpicere quandoque daretur; tum facilius quæ ſcripſiſti intelligerem, & fortaſſe de quibuſdam, quæ de libertate hominis in volendo ſcripſiſti, tecum conferrem. Valde quæ ibi ſcribis mihi probantur: video te terminos aliquot obſcuros aut ambiguos in illa materia elucidâſſe; ſed neſcio an ubique mentem tuam perceperim: relegam integrum caput, & ſi quid occurrat ad quod hæſito, ingenue ac rotunde ad te ſcribam, plane perſuaſus dilucida tua explicatione, omnem (ſi quæ ſit) obſcuritatem diſparituram. Sed & ingenue tibi confiteor, mœrorem ſæpe meditationes meas, quas ſtudiis conſecravi, turbare. Verum dabit Deus his quoque finem. Ego ut honeſta & non inutili occupatione mœroris mei tædium diluam, incepi commentarium in Acta Apoſtolorum conſcribere, ſed nova quadam ratione ac methodo. Criticos egerunt Grotius aliique, quorum laboribus mea diligentia nihil addere poteſt. Itaque omiſſa critica, aliam mihi interpretandi methodum præſcripſi; ut ex hiſtoriæ apoſtolorum, variiſque illius circumſtantiis, ac præſertim eorum concionibus, religionis chriſtianæ veritatem & divinitatem aſſeram, & qua methodo apoſtoli contra Judæos eam adſtruxerint, oſtendam. In hiſce explicandis prolixior paulo ſum: reliqua huc non ſpectantia obiter tantum attingo. Quibus alia contra Judæos diſputandi methodus placet, meum laborem non probatum iri, facile prævideo. Sed veritati litandum eſt; & apoſtolos duces ſequi præſtat, quam homines affectibus ac præjudiciis nimium indulgentes. Vale, vir ampliſſime. Deus priſtinam tibi reſtituat ſanitatem, ut, quoad vivis, egregiis tuis laboribus publico inſervire poſſis. Salutant te quam officioſiſſime uxor mea liberique. Salutem à nobis dices Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ.

Amſtelod. 18 Feb. Tui amantiſſimus,
1701.

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir colendiſſime,

EX ultimis tuis 18 præſentis Februarii datis, probe ſentio, quam firma, quam immutabilis ſit tua erga me amicitia, cum, tribus ante miſſis ad me ſilentem literis, quartas addere non dedignatus es, ſine reprehenſione ulla tantæ & tam criminoſæ taciturnitatis. Ignoſcis video, ideoque valetudinis incommoda non cauſabor. Penultimas tuas cum faſciculo librorum vel amiſſas, vel in itinere male hærentes, maxime doleo, quod crediderim te ſenſum tuum de libro meo, jam tum, cum ſcriberes, perlecto liberius explicuiſſe. Quod de iis, quæ de libertate hominis in volendo ſcripſerim, aliquantum hæſitas, non miror. Totum illud argumentum in prima editione penitus omittendum cenſui; ſed noluerunt amici, quicquid ego de rei ipſius & novitate & ſubtilitate contra afferrem, ne lectores, aliis aſſueti ratiocinationibus, non probe perſpecto ubique animi mei ſenſu, offenderentur; & ea, quæ in iſto parergo commentatus ſum, vel tanquam novatoris paradoxa, vel tanquam inconſulte errantis ſphalmata, negligerint, ſi non plane condemnarent. Nec me eventus penitus fefellit, cum plures inter amicos familiareſque meos, de hoc uno ſubjecto, mecum ſeruere ſermones, quam de omnibus reliquis totius libri capitibus. Fateor adhuc neminem fuiſſe cui ſcrupulum, quo detinebatur, non exemi, ſi modo dabatur otium ſenſim & pedetentim integram materiam à capite ad calcem mecum perpendendi: quod quidem rei veritati, non meæ quantulæcunque mediocritati tribuendum cenſeo. Quod ſi tibi nova recenſione, ut promittis, recurrenti aliqua objicienda occurrunt, perſuaſum tibi ſit nihil acceptius mihi fore, quam errores meos amica manu detegi, eoque ipſo evelli: non enim famæ, nec opinioni, ſed veritati ſoli litandum cenſeo. Quicquid demum fuerit, diſputationes noſtras in unam eandemque ſententiam terminatum iri pro certo habeo, cum utrique unam eandemque illibatam veritatem ſtudioſe quærimus.

Gaudeo te commentarium in Acta Apoſtolorum meditari, & ejuſmodi interpretandi methodum, quæ non hæreat in criticis obſervationibus & verborum cortice. Nullibi magis apparet, ut mihi videtur, ſcopus geniuſque religionis chriſtianæ, quam in ea hiſtoria. Quid enim magis genuinum ſincerumque evangelii ſenſum nobis indicare poſſit, quam primæ illæ apoſtolorum prædicationes, quibus infideles, tam Gentiles quam Judæos, ad fidem Chriſti convertebant?

Ad priores tuas ut aliquando veniam; laudo conſilium tuum quod Burmannorum Pietati minime reſpondendum cenſueris: hujuſmodi vitiligantium opprobria omnino contemnenda.

Prælum noſtrum in fermento eſt, nec quicquam pene prodire videmus præter diſputationes politicas eccleſiaſticaſque. Quorſum tandem res evadet neſcio. Quid minatur turba video: exitum non video. Tranquillitati quantum poſſum ſtudeo. Deus optimus maximus eccleſiarum reformatarum & totius Europæ libertatem conſervet: ſic precatur

Oates, 22 Febr.
1700-1.

Tui obſervantiſſimus,

J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime vir,

NUPER Tranſiſalani rigoris in cauſa religionis minime excuſandi exemplum præbuere vere deteſtandum. Quidam miniſter Mennonita jam ante annos quindecim ſynodo ſuſpectus fuit Socinianiſmi, & illius hæreſeos coram ordinibus Tranſiſalanis à miniſtris eccleſiæ publicæ accuſatus. Itaque à muneris ſui functione ſuſpenſus fuit, adeo ut integro circiter biennio eccleſia illius publico religionis exercitio caruerit. Poſt longam actionem, cum miniſtri accuſationem ſuam probare non poſſent, ipſe ad eccleſiam ſuam fuit remiſſus, eique injunctum, ut ſibi à dogmatibus Socinianis docendis caveret, ſub pœna arbitraria. Ille ante triennium libellum edidit exigui admodum pretii, quo unionem inter omnes Chriſtianorum ſectas ſuadet, etiam cum Socinianis; qua occaſione imprudentius quædam pro Socinianis ſcripſit; & alicubi quædam occurrunt aculeata in gentem togatam. Libellus hic ſi contemptus fuiſſet, vix inveniſſet lectores: verum ſcis gentem illam ſacram vel minima injuria facile irritari. Itaque denuo delatus fuit ad ſatrapam diſtrictus Vollenho, à deputatis claſſis Vollenho, qui exhibito libello ſupplice petunt, ut hic homo, qui non tantum Socinianas hæreticas opiniones clam & palam docuit; ſed etiam audaciſſime edidit, & ſparſit, iiſque intolerandos ſarcaſmos ac blaſphemias admiſcuit, ab ipſo ſatrapa compellatur coram proxima ſynodo libellum hunc palam revocare, & pœnitentiam ob commiſſa teſtari: ut libellus hic flammis tradatur, ac in tota provincia vetetur vendi, ac ſupprimatur: impenſæ quas claſſis ob hanc cauſam ſuſtinere debuit ab ipſo reſtituantur, ipſeque propter crimen commiſſum pœna arbitraria afficiatur. Satrapa petitioni huic annuit hominemque ad ſynodum ablegat. Synodus illi offert quinque articulos ſubſcribendos, quibus continebatur confeſſio, quod contra mandatum ordinum libellum iſtum edidiſſet, quod ipſum inobedientiæ illius pœniteret, quod omnia libelli ſui exemplaria eſſet ſuppreſſurus; aliaque quibus ipſe ſubſcribere recuſavit. Inſtabant aliqui ex miniſtris, imo obteſtabantur ut ſubſcriberet: verum ille conſtanter recuſavit. Poſtea dicitur compertum fuiſſe, illos id adeo ardenter cupiviſſe, ut haberent reum confitentem, & ſic propria ſua confeſſione arbitrariæ pœnæ obnoxium. Hæc geſta ſunt media æſtate anni CIƆ IƆC XCIX. Proximo Januario anni ſequentis à ſatrapa in carcerem eſt conjectus, & poſt longam novem vel decem menſium incarcerationem tandem ſententia judicis homini pauperi, tenui victu, & diuturno carceris ſqualore emaciato, mulcta irrogatur centum ducatorum argenteorum, qui conficiunt libras veſtras ſtirlingas circiter triginta, nec dimittendus à carcere pronuntiatur, niſi ſoluta pecunia. Ille cum ſolvendo non eſſet, utpote pauper, in tetrum, fœtidum ac tenebroſum carcerem ſubterraneum detruditur; ubi poſtquam duabus hebdomadibus pane & aqua vitam toleravit, tandem aliud ipſi mandatum exhibetur menſe Novembri proxime elapſo, quo ipſe errores libello ipſius contentos diſſeminare prohibetur, ſub pœna ſi ſecus fecerit cataſtæ & exilii, ſine ulla ulteriore forma proceſſus: atque ita è carcere dimittitur. Nunc miſer ad extremam inopiam redactus eſt: omni illius divendita ſupellectile, quæ tamen neutiquam explere potuit mulctam in quam condemnatus erat. Non poſſum excuſare illius imprudentiam: verum nec poſſum quin deteſter hanc ſævitiam, præſertim quando in extenſione ſententiæ leges imperatoriæ ex codice adferuntur, ut fulcra ac fundamenta, quibus dura hæc ſententia innititur. Sic ſenſim ad deteſtandum illud inquiſitionis tribunal relabimur.

RFLEGI magna cum attentione cap. xxi. lib. ii. tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano. Expendi voces ac phraſes, quas in materia hac controverſia adhibes. Puto me jam plene mentem tuam percepiſſe, à qua ego non diſſentio. §. 6. optime doces, intellectum & voluntatem non eſſe duas facultates revera ab anima diſtinctas, ſed mentem ipſam humanam immediate per ſe ipſam intelligere & velle. Inde infers non recte voluntatem dici liberam, ſed hominem: recte etiam meo judicio definis libertatem. Verum quando dicis, §. 24. libertatem conſiſtere in potentia agendi & non agendi, & quidem in eo ſolo: non puto id te reſtringere ad ſolas actiones externas, ſed & extendere ad internas, ſeu cogitationes noſtras; illæ enim, non minus quam actiones externæ, ſubjectæ ſunt arbitrio noſtro: idque conſentaneum eſt iis, quæ in ſequentibus capitis illius ſcribis. Porro jam inquiris, quod præcipuum eſt, quid ſit illud, quod hominem ad hoc aut illud agendum movet? Ego hactenus ita me explicui; bonum jucundum, ſeu voluptatem eſſe id, quod hominem allicit, illique oppoſitum dolorem eſſe malum, quod homo averſatur: ideoque quodcunque homo vult, id ab eo conſiderari ut jucundum, quod vero averſatur & fugit, ut moleſtum. Non negas tu illud, quinimo id etiam urges, §. 41, & ſeqq. Verum ut diſtinctius oſtendas, qua ratione voluptas aut dolor hominem moveat, doces, §. 29. & ſeqq. voluntatem determinari ab inquietudine, quam homo in ſe experitur, aut ex præſentia doloris, aut ex abſentia boni, ſeu voluptatis, in qua vel totam, vel ſaltem partem ſuæ beatitudinis collocat; quamdiu enim homo in ſtatu ſuo acquieſcit, nullam illius mutationem quærit, ſed solummodo quando in ſtatu ſuo non acquieſcit, ſeu quandam inquietudinem, ſive ex præſentia doloris, ſive ex abſentia voluptatis, quam ut felicitatis ſuæ partem conſiderat, in ſe ſentit. In his facile tibi aſſentior. Inde recte deducis, bonum in nobis excitare deſiderium, non tamen inde ſequi majus bonum ſemper in nobis majus deſiderium excitare. Quod veriſſimum eſt, & tu recte probas. Unde porro deducis, libertatem hominis in eo conſiſtere, quod poſſit ſuſpendere impletionem cujuſcunque deſiderii ſui, plenamque habeat libertatem unum poſt aliud conſiderandi, objecta eorum examinandi, eaque ab omni parte obſervandi, ac inter ſe comparandi, antequam ſe determinet ad agendum. Et hoc tecum agnoſco. Inde jam inſers, indifferentiam, quæ non poſſit determinari per ultimum judicium, quod homo fert, de bono & malo, cujus electionem ſequendam credit, eſſe ſummam naturæ intelligentis imperfectionem. In Remonſtrantium ſcriptis ſæpe vox INDIFFERENTIA occurrit, quando de libertate hominis agitur: verum ea nunquam à nobis hoc ſenſu accipitur, quod poſito illo ultimo judicio, in quo proprie actus volitionis conſiſtit, nihilominus hominis potentia agendi ſit indifferens, & per voluntatem non determinetur: ſed, quod ante illud voluntatis decretum homo libertatem habet ſe in hanc vel illam partem determinandi, & non ad unum tantum oppoſitorum determinatus eſt: accedente autem voluntatis decreto, ſeu volendi actu, indifferentia illa tollitur, & potentia ad agendum aut non agendum determinatur. Et hic etiam puto nos conſentire. Reliqua capitis iis, quæ jam recenſita ſunt, magis illuſtrandis ac confirmandis inſerviunt. Puto me hic ſententiam tuam de libertate hominis recte percepiſſe. Nec eſt quod illi quicquam opponam: imo quædam diſtinctius, & clarioribus, quam hactenus à noſtris factum eſt, terminis ac phraſibus poſſe exprimi didici. Si non bene perceperim, aut ſi quid omiſerim, quod ut ſententia tua plene percipiatur, omitti non debuit, rogo ut me erroris admoneas: nolim enim in ſententiæ tuæ explicatione, quam, prout eam percepi, etiam meam eſſe agnoſco, à mente tua aberrare. Si in quibuſdam diſſentimus, quod ego ignoro, amice tecum conferre geſtio, ut exiguus, qui forte reſtare poſſet, diſſenſus tollatur. Plures tecum de hoc capite contuliſſe non miror. Materia eſt intricata & diverſis philoſophorum ac theologorum ſententiis ſemper agitata. Primus, meo judicio, Epiſcopius in tractatu de Libero Arbitrio, & contra Cameronem, eam clarius explicuit, oſtenditque intellectum & voluntatem non eſſe duas facultates revera inter ſe & ab anima diſtinctas, uti hactenus in ſcholis creditum fuit, ſed animam immediate per ſeipſam intelligere ac velle. Porro licet non iiſdem tecum vocibus ac phraſibus utatur, in ſumma tamen rei, quantum ego percipio, eſt conſenſus. Gratias interim tibi ago, quod multa me libri tui editione docueris. Ego eum iteratò evolvere ſtatui; ſecunda enim lectione multo diſtinctius eum intelligo. Deum precor ut diu te nobis incolumem ac proſpera fruentem valetudine conſervet. Uxor ac filia te ſalutant. Salveat quam officioſiſſime à me, uxore & filia, Domina Maſham ejuſque liberi. Vale.

Amſtelod. 30 Mart. 1701. Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

MAGNO honori mihi eſſe duco, quod tu tantum lucubrationibus meis tribuas, ut in iis perlegendis bonas tuas horas locare velis: & eas tibi veritatis amatori non diſplicuiſſe gaudeo. Cum ego libertatem conſiſtere dico, §. 24. cap. xxi. lib. ii. in potentia agendi & non agendi, nequaquam id reſtringo ad ſolas actiones externas, uti conſtat ex §. 8, 38. aliiſque illius capitis locis: de hoc igitur inter nos convenit. Quando vero dicis, quod "quicquid "homo vult ab eo conſiderari, ut jucundum," metuo ne voluntatem cum deſiderio confundas. Quod à pleriſque factum video, qui hoc argumentum tractant, non ſine magno veritatis, vel ſaltem perſpicuitatis, incommodo. Deſiderium fertur in jucundum, fateor; ſed voluntas fertur ſolum in actiones noſtras, & ibi terminatur. Sed quia voluntas raro agit, niſi ducente deſiderio, ideo pro uno eodemque actu plerumque ſumuntur, cum toto cœlo diſtent, §. 30, 40. Cupido enim paſſio eſt mota à bono abſente. Volitio autem actus voluntatis, vel animæ, imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Hæ duæ operationes animæ, ſcil. illa qua cupit aliquid, & illa qua determinat, vel imperat, aliquid agendum, niſi diſtinguantur probe, nihil dilucide, ut mihi videtur, de humana voluntate ſtatui poteſt: ideoque ſpero ignoſces mihi, quod de iſta loquendi forma te monitum velim, cum de ſumma rei à me omnino non diſſentias. In uſu vocis "indifferentia," quod à veſtris differam, non mirum eſt, cum in his ſcribendis nec aliorum placita ſecutus ſum, nec vel ſcripta omnino conſuluerim, ſed quæ res ipſæ me, quantum indagatione & meditatione aſſequi poteram, docuerint, ea verbis quam potui aptiſſimis explicuerim. De terminorum igitur uſu nulla inter nos erit diſputatio, modo de re ipſa conſtet. Quamvis, ut libere dicam, iſta antecedens indifferentia hominis, qua homo, ante determinationem ſive decretum voluntatis, ſupponitur libertatem habere ſe determinandi ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum, non omnino mihi videtur ſpectare ad quæſtionem de libertate; qua libertas unice conſiſtit in potentia agendi, vel non agendi, ſecundum determinationem voluntatis. Diſputare autem, an homo, ante ultimum judicium intellectûs, libertatem habet ſe determinandi ad alterutrum oppoſitorum, mihi videtur omnino de nihilo, ſive de re impoſſibili, diſputatio. Quis enim rogaret, vel quorſum attinet rogare, an homo poteſt ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum ſe determinare in ſtatu, in quo ſe non poteſt omnino determinare? Nam, ante judicium intellectûs, non poteſt ſe omnino determinare, ideoque fruſtra quæritur, an in illo ſtatu libertatem habet ſe determinandi in alterutram, ubi in neutram omnino partem poteſt ſe determinare. Ideoque omnes illæ lites, quæ agitantur de libertate ſe in alterutram partem determinandi, ante judicium intellectûs, mihi videntur (ignoſcas fatenti) nullo modo pertinere ad quæſtionem de libertate: quæ ne ſupponi quidem debet, nec poteſt, in ſtatu in quo manifeſtum eſt quod homo, ut agens liberum, non poteſt agere; cum libertas, ut dixi, conſiſtat in ſola potentia agendi, vel non agendi, conſequenter & congrue ad determinationem voluntatis. Ita autem ſæpe uſu venit. Diſputantium fervor & partium ſtudium rebus per ſe claris nubem & caliginem obducunt, dum undique conquiſitis laqueis alter alterum innodare & abſurdis involvere conatur. Vides quam libere tecum agam, eandem à te libertatem viciſſim expectans; ſi enim tu meæ, vel ego tuæ opinioni aſſentior, perinde eſt veritatem quærentibus, dummodo illius potior habetur ſententia quæ verior, & in ea conſentiamus. In aliis libri mei partibus, dum percurras, ſi quid minus recte dictum, vel cogitatum invenias, moneri imo & redargui à te cupio. Vale, vir optime, & me, ut facis, ama

Oates, 21 Maii,
1701.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

EODEM die quo nuperrime ad te mane ſcripſi, literas tuas 27 Maii datas veſperi accepi. Vitam Epiſcopii ſumma cum voluptate perlegi. Hiſtoria placet, res geſtæ plane diſplicent. Doleo ſane reformatos tam propere mores pontificios, de quibus tam graviter queſti ſunt, imitatos. Sed ſcire juvat quod cognitum laudare non poſſis. Inquiſitionem, quæ in eccleſia Romana lentius ſucrevit, uno quaſi nixu inceptam & pene perfectam hic conſpicere mihi videor. An has proteſtantium inter ſe inimicitias & mutuas perſecutiones jam caſtigaturus ſit Deus, neſcio: hoc ſaltem credo, theologorum ambitioſa diſſidia, & invicem dominandi in fratres cupido, orbem reformatum antiquis hoſtibus denuo obruendum objecit, & in tantum periculum adduxit. Avertat Deus O. M. omen, nec ad perſecutionem tam proclives animos perſecutione catholica puniat. Unum eſt, quod in libro tuo deſidero, nempe articulos illos quinque Remonſtrantium, quorum tam frequens eſt mentio. Hos vel quod in propera lectione non obſervatos præterierim, vel quod eos hiſtoriæ tuæ non inſeruiſti, ignorare me fateor. Rogo igitur ut mihi indicare velis ubi eos legere poſſim; magnam enim lucem, ut mihi videtur, præbebunt cauſam Remonſtrantium penitus cognoſcere cupienti: nam iterum, credo, perlegam hanc tuam hiſtoriam. Maximas pro hoc dono gratias ago. Vive diu utilis religioni chriſtianæ. Vale, & me ama

Oates, 1 Jun. Tui amantiſſimum,
1701.

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

VITAM Epiſcopii tibi, ſummi judicii viro, non diſplicuiſſe eſt quod mihi gratuler. Multa exteris ignota ibi eſſe præterita, quia nobis notiſſima, nullus dubito. Quinque autem articulos noſtros, quorum decidendorum cauſa ſynodus Dordracena convocata fuit, nulli ignotos credebam. In explicatione ſententiæ Arminii, p. 6. in vita Epiſcopii ego eos brevi in compendio exhibui. Extant autem in Remonſtrantia ordinibus Hollandiæ CIↃ IↃ CX oblata, quam reperies in epiſtolis præſtantium virorum à me editis, nº cxlv. p. 254. vel in hiſtoria quinquarticulana Petri Heilini Anglica, cap. v. p. 50. Si altera vitæ Epiſcopii editio aliquando prodeat, poſſem illi quinque illos articulos aliaque quædam non ſine Epiſcopio geſta, aut ipſum ipſiuſve conſanguineos ſpectantia, hic illic inſerere, quæ ad hiſtoriæ noſtræ cognitionem penitiorem, haud exigui futura ſunt momenti. Continuavit Brantius noſter ſenior hiſtoriam uſque ad finem anni CIↃ IↃ CXXIII. in qua gravis illa contra noſtros perſecutio exacte deſcribitur; verum illa hactenus lucem non adſpexit; & præ metu ne edatur, ſynodus Hollandica jam ab aliquot annis deputatis ſuis in mandatis dedit, ut ſolicite invigilent, ne illa alicubi imprimatur. Nolunt enim myſteria illa iniquitatis revelari. Utinam hiſtoriam ſuam continuâſſet ad annum CIↃ IↃ CXXXII. quo perſecutioni ubique ferme in patria noſtra finis eſt impoſitus, nobiſque palam in cœtus religioſos convenire non fuit prohibitum. Ex illius lectione deprehendere poſſes veritatem dicti cujuſdam monachi, quod Marnixius refert in epiſtola ad Caſparum Verheiden, inter epiſt. ſelectas à Belgis vel ad Belgas, anno 1617, à Baudio & Heinſio editas, cent. ii. epiſt. 51. "Haud æque diu reformatorum ollam calefactam "fuiſſe, atque illorum quos tantopere inceſſerent: videre ſe plane, antequam "per ſæculorum intervallum labatur, parem utrobique imperii eccleſiaſtici fore "rationem." Scripta eſt hæc epiſtola ult. Mart. 1577.

LEGI, relegi, & ſerio expendi quæ de libertate ſcribis; ſed non deprehendi illum inter nos eſſe conſenſum, quem, lecto illo "de Potentia" capite, credidi.

Quia uterque unice veritatem quærimus, paulo diſtinctius terminos quibus uſus ſum explicabo, & ſi qui aptiores ſint, illis lubens utar; amo enim perſpicuitatem; & in veritatis inquiſitione omnem verborum ambiguitatem, quantum fieri poteſt, vitandam judico. Putas non recte dici nos velle jucundum, illud eſſe deſiderium, non voluntatem. Deſiderium enim ferri in bonum abſens; volitionem autem eſſe actum voluntatis vel animæ imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Facile ego hoc diſcrimen admitto, & ut perſpicuitatis cauſa, unicuique verbo ſuam tribuamus ſignificationem, utile eſſe exiſtimo. Verum ego puto nos duo velle, finem & media quæ ad finem ducunt. Multa deſideramus, quæ tamen non volumus. Eſt enim deſiderium aliud completum, aliud incompletum; ſicut & voluptas alia eſt completa, alia incompleta, quam barbaro vocabulo in ſcholis vocant velleïtatem, qua deſignamus non quid homo proprie velit, ſed quid vellet. Prudentis eſt ex multis deſiderabilius illud eligere, ſibique omnium ſuarum actionum finem proponere, quod undequaque eſt perfectum, & in quo concurrunt omnes rationes, quæ rem deſiderabilem faciunt. Atqui illa electio non fit ſine determinatione voluntatis, qua homo decernit hoc bonum, quod omnibus aliis præferendum judicat, ſibi omnium ſuarum actionum finem proponere. Ita ego credidi recte poſſe dici hominis voluntatem in bonum ferri, idque bonum ſemper ab ipſo apprehendi, ut jucundum. Si vero credas actionem, qua ferimur in bonum illud, improprie dici voluntatem, ſed debere appellari deſiderium, quia fertur in bonum abſens, te termino non contendam, modo de illius ſignificatione conſtet. Ut ergo omnis ambiguitas vitetur, dicamus deſiderium ferri in bonum, voluntatem dirigere actiones. Sed caveamus ne quævis deſideria confundamus, & deſideria completa diſtinguamus ab incompletis, quæ velleïtates, voce in ſcholis uſitata, appellari ſolent. Si vero aliud aptius vocabulum indicare poſſis, eo lubens utar, ut omnis, quantum fieri poteſt, obſcuritas & ambiguitas in ſermone noſtro vitetur.

Quod attinet vocem “indifferentia,” certum eſt noſtros ea non raro eſſe in hac materia uſos: verum eam non adeo deperimus, quin ſi commodior nobis offeratur eam repudiaturi ſimus; eoque magis, quia videmus philoſophos Carteſianos ea ſenſu à noſtro plane alieno uti: illis enim indifferentia eſt fluctuatio judicii; quando mens, ex rationum pro utraque parte æquilibrio, incerta eſt quid ſibi eligendum ſit. Nobis vero indifferentia eſt vis illa animæ, qua, poſitis omnibus ad agendum requiſitis, poteſt agere vel non agere. Verum, in tota hac de libertate diſputatione, video ſæpe ludi verbis ambiguis, aut ſaltem in ambiguum ſenſum detortis. Optandum foret omnia verba eodem ſignificatu ab omnibus accipi; multæ inanes diſceptationes & λογομαχίαι vitari poſſent. Nunc quoniam in ſignificatione verborum convenire non poſſumus, neceſſe eſt ut quiſque explicet, quo ſignificatu unaquaque voce, de qua contenditur, utatur. Circa rem ipſam video nos diſſentire. Dicis, “Iſta antecedens indifferentia, qua “homo ante determinationem, ſive decretum voluntatis, ſupponitur libertatem “habere ſe determinandi ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum, non omnino mihi “videtur ſpectare ad quæſtionem de libertate; quia libertas unice conſiſtit in “potentia agendi, vel non agendi, ſecundum determinationem voluntatis.” Mihi plane contrarium videtur, libertatem unice conſiſtere in potentia, qua homo actionem volendi poteſt determinare vel non determinare: & ſi eam homo, ante voluntatis determinationem, non habet, quod non ſit liber, neque ullus ſtatus concipi poſſit, in quo liber dici queat. Quia enim voluntas actionum noſtrarum domina eſt, eaſque pro arbitrio moderatur, ſi determinatio voluntatis non ſit libera, nec in actionibus noſtris ulla erit libertas, quia actiones noſtræ voluntatis determinationem neceſſario ſequuntur. Quare vix capio quid velis, cum dicis ante ultimum judicium intellectûs homo non poteſt ſe omnino determinare. Verum antequam hic ſententiam meam explicem, quid per ultimum judicium intellectus ſignificetur, propius explicandum eſt, ne hic propter ambiguitatem vocis, in oratione noſtra aliqua ſit obſcuritas. Communiter ultimum intellectus judicium vocant, quo homo decernit quid ſibi faciendum ſit, idque vocant ultimum judicium practicum intellectus: verum hoc judicium non eſt tam actus intellectus quam voluntatis, vel ſaltem actus mixtus, ad cujus complementum voluntas concurrit. Judicium autem, quod ſolius intellectus actus eſt, non ulterius procedit, quam hoc oportet facere, hoc oportet omittere. Ulterius ſi procedat, intercedit aliqua actio voluntatis. Quæ duo tamen à multis confunduntur. Jam mea eſt ſententia hominem, quando rectæ rationi conſentaneè agit, ſemper velle, quod intellectus judicat oportere fieri: poſſe tamen etiam contra rationem agere, & voluntatem in contrariam partem determinare: quin &, antequam intellectus, poſt accuratum rationum examen, judicaverit quid facere oporteat, poſſe bruto impetu agere non quod rationi conſentaneum eſt, ſed quod concupiſcentia dictat. Hic ſi homo non habet libertatem ſe determinandi, aut non determinandi, & actionem ſuam ſuſpendendi, videre nequeo, in quo libertas conſiſtat. Eandem tuam eſſe putabam ſententiam, idque colligebam ex §. 47. capitis ſupra nominati, ubi inter alia ais, “Animam, quæ habet potentiam ſuſpendendi impletionem cujuſcunque deſiderii ſui, ſicuti evidenter patet per experientiam, conſequenter, etiam habere libertatem ea ſucceſſive unum poſt alterum conſiderandi, eorum objecta examinandi, ea ex omni parte obſervandi, & inter ſe comparandi; & in hoc conſiſtere libertatem hominis: omnemque erroris & vitiorum originem inde arceſſis, quod præcipitemus judicium, voluntatemque noſtram cito nimis determinemus, & actioni nos accingamus, antequam bene examinaverimus quid agere nos oporteat.” Hæc, aliaque quæ ibi addis, veriſſima eſſe judico; iiſque plane aſſentior. Verum hæc cum iis, quæ epiſtola ſcribis, “quod homo, ante judicium intellectûs, ſe non poteſt omnino determinare,” conciliare non poſſum. Fortaſſe mentem tuam non bene percepi. Rogo itaque, ſi grave non ſit, ut oſtendas, qua ratione hæc inter ſe conciliare debeam, & diſtinctius quod ego non plene percepi, explices. Nulli opinioni, nedum phraſi aut voci, ita ſum addictus, quin meliora monſtranti cedere paratus ſim: veritatem enim unice quæro, quam ſi invenero, de errore triumphabo.

HÆC ſcripſeram, cum ad me exemplar Latinum tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano affertur; pro quo eximio dono, ego ſummas tibi habeo ac ago gratias. Statui illud à capite ad calcem perlegere, & cum elegantiſſima verſione Gallica conferre, quæ proculdubio Latine nonnunquam lucem fœnerabitur: & quando integrum tractatum perlegero, candide tibi judicium meum ſcribam, non quia neceſſe eſt, ſed quia id à me exigis, idque ego tibi petenti me debere agnoſco. Verum quantum ex Gallicæ verſionis lectione percepi, me ſententiæ tuæ approbatorem habebis: ſi vero ad quædam hæſitavero, ea tibi candide indicabo, ut pleniorem eorum explicationem ex te eliciam. Deum precor ut tibi vitam ac vires continuet, ut egregiis tuis laboribus orbi literato porro prodeſſe poſſis. Salutant te uxor ac filia. Salutem à nobis officioſiſſimam dices Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ. Vale.

Amſtelod. 19 Julii, 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

QUOD omnis obſcuritas & ambiguitas in verborum uſu ſit vitanda, tecum plane ſentio: verum liceat mihi adjicere, quod hoc ſæpe non ſit etiam à volentibus evitare obſcuritatem. Ideæ, quæ obſervantur hominum mentibus, præſertim eorum, qui veritatem attentiùs quærunt, multo plures ſunt quam voces cujuſvis linguæ, quæ ad eas exprimendas paratæ ſunt. Hinc fit, quod homines (quibus integrum non eſt nova vocabula, quoties opus eſt ad novas ideas ſignificandas, ad libitum procudere) eadem voce, pro diverſis ideis, præſertim ſi cognatæ ſint, identidem utuntur: unde oritur non raro ſermonis obſcuritas & incertus ſenſus, quando ad præciſiones accuratas veniendum eſt, quo non ſolum audientium, ſed & ipſorum etiam loquentium mentes implicantur. Inter alia quæ propoſui, lib. iii. cap. xi. huic malo remedia, illud mihi præcipuum videtur, ſc. ut diligenter colligamus omnes ſimplices ideas, quæ ingrediuntur compoſitionem cujuſlibet ideæ complexæ, cujus nomen uſurpamus, eaſque eidem voci affixas ſedulo in animo teneamus. V. g. in argumento, quod præ manibus habemus, ſi "voluntas" ſignificat potentiam, quam homo habet incipiendi, ſiſtendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis ſui, ut ego fuſius explicui, lib. ii. cap. xxi. §. 5. &c. in quo tu etiam acquieſcere videris: ſi hæc, inquam, ſit idea, quam vox "voluntas" ſignificat, eamque præſentem in animo habemus, quando de voluntate loquamur, nihil certius eſſe poteſt, quam quod voluntas terminatur ſolummodo in actionibus noſtris, nec poteſt ulterius extendi ad rem aliquam aliam, nec ferri in bonum remotum & abſens. Adeoque ſi contendis voluntatem ferri in bonum, ut finem, recedis ab ea idea, quam huic voci aſſignavimus, aliamque ſubſtituis; unde fit quod tu & ego diverſas res deſignamus, quando de voluntate loquimur, nec omnino poſſumus inter nos de voluntate diſſerentes quicquam proficere, donec tu ideam indices cujus apud te vox "voluntas" ſignum eſt, ut de ſenſu vocis, i. e. de re, de qua diſſerimus, conveniamus.

DISTINCTIO de deſiderio completo & incompleto, ſive de voluntate completa & incompleta, quam affers, nihil mihi videtur argumentum tuum juvare. Sive enim aliquod ſit incompletum deſiderium, vel incompleta voluntas, quod ſane dubito, id nunquam efficiet ut ſit verum, quod voluntas fertur in bonum. Dico me dubitare an aliqua poteſt eſſe incompleta volitio; voluntas enim hic, ni fallor, ſumitur pro actu voluntatis, i. e. pro volitione. Volitionem inefficacem facile agnoſco, ut cum paralyticus manum paralyſi ſolutam movere velit, inefficax fateor & ſine ſucceſſu eſt iſta volitio, ſed non incompleta. Actus enim volendi hoc in caſu æque completus eſt, ac olim, quando manus volitioni obſequebatur. Itidem deſiderium alicujus propoſiti boni, quod propter majus bonum incompatibile proſequi negligimus, non eſt incompletum deſiderium, nec incompleta voluntas, ſed deſiderium completum brevi terminatum, eo uſque non procedens, ut nos impellat ad volendum actiones, quibus obtineri poſſit illud bonum, in quod ferebatur breve illud deſiderium: nec incompleta dici poteſt voluntas, ubi nulla omnino eſt volitio, etiamſi ſcholæ velleïtatem appellare ament. Quod ſi breve illud deſiderium euſque procedat, ut nos ad volendum aliquam actionem excitet, voluntas illa non eſt incompleta, ſed completus actus volendi, etiamſi omiſſa ulteriore inefficax ſit ad obtinendum bonum propoſitum quod ceſſante deſiderio negligitur. In his & hujuſmodi mentis actionibus adeo celeres ſunt motus animi, & inter ſe conjuncti, ut non mirum ſit, quod ſæpe, uti fit, confundantur, quæ attentius conſideranti diſtinguenda ſunt, ut recte conceptus noſtros formemus. Vis libere dicam, quid hac de re ſentio. Homo fertur in bonum abſens, ſive finem. Multis ſimul intellectui obſervantibus bonis non ſubordinatis nec conſiſtentibus, homo unum, neglectis aliis, ſibi proponit ut finem, i. e. ut proſequendum, hoc facit voluntarie, adeoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis, qua unum præ reliquis ſibi proponit, ut finem, & in ea actione terminatur, eodem modo quo terminatur in computatione, quando vult numerare, vel in motione pedum, quando vult ambulare. Ob hanc voluntariam propoſitionem iſtius boni, ut finis, fateor non raro dicitur vulgo, quod voluntas fertur in eum finem vel in id bonum, an proprie & ut philoſophicam decet ἀκρίβειαν, tu judices.

QUANTA ſit vis conſuetudinis in uſu verborum, quæ irrepit ſubinde nobis inſciis, patet, ut mihi videtur, ex iis quæ in epiſtola tua ſequuntur. In priore epiſtola libens & aperte mecum conſentire videris, quod actiones ſunt agentium ſive ſubſtantiarum, & non potentiarum ſive facultatum: & tamen hic uſitata loquendi forma te abduci pateris, dicitque quod "voluntas eſt actionum "noſtrarum domina, eaſque pro arbitrio moderatur," & ſimilia paſſim, in toto illo epiſtolæ tuæ paragrapho; quod ni feciſſes, nulla arbitror mihi tecum lis eſſet. Hoc non dico, quod adeo delicatulus ſim, ut hujuſmodi loquendi formulas nullo in loco pati poſſim: earum uſus in ſermone familiari, ſi recte intelligantur, non omnino vituperandus. Quando vero in diſceptationibus philoſophicis pro fundamentis argumentorum, quaſi iis inniteretur rerum veritas, omnino rejiciendæ ſunt metaphoricæ & tralatitiæ hujuſmodi locutiones, ne nos in errorem inducant: reſque ipſæ, uti revera ſunt, propriis & non figuratis vocabulis exprimendæ: v. g. dicere, "quod voluntas ſit actionum noſtrarum "domina, eaſque pro arbitrio moderatur," & inde arguere, quod "niſi voluntas "ſit libera, nulla erat in homine libertas," eſt, ut mihi videtur, ex vi metaphoræ illius nos in errorem conjicere. "Libertas, apud me, eſt poteſtas hominis agen-"di vel non agendi, ſecundum ſuam voluntatem;" ſcilicet ſi homo poteſt agere hoc, ſi vult agere hoc; & abſtinere, è contra, ab agendo hoc, quando vult abſtinere ab agendo hoc, eo in caſu liber eſt homo. Hanc eſſe veram libertatis notionem videtur mihi conſtare, ex iis quæ à me dicta ſunt §. 8. & ſeqq. Quæ ſi vera ſit, inde omnino ſequitur libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati, uti monſtravi §. 14. Imo inde ſequitur, quod illa antecedens indifferentia, ante decretum voluntatis, nullo modo, ut dixi, pertinet ad quæſtionem de libertate. Si enim libertas ſit potentia agendi actionem, quam vult homo, & viciſſim abſtinendi ab eadem actione, ſi ab ea homo vult abſtinere: quid facit, rogo, iſta antecedens indifferentia ad libertatem, quæ eſt potentia agendi vel non agendi, conſequenter ad voluntatis determinationem?

QUANDOQUIDEM vero inciderit quæſtio, de iſta veſtra antecedente indifferentia, cui vos omnem inniti libertatem contenditis, de ea liceat mihi paulo diſtinctius inquirere. Hæc indifferentia definitur à te, "vis animi, qua, poſitis omnibus "ad agendum requiſitis, poteſt agere vel non agere." Jam hic rogo, an intellectus, judicium, vel cogitatio ſit unum ex requiſitis ad agendum?

1. SI dicas quod intellectus, judicium, vel cogitatio ſit unum ex requiſitis ad agendum, veſtra antecedens indifferentia nunquam efficiet, ut voluntas ſit libera (quamvis eum in finem, ut inde adſtrui poſſit voluntatis libertas, excogitata & introducta videtur) quia, ut dixi, aliqua actione ſemel intellectui propoſita, voluntas non eſt in ſtatu, in quo poteſt agere vel non agere (in quo, ut mihi videtur, conſiſtit libertas) neceſſario debet agere; nec poteſt abſtinere ab agendo, i. e. à volendo, actionem illam ſcilicet, vel illius omiſſionem. Imo vero voluntas, eo in ſtatu, non eſt indifferens ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum, nempe ad actionem propoſitam, vel ejus omiſſionem, quia determinatur à præcedente intellectus judicio, actionem illam vel ejus omiſſionem præferente.

2. SI dicas quod intellectus, judicium, ſive cogitatio non ſit unum ex requiſitis ad agendum: videas, quæſo, dum hominem hoc modo liberum reddere velis, an non agentem cæcum plane efficis; & ut liberum facias ab eo intellectum removes, ſine quo nec eſſe, nec ſupponi poteſt libertas ulla. Ad res enim cogitatione & intellectu deſtitutas, nulla omnino attinet libertas. Perpende igitur, quæſo, & tecum cogita, an libertas hominis recte fundari poteſt in ejuſmodi ſtatu, qui excludit cogitationem, redditque lapidem æque capacem libertatis; an illa indifferentia pertinere poteſt ad quæſtionem de libertate, quæ ſepoſita cogitatione nullum locum in ſubjecto relinquit libertati.

HÆC omnia ita ſe habent ex mea libertatis notione, quam fuſius traditam invenies §. 8, 13. Quod ſi tu alium iſti voci ſenſum tribuas, forſan hæ omnes evaneſcent difficultates. Sed tunc rogandus es, ut tuam libertatis definitionem ad me mittas, ſi de diverſis rebus, ſub eodem nomine differentes, nolumus ſine fructu diſputare.

EX his, quæ ſupra dixi, mihi conſtare videtur, quod libertas nullatenus conſiſtit in indifferentia hominis, ſed ſolummodo in potentia agendi, vel non agendi, prout volumus. Exemplo forſan res clarior erit. Homo, v. g. amat vinum, judicat ſibi bonum eſſe, ex voluntate ſua bibit: nulla hic indifferentia eſt, & tamen libera prorſus eſt hæc actio, quia, ſi modo mutaverit voluntatem, poteſt abſtinere. Contra, homo vinum nec amat, nec averſatur, nec judicat ſibi bonum aut malum eſſe, ſupponamus quantamlibet hominis indifferentiam: ex voluntate abſtinet à vino in carcere, ubi vinum non permittitur. Hæc actio, nempe abſtinentia à potione vini eſt voluntaria, fateor, ſed non eſt libera: quoniam homo ille, ſi mutet voluntatem, vinum tamen in eo caſu bibere non poteſt. Vides igitur quod indifferentia poteſt eſſe ſine libertate, & libertas ſine indifferentia, & actio voluntaria ſine utraque. Hæc me res ipſæ per ſe planæ docere videntur. Imo vero res ipſæ melius forſan & ſimplicius nos docerent multa, ſi ſcholarum ſubtilitas in procudendis facultatibus diſtinctionibus, aliiſque ſpecioſis inventis mire acuta, non obduceret ſæpe rebus in ſe claris operoſam & doctam obſcuritatem.

DICIS porro, quod "Libertas conſiſtit in potentia, qua homo actionem "volendi poteſt determinare, vel non determinare." Si, per actionem volendi determinare vel non determinare, ſignificas velle aut non velle; libertas in eo conſiſtere non poteſt: quia aliqua actione homini propoſita, homo non poteſt abſtinere à volitione, debet neceſſario velle aut actionem illam propoſitam, aut abſtinentiam ab iſta actione; quamtumvis levis & inſtantanea præcedat mentis cogitatio, ſemper & neceſſario ſequitur actus volendi, quo actio propoſita vel eligitur vel negligitur: & ita voluntas, præcedente cogitatione, ſemper determinatur ad agendum, i. e. ad volendum ſcil. exiſtentiam, vel non exiſtentiam, actionis propoſitæ. Quod ſi per potentiam, qua homo actionem volendi poteſt determinare, vel non determinare, ſignificas potentiam quicquid temere volendi, vel ſine prævia cogitatione, vel contra intellectus judicium, uti ſequentia verba videntur innuere, ubi dicis, "niſi determinatio voluntatis ſit libera, "& loqueris de bruto impetu:" libertas in hujuſmodi potentia non poteſt conſiſtere. Quia, ut dixi, libertas ſupponit cogitationem. Ubi enim nulla eſt cogitatio, nulla eſſe poteſt libertas, uti fuſius explicui §. 8, & 9. Porro libertas non poteſt conſiſtere in potentia determinandi actionem volendi contra judicium intellectus, quia homo non habet hujuſmodi potentiam. Actio enim volendi hoc aut illud ſemper ſequitur judicium intellectus, quo homo judicat nunc hoc & nunc illud eſſe melius. Ex quo facile eſt intelligere, quid velim, cum dico, ante ultimum judicium intellectus homo non poteſt omnino ſe determinare: hocque facile conciliare poſſis cum iis, quæ citas ex §. 47, de ſuſpenſione impletionis cujuſcunque deſiderii, ſi modo memineris, quod ante unamquamque volitionem præcedit ſemper judicium aliquod intellectus de re agenda; judiciumque illud, quod immediate præcedit volitionem, ſive actum volendi eſt eo in caſu ultimum judicium intellectus. Quod te in diverſum abripuit mihi videtur hoc eſſe, nempe, quod ultimum judicium intellectus videris confundere cum maturo & recto judicio, ſi recte capio ſenſum iſtius ſententiæ, ubi hæc verba lego: "Intellectus poſt accuratum rationum examen judica- "verit, quid facere oporteat," &c. Sed id non eſt ultimum judicium, de quo ego loquor. Loquor ego de eo judicio, quod in omni volitione immediate præcedit volitionem, quod revera eſt ultimum judicium, ſive bene expenſum ſit & matura deliberatione recoctum, ſive extemporaneum & ſubito impetu enatum, & æque voluntatem determinat, ſive ſit, ſive non ſit rationi conſentaneum.

SI meum ſenſum in his ſatis recte & clare expoſui, non apparebit tibi, credo, hæc relegenti tanta inter nos opinionum diſtantia, quantum credidiſti: pro certo habeo nos, veritatem utrinque ſincere quærentes, non poſſe diu de rebus ipſis diſſentire, quanquam loquendi formulæ videantur nonunquam in diverſum abire. Sed de rebus ipſis cogitantibus facile erit phraſeologiæ nebulas diſcutere, ex quibus fere oriuntur inter veritatis amatores omnes controverſiæ.

EN prolixiore epiſtola tibi explicationem ſententiæ meæ poſcenti, ut potui, morem geſſi. Ignoſcas, rogo, quod toties citaverim librum meum; hoc feci brevitatis cauſa, ne hic in epiſtola ea reſcriberem, quæ in libro impreſſo melius legeres.

DE duabus verſionibus monere te convenit, ut ſicubi inter ſe diſſentientes reperias de ſenſu meo ex Gallica dijudices. Illam enim mihi auctor totam perlegit, & ubi à ſenſu meo aberrare deprehendi, correxit. Latinam nondum mihi legere contigit. Valetudo & negotia non ſatis otii conceſſerunt. Vale, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 12 Aug.
1701.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

POSTQUAM, quæ ſupra habentur, ſcripſeram, mihi venit in mentem non incommodum fore, ſi aliquid libro meo inſererem, ad elucidandam indifferentiæ naturam, in qua conſiſtit libertas, in gratiam eorum, qui indifferentiam hoc in argumento tanti faciunt, ut illa ablata vel omiſſa nihil recte vel clare ſtatui de libertate poſſe exiſtimant. En igitur quæ §. 71. ſubjungenda cenſui. Ego Anglice ſcripſi: Gallice vertit D. Coſte; adeoque, ſi probas, Gallicæ verſioni libri mei inſerere poſſis.

Liv. II. Chap. XXI. §. 71, aprés ces mots, “ par ſon propre jugement,” ajoutcz ce qui ſuit.

“ Je ſçai que certaines gens font conſiſter la liberté dans une certaine Indifference de l'homme, antecedente à la determination de ſa volonté. Je ſouhaiterois que ceux qui font tant de fonds ſur cette indifference antecedente, comme ils parlent, nous euſſent dit nettement ſi cette indifference qu'ils ſuppoſent, précede la penſée & le jugement de l'entendement auſſi bien que le decret de la volonté; car il eſt bien mal-aiſé de la placer entre ces deux termes, je veux dire immediatement aprés le jugement de l'entendement, & devant la détermination de la volonté, parce que la determination de la volonté ſuit immediatement le jugement de l'entendement: & d'ailleurs, placer la liberté dans une indifference, qui précede la penſée & le jugement de l'entendement, c'eſt, ce me ſemble, faire conſiſter la liberté dans un état de tenebres, où, nous ne prouvons ni voir ni dire ce que c'eſt: c'eſt du moins la placer dans un ſujet incapable de liberté, nul agent n'étant jugé capable de liberté qu'en conſequence de la penſée, & du jugement qu'on reconnoit en lui. Comme je ne ſuis pas délicat en matiere d'expreſſions, je conſens à dire avec ceux qui aiment à parler ainſi, que la liberté eſt placée dans l'indifference; mais c'eſt dans une ſorte d'indifference qui reſte aprés le jugement de l'entendement, & même aprés la determination de la volonté: ce qui n'eſt pas une indifference d l'homme (car aprés que l'homme a une fois jugé ce qu'il eſt meilleur de faire ou de ne pas faire, il n'eſt plus indifferent) mais une indifference des puiſſances actives ou operatives de l'homme, leſquelles demeurant tout autant capables d'agir, ou de ne pas agir aprés, qu'avant le decret de la volonté, ſont dans un état qu'on peut appeller, ſi l'on veut, indifference: & auſſi loin que s'étend cette indifference, juſques-là l'homme eſt libre, & pas au delà. Par exemple, j'ai la puiſſance de mouvoir ma main, ou de la laiſſer en repos: cette faculté operative eſt indifferente au mouvement & au repos de ma main: je ſuis donc libre à cet égard. Ma volonté vient à déterminer cette puiſſance operative au repos, je ſuis encore libre, parce que l'indifference de cette puiſſance operative qui eſt en moi, d'agir ou de ne pas agir, reſte encore; la puiſſance de mouvoir ma main n'étant nullement diminué par la determination de ma volonté, qui à preſent ordonne le repos; l'indifference de cette puiſſance à agir ou ne pas agir, eſt juſtement telle qu'elle etoit auparavant, comme il paroit ſi la volonté veut en faire l'epreuve en ordonnant le contraire. Mais ſi pendant que ma main eſt en repos, elle vient à être ſaiſie d'une ſoudaine paralyſie, l'indifference de cette puiſſance operative eſt detruite, & ma liberté avec elle: je n'ai plus de liberté à cet égard, mais je ſuis dans la néceſſité de laiſſer ma main en repos. D'un autre côté, ſi ma main eſt miſe en mouvement par une convulſion, l'indifference de cette faculté operative il évanouït; & en ce cas-là ma liberté eſt detruité; car je me trouve dans la néceſſité de laiſſer mouvoir ma main. J'ai ajouté ceci pour faire voir dans quelle ſorte d'indifference il me paroit que la liberté conſiſte préciſement, & qu'elle ne peut conſiſter dans aucune autre, réelle ou imaginaire.”

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime Vir,

QUOD tantum mea cauſa laborem ſuſceperis, ut prolixiori epiſtola ſententiam tuam mihi diſtinctius explicare non fueris gravatus, maximas tibi habeo gratias: legi, relegi, expendi epiſtolam tuam magna cum attentione. Quanto exactius eam expendo, tanto magis obſervare videor, nos tam ſententiis, quam phraſibus ac loquendi modis diſcrepare, & quandoque diverſas ideas iiſdem, nonnunquam eaſdem ideas diverſis vocibus deſignare. Reſpondiſſem citius, verum conſulto reſponſum diſtuli, donec integrum tuum tractatum perlegiſſem. Eo jam perlecto, & cum epiſtola tua collato, magis magiſque obſervare videor, omnem, qui inter nos apparet diſſenſum, non tam circa rem ipſam, quam circa voces, ac diverſam ejuſdem rei explicandæ rationem occupari. Quia vero non ubique phraſium mearum ſenſum recte percepiſſe videris, et ut, quicquid fortaſſe adhuc inter nos reſtat diſſenſus, paucis & in compendio comprehendi poſſit, primo ſenſum vocum ac phraſium, quibus uſus ſum, quanta poſſum perſpicuitate explicabo: deinde phraſibus claris & ambiguitati non obnoxiis ſententiam meam quanta poſſum brevitate exponam. Tandem inquiram in quibus conſentiamus, & quis adhuc remaneat diſſenſus; utrumne ille in re ipſa, an vero in vocibus ac phraſibus, & diverſa rem quam inquirimus explicandi ratione conſiſtat. Ita puto, ſi fortaſſe nondum per omnia idem ſentiamus, brevi omnem diſſenſum ſublatum iri, nec veritatem ſincere eam quærentibus diu abſconditam fore.

SIGNIFICATIONEM voluntatis, quod ſit "potentia, quam homo habet incipiendi, ſiſtendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis, vel corporis," ego tecum agnoſco, et ab ea non recedam: à voluntate etiam diſtinguo deſiderium, quo ferimur in bonum abſens, neque id unquam ſub notione voluntatis comprehendam. Agnoſco hic me minus exacte locutum, & deſiderium à voluntate eſſe diſtinguendum. Quod dixi, voluntatem etiam ferri in finem, nihil aliud volui, niſi quod tu ipſe in epiſtola tua dicis; "Multis ſimul intellectui "obverſantibus bonis non ſubordinatis nec conſiſtentibus, hominem unum, "neglectis aliis, ſibi proponere ut finem, & ut proſequendum: hoc facit vo-"luntarie." Hæc ergo electio eſt actio voluntatis: quando hanc ſibi electionem fecit homo, deſiderio ſuo fertur in bonum illud quod ſibi elegit; & voluntate ſua dirigit actiones ſuas, quibus ſe bonum deſideratum conſecuturum credit.

VOX "libertas" mihi deſignat dominium, quod homo habet in actionem ſuam: quo nempe, poſitis omnibus ad agendum requiſitis, poteſt agere & non agere: qui non eſt actionis ſuæ dominus, ſeu agere non poteſt quod vult, non eſt liber. Verum ego puto hoc ad omnes hominis actiones, ſine ulla exceptione, extendi, tam ad internas actiones mentis, quam externas corporis, adeo ut etiam actio volendi, quæ eſt interna mentis actio, ſit libera. Quando autem dixi voluntatem eſſe actionum noſtrarum dominam, nihil aliud volui, niſi, actiones noſtras externas dirigi à volitione noſtra, adeo ut faciamus quæ volumus, & non faciamus quæ nolumus, niſi intercedat cohibitio, aut coactio: utraque enim illa libertatem deſtruit. Semel declaravi credere me animam, ſeu mentem immediate, abſque ullis intermediis facultatibus, intelligere & velle: per intellectum itaque & voluntatem, quotieſcunque iis vocibus utor, aliud non intelligo niſi potentiam ſeu facultatem ipſius animæ, quæ elicit actionem intelligendi ac volendi, & quam actionem animi immediate exercet. Et hanc ſignificationem te etiam admittere puto.

SUPEREST ut dicam de "indifferentia." De qua primo præmoneo, eam non eſſe noſtram, uti tu credis, id eſt, à nobis inventam, aut ita à nobis adſcitam, ut pro ea tanquam neceſſario in hac quæſtione uſurpanda contendamus. Nihil minus. Nos diu illa voce uſi non fuimus: libertatem definientes, eam ordinarie vocavimus dominium quod homo in actionem ſuam habet. In diſputatione autem contra illos theologos, qui intellectum ac voluntatem ſtatuunt

tuunt duas eſſe facultates, realiter & ab animo & à ſe invicem diſtinctas, quarum una tantum intelligit, nihil autem vult, altera tantum vult, nihil autem intelligit, hanc illorum ſententiam hoc argumento oppugnavimus: quod per eam aut omnis libertas tollatur, aut omnis actio hominis reddatur bruta ac irrationalis. Aut enim voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, adeo ut neceſſario velit quod intellectus illi præſcribit: atqui tum omnis actio neceſſaria eſt, quia omnis actio intellectus eſt neceſſaria: aut non determinatur ab intellectu, ſed ſeipſam determinat: atqui tum omnis actio voluntatis eſt bruta & irrationalis; quia ſupponitur voluntatem nihil intelligere, ſed ſolummodo velle. Hujus argumenti ictum ut evitent, reſponderunt, radicem libertatis eſſe in intellectu; quia in intellectu eſt indifferentia, qua poteſt quodcunque objectum, quod ſibi offertur, apprehendere & dijudicare. Reſponderunt noſtri, eam eſſe tantum indifferentiam paſſivam, qualis eſt in oculo, qui etiam quævis objecta ſibi occurrentia poteſt videre; eorumque imagines recipere; quem tamen nemo propterea dixerit libere videre; quia non poteſt, quin quod ſibi videndum proponitur videat: ſicut non poteſt intellectus, quin quod ſibi clare proponitur comprehendat; aut dubitet de eo, pro quo utrinque æquæ graves militant rationes. Si vero libertas quæratur in indifferentia, oportere eam eſſe activam, qua homo dominium habet in ſuam actionem. Exinde, quoniam alii vocem “indifferentiæ” adhibuerunt, nos, ut omnem in diſputando ambiguitatem vitaremus, diſtinctionis cauſa addimus vocem “activæ,” diximuſque libertatem conſiſtere in indifferentia activa, eamque recidere in voluntate. Vides ergo, nos non pro hac voce velle decertare, nec eam à nobis eſſe excogitatam: ſed nos vocem ab aliis uſurpatam explicuiſſe, & additione vocis “active” ſignificationem illius explanatiorem reddidiſſe. Interim non ego, nos poſtea, quandoque etiam illa in ſcriptis noſtris eſſe uſos, quia juxta explicationem noſtram accepta, commodiſſima viſa fuit, & idem ſignificare cum phraſi antea à nobis uſurpata, dominium in actiones noſtras. Idque etiam conſtat ex definitione hujus indifferentiæ, quam in præcedente mea epiſtola dedi; quod ſit vis illa animi, qua poſitis omnibus ad agendum requiſitis poteſt agere vel non agere: quod mihi aliud nihil eſt, quam quod homo dominium habet in actionem ſuam, ut poſſit, prout ipſi placuerit, vel agere vel non agere. Itaque inter omnia ad agendum requiſita vel maxime colloco intellectus judicium, quod præcedere debet; alias volendi actio mere eſſet irationalis. Quando autem dico, quod “poſſit agere & non agere,” mens mea non eſt, quod ſimul poſſit agere & non agere; aut nec agere nec non agere, ſeu nec velle nec non velle: hoc enim contradictorium eſt; ſed quod potentia ad neutrum ſit determinata, ac proinde ex duobus oppoſitis poſſit eligere quodcunque ipſi libitum fuerit; imo ubi jam ſe determinavit ad agendum, quod actionem ſuam ſiſtere poſſit, & ſe rurſus in partem oppoſitam determinare. Hoc eſt quod dominium habet in ſuam actionem. Ubi hoc non poteſt, non eſt liber. Sic recte mones, eum, qui volens in carcere à vino abſtinet, non libere abſtinere, quia non habet facultatem vinum bibendi: nec qui volens in carcere manet, libere manere, quia non habet facultatem exeundi. Sed vero alia eſt ratio actionum internarum, quæ ſola mente perficiuntur. Ad illarum libertatem nihil requiritur, niſi libera determinatio voluntatis. Sic qui in carcere concupiſcit alterius uxorem, eaque turpi concupiſcentia ſe oblectat, eamque in animo fovet, libere concupiſcit & peccat, licet ea concupiſcentia intra ſolam delectationem moroſam, uti ſcholaſtici loquuntur, conſiſtat; ideoque ad ejus conſummationem ipſe externus adulterii actus non requiritur. Per “brutum impetum,” non intelligo actionem voluntatis ſine ulla præcedente cogitatione; ſic enim conciperem non hominem; ſed præcipitatam actionem, ante debitum & accuratum illius examen: ſicuti videmus multos homines vehementi affectu ſæpe abripi, ut hoc aut aliud agere velint, antequam omnes actionis circumſtantias, rationeſque ac argumenta, quibus ad eam incitari, aut ab ea deterreri poſſint, rite conſideraverint. Hanc ergo tribuo libertatem homini, ut quando actio ipſi propoſita eſt, poſſit vel præcipitare judicium, vel mature omnes actionis circumſtantias examinare, atque ita vel bruto impetu, vel prævio, maturo, ac deliberato conſilio agere: ejuſque libertatis unumquemque ſibi eſſe conſcium credo.

Nec hoc omittendum per "indifferentiam," me non intelligere ſtatum, in quo homo, quaſi in æquilibrio eſt conſtitutus, nec in unam partem magis propendet, quam in alteram; talis enim ſtatus indifferentiæ circa actiones morales in nullo homine reperitur: ſemper in unam partem magis propendemus quam in aliam, in actionibus præſertim moralibus, prout vel affectibus agimur, aut conſuetudo ac habitus nos erga virtutem aut vitia proniores reddidit: ſed ſtatum, in quo homo potentiam habet ſe determinandi in quamcunque oppoſitorum partem velit: licet enim magis ſit propenſus in unam partem quam in alteram, non tamen dominium in actionem ſuam amiſit, ſed in alteram partem etiam ſe determinare poteſt. Verum quia vox "indifferentia" accipi poteſt pro ſtatu, quo homo in neutram partem inclinat, ſed plane in æquilibrio eſt conſtitutus, licet ille ſenſus directæ explicationi noſtræ adverſetur, ad omnem vitandam amphibologiam, à voce illa abſtinebo.

"ULTIMUM intellectus judicium" ego non confundo cum maturo & recto judicio; ſed ibi diſtinguo ultimum judicium, quod ſit vel maturum & rectum, vel pravum & præcipitatum, quod ibi vocavi brutum impetum, quia illud magis ſequitur vehementem concupiſcentiam carnalem, quam ductum rationis: utrumque eſt ultimum judicium, quando immediate actionem volendi antecedit, & inter illud actionemque volendi nullum aliud judicium intermedium eſt.

ITA explicatis terminis quibus uſus ſum, jam quanta poſſum brevitate & perſpicuitate ſententiam meam proponam. Eam his theſibus comprehendo.

1. HOMO eſt agens liberum, & habet dominium in actiones ſuas, illas vel faciendi, vel omittendi.

2. INTELLECTUS & voluntas non ſunt duæ facultates realiter ab anima hominis & à ſe invicem diſtinctæ; ſed anima per ſuam eſſentiam immediate intelligit & vult.

3. HOMO nihil vult aut facit, niſi deſiderio boni, aut ſenſu moleſtiæ ex abſentia boni deſiderati excitatus.

4. ACTUM volendi antecedit actus intelligendi, quo homo judicium fert de actione ſua.

5. JUDICIUM illud vel eſt prudens, poſt adhibitum maturum rationum ab utraque parte militantium examen: vel eſt præcipitatum, & ab effectu magis quàm ratione dictatum.

6. JUDICIUM hoc, quatenus eſt merus intelligendi actus, non procedit ultra ſuaſionem, hoc eſt eligibile, ſeu hoc conſentaneum eſt eligere, hoc conſentaneum eſt rejicere: aut inter eligibilia hoc magis, hoc minus eſt eligibile; inter fugienda hoc magis, hoc minus oportet fugere.

7. JUDICIUM, quo homo decernit hoc eſt faciendum, eſt ipſa volitio; vel ad minimum, actus mixtus ex intellectione & volitione, & ad cujus conſummationem actus volendi concurrit.

8. ACTUS intelligendi, quatenus eſt merus intelligendi actus, eſt neceſſarius, & nititur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum.

9. ACTUS volendi liber eſt, habetque homo dominium in illum, ac facultatem eum vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi. Si quæ ergo libertas in judicio eſt, ea procedit non ab actu intelligendi, ſed volendi.

10. ACTIONUM internarum, quæ ſola mente perficiuntur, libertas conſiſtit in libera mentis determinatione, qua actionem volendi vel elicere poteſt, vel cohibere. Ad libertatem vero actionum externarum, ad quarum conſummationem concurrere debent membra externa, etiam requiritur ut homo habeat facultatem ſive potentiam faciendi quod vult, & omittendi, ſeu non faciendi, quod non vult; ſive liberum & non impeditum membrorum externorum uſum.

ITA paucis explicata ſententia mea, videamus nunc in quibus conveniamus, & quis inter nos ſuperſit diſſenſus. Quando epiſtolam tuam confero cum lib. ii. cap. xxi. de potentia, videor mihi poſſe dicere, nos in quinque primis theſibus conſentire, nec de iis inter nos ullum eſſe diſſenſum. De ultima etiam nulla eſt inter nos controverſia, niſi forte quod tu libertatem in ſola potentia faciendi quod volumus, & non faciendi quod nolumus, collocare videris, cum ego eam etiam ad ipſius voluntatis determinationem, ſeu volitionis actum extendam. De quo mox. Utroque etiam pollice amplector quod in epiſtola tua ſcribis, Quod homo fertur in bonum abſens, ſive finem; & quod multis ſimul intellectui obverſantibus bonis non ſubordinatis nec conſiſtentibus, homo unum, neglectis aliis, ſibi proponit ut finem, id eſt, ut proſequendum: & hoc facit voluntarie: ideoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis, qua unum præ reliquis ſibi proponit, ut finem; & in ea actione terminatur: eam autem voluntatis actionem ſequitur deſiderium finis. Hactenus ergo conſentimus. Videamus quouſque in reliquis conſentiamus & quis ſuperſit diſſenſus.

PRIMO, non videmur convenire in definitione libertatis. Sic enim dicis: "Libertas apud me eſt poteſtas hominis agendi, vel non agendi, ſecundum "ſuam voluntatem." Quæ definitio mihi anguſta nimis eſſe videtur: & ſi ea agnoſcatur, tum certum eſt, libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati: ſicut certum eſt, animam nunquam poſſe eſſe ſine cogitatione, ſi vera ſit definitio, anima eſt cogitatio. Imo ſi hæc genuina ſit definitio libertatis, fieri poſſet ut libertas conſiſteret cum ſumma neceſſitate. Ut mox oſtendam. Ego autem puto libertatem eſſe dominium, quod homo habet in quamcunque ſuam actionem, eamque extendi non tantum ad actiones, quas facit ſecundum ſuam voluntatem, ſed & ad ipſum volendi actum, ſeu volitionem.

QUOD ſextam & ſeptimam theſin attinet, neſcio quouſque in illis conſentiamus, aut quis de illis inter nos ſit diſſenſus. In poſtrema mea epiſtola idem jam affirmavi: verum tu nullam in tua epiſtola illius mentionem facis: itaque incertus ſum quouſque hic mecum ſentias. Mihi evidens videtur, hominem judicium ſuum determinare, quia vult acquieſcere rationibus quas expendit: ſuſpendere autem judicium ſuum, quia nondum vult acquieſcere, ſed rationes aut exactius expendere, aut an ſint plures, quibus judicium ejus inclinare poſſit, inquirere. Atque ita determinationem ultimi judicii, quo homo decernit hoc eſt eligendum, aut faciendum, ſi non totam, maximam ſaltem partem, eſſe actionem volendi.

OCTAVA theſis, qua ſtatuo, omnem actum intellectus, quatenus merus intelligendi actus eſt, eſſe neceſſarium, neſcio an inter nos controverſa ſit. Illam enim expreſſe aſſerere videris, lib. iv. cap. xiii. §. 2. & cap. xx. §. 16. At ea diſtinctius paulum explicanda eſt, ut pateat, an aliquis de ea ſit diſſenſus. Hic ergo obſervo, quod res, quas intellectus percipit, ſunt vel meræ theoreticæ, vel practicæ. Circa veritates theoreticas actio intellectus neceſſaria prorſus eſt: propoſita veritate clara & evidenti, intellectus neceſſario aſſentitur, ſeu homo neceſſario eam percipit, illique aſſenſum præbet; propoſitis argumentis veriſimilibus tantum, homo neceſſario opinatur: propoſitis utrinque argumentis æqualis ponderis, homo, ſeu intellectus, neceſſario dubitat: omneſque hæ intelligendi actiones nituntur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum. Circa veritates practicas actio intelligendi, quatenus mera intelligendi actio eſt, & nulla intercedit actio volendi, etiam neceſſaria eſt: pro rationum enim momento, quas intellectus expendit, judicat quid convenientius, quid minus conveniens, quid ex uſu ſit facere, vel non facere. Hoc judicium ducit quidem voluntatem, veram eam non plene determinat: eſt enim illud imperium tantum ſuaſionis, cui voluntas poteſt non obtemperare, ſeu homo poteſt aliud velle; determinatio autem procedit à voluntate, qua homo decernit hoc eſt faciendum, eaque determinatio fit vel juxta ſuaſionem intellectus, & tunc eſt rationalis; vel fieri poteſt contra eam, & tunc eſt irrationalis, hoc eſt, procedit ab affectu carnali, & ſuaſioni intellectus neutiquam auſcultat: vel etiam poteſt eſſe præceps & temeraria, ita ut maturum judicium antevertat. Hic videmur diſſentire: dicis enim, "hominem non habere potentiam determinandi actionem "volendi, contra judicium intellectus: actio enim volendi hoc, aut illud, "ſemper ſequitur judicium intellectus, quo homo judicat hoc & nunc illud "eſſe melius." Idem etiam videris affirmare in fine §. 71. dicti capitis. Sed tamen, quando hæc confero cum definitione voluntatis in tua epiſtola, quod ſit "potentia, quam homo habet incipiendi, ſiſtendi, vel vitandi aliquam actio"nem mentis, vel corporis," & cum §. 47. cap. xxi. & aliquot anteced. & ſeqq. dubito, an multum diſſentiamus, & an non magis diverſitas ſit in modo explicandi, quam in re ipſa. Omnino enim mihi videris illic agnoſcere libertatem quandam in judicando. Dicis enim illic, "liberum eſſe menti appetitionum ſuarum objecta conſiderare, eas introſpicere penitus, & utrum præponderet, trutina diligenter examinare. In hoc libertas hominis conſiſtit:" & quæ ibi porro egregia habes. Addis mox: "indultam nobis poteſtatem voluntatem revocandi, à proſecutione hujus aut illius appetitionis. Hic mihi videtur fons eſſe omnis libertatis," &c. Ex iis enim liquere videtur, libertatem etiam verſari in judicio formando, imo ibi eſſe libertatis fontem. Unde colligo libertatem (juxta tuam explicationem) non ſolummodo conſiſtere in potentia faciendi quod volumus: ſed etiam ante volitionis actum, imo ante judicium de actione ſua, hominem eſſe liberum, & libertatem ſuam exercere. Solummodo diſcrimen inter nos eſſet, an judicium ultimum, quo decernitur, non hoc convenit facere, ſed, hoc eſt faciendum, ſit actio intelligendi mera; an vero ad id etiam concurrat actio volendi? &, an libertas reſideat in actione intelligendi, an volendi? ſive, an id quod in judicio, quo hominis actio determinatur, liberum eſt, reſideat in intellectione, an volitione? Si in eo conſiſtat diſcrimen, puto facile ſententias noſtras conſiliari poſſe: quamvis enim mihi perſpicuum videatur, libertatem reſidere in actione volendi, nihilque eſſe liberum, quin ſit etiam voluntarium; non tamen hic tantopere videmur poſſe diſſentire, quin facile ad conſenſum reducamur. Cum enim uterque ſtatuamus, intellectum & voluntatem non eſſe duas potentias realiter ab anima & à ſe invicem diſtinctas; ſed hominem, ſeu animam, immediate per ſuam eſſentiam intelligere ac velle, ſatis convenimus, quando uterque agnoſcimus judicium hominis ultimum libere determinari: quando enim adeſt potentia faciendi quod ultimum illud judicium, libere à nobis determinatum, dictat, & non faciendi, ſeu omittendi, quod ultimo illo judicio non eſſe faciendum decernitur, homo plena fruitur libertate; ſolummodo controvertitur, an illud judicium, quod homo libere format, & quo actiones ejus determinantur, ſit actio intellectus an voluntatis? Sic diſquireretur ſolummodo utra explicatio cum philoſophica ἀκρίβεια melius conciliari poſſet, in re ipſa autem foret conſenſus. Si vero dicamus, omnem actionem intellectus eſſe neceſſariam, & ultimum illud judicium practicum eſſe merum intellectus actum, ac per illud voluntatem determinari; non video, quomodo ulla in homine reliqua ſit libertas. Actiones enim omnes determinantur à voluntate, niſi homo aut cohibeatur quo minus facere poſſit quod vult, aut cogatur facere quod non vult; cohibitio enim & coactio, ut recte obſervas, repugnant libertati, & quando noſtri juris ſumus, ſemper facimus quod volumus. Si autem voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, & intellectus actio ſit neceſſaria, omnia erunt neceſſaria: nam à principio neceſſario, hoc eſt, judicio intellectus, determinatur voluntas; à voluntate actiones: itaque homo ad actiones ſuas determinatus eſt; & licet potentiam habeat faciendi quod vult, & non faciendi quod non vult; potentia tamen illa, per antecedentem voluntatis determinationem ad unum determinata eſt. Atque ſic mera in actionibus hominis regnaret neceſſitas, prolixior paulo fui; ſed prolixitatem, ut perſpicue mentem meam explicarem, evitare vix potui. Si alicubi mentem tuam non recte, aut non plene, percepi, aut me à veritate aberrare credis, me libere moneas & inſtruas, rogo: veritatem enim unice ſector. Et quoniam nunc plenius mentem meam explicui, brevius, quicquid tibi non probetur, indicare poſſes. Ut vero plenius ſententiam noſtram percipias, ſuaderem ut legas brevem Epiſcopii tractatum de Libero Arbitrio, qui exſtat in vol. i. part. ii. p. 198. operum ejus; & epiſtolam illius, qua judicium ſuum profert de loco quodam ethices non edito; quæ eſt IↃLV. inter epiſtolas noſtras eccleſiaſticas & theologicas. Reliqua libri tui mihi valde probantur, multumque me ex illius lectione profeciſſe gratus agnoſco. Lectionem ejus repetere ſtatui. Verum verſio Gallica multum Latinæ præſtat; eam ego ſubinde conſulo, quando Latina obſcurior eſt, ſive interpretis ſive typographi culpa. Quæ epiſtolæ tuæ incluſa ſunt errata, & additamentum de indifferentia, neſcio an in privatum meum uſum miſeris, an vero ut imprimantur. Verum ego puto te ſententiam noſtram de indifferentia non recte percepiſſe, ideoque eam in hac epiſtola plenius & diſtinctius explicui. Sed tandem manum de tabula. Vale, vir ampliſſime. Uxor & filia te plurimum ſalvere jubent. Salutem à nobis officioſiſſimam dices D. Maſham totique familiæ.

Amſtelod. 11 Oct. 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

GRATISSIMAM epiſtolam tuam, 11 Oct. datam, legi relegique, & (te auctore) perlegi Epiſcopii tractatum de Libero Arbitrio. Non tam magnifice de me ſentio, ut audeam in tantorum virorum ſcriptis quicquam reprehendere; fateor tamen nonnulla & in illius diſſertatione & in tua epiſtola occurrere, quæ ſi coram tibi adeſſem, explicari à te peroptarem, ut melius perſpicere poſſem, quomodo inter ſe & cum rei veritate conſiſtere poſſint Sed ſi ſingula, quæ in hoc argumento, in aliorum ſcriptis, ſuboriri poſſunt, dubia perſequi velim, & penſiculatius ad trutinam revocare, in volumen abiret epiſtola: nec meum eſt aliorum opiniones convellere (quarum ignarus in ſcribendo nec aliorum ſententiam fugi, nec autoritatem ſecutus ſum) ſed ſolum mea cogitata, quantum ex rebus ipſis perſpicere poſſum, rebus ipſis conformare. Hæc cauſa eſſe poteſt quod, inconſultis auctoribus, & mea mecum meditatus terminis & loquendi formulis hoc in ſubjecto familiaribus non ſum uſus. Hoc mihi ignoſcendum poſtulo. Nec Epiſcopii acutiſſimi, cujus memoria ſumma apud me in veneratione eſt, mentionem hic feciſſem, niſi te ſuaſore tractatum ejus de Libero Arbitrio perlegiſſem, quem tuum feciſti, tuamque per omnia ſententiam continere mihi notum feciſſes.

Hæc à me præfanda erant, ne forſan videar aliorum ſcripta, qui me in hoc argumento præceſſerunt, inſolenter nimis negligere, vel non ſatis eorum autoritati tribuere: quod à mea anima, & à mea mediocritate, & eſt, & eſſe debet, remotiſſimum. Fateor, ego non ſector nomina, ſed ubique veritati litans, eamque quacunque ducit unice ſequor: ideoque gratias tibi ago maximas, quod me, ubi erràſſe exiſtimas, in viam reducere conaris.

Primum & præcipuum, quod in noviſſima hac tua epiſtola culpare videris, eſt mea definitio libertatis, quam dicis “nimis eſſe anguſtam.” An tua laxior eſt quam illa, quam ego lib. ii. cap. xxi. §. 8. & 12. tradidi, tum videbimus, cum tu illam proferes. Nam quod dicis “libertatem eſſe dominium, quod homo habet in quamcunque ſuam actionem,” hoc mihi non videtur eſſe definitio libertatis, quum nihil aliud dicit niſi hominem habere dominium in actiones ſuas quod habet; quod huc tantum redit, libertatem eſſe libertatem, quam homo habet in quamcunque ſuam actionem; quo evenire poteſt, ut nulla omnino ſit hominis libertas: ſcis enim eſſe aliquos, qui negant hominem ullum in actiones ſuas habere dominium, ſed omnia præſtituto & ineluctabili duci fato. Quod ſi dicas te ſupponere hominum habere dominium in actiones ſuas, & in eo conſiſtere libertatem; tunc rogo, quid ſit dominium hominis in actiones ſuas? Dominium enim, ſive ſit vox tralatitia, ſive ob aliquam aliam cauſam, mihi videtur æque, ſi non magis obſcura, quam vox Libertas, ideoque non minus eget definitione. Et ſic pergam rogando, donec perventum erit ad ſimplices ideas, ex quibus conflatur idea libertatis.

Video ex hac tua epiſtola, quanta ſit vis conſuetudinis, & qua conſtantia non cogitantibus etiam & invitis irrepit. Fateris & candide fateris, voluntatem eſſe animæ facultatem, & facultates non eſſe agentes: & tamen, ut alia omittam, hic dicis, “ſi mea definitio libertatis agnoſcatur, certum eſt libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati.” Voluntati enim nullo modo competere poteſt libertas, niſi pro agente agnoſcatur. Quippe agentium ſolummodo

modo eſt libertas. Scio te Epiſcopii exemplo poſſe teipſum excuſare, qui in principio diſſertationis ſuæ ſtrenue rejiciens facultatem operationis, ſubinde tamen relabitur in argumentationes, quibus ſupponuntur agentes: permitte tamen ut amice moneam, niſi hoc maxime caveas, multum in hac materia tibi faceſſes negotium, & tenebras ſæpiſſime tibi offundes.

AD reliqua, de quibus dubitare videris, ne in longitudinem molemque nimiam extendatur reſponſio, rectius me & compendioſius ſatisfacturum credo, ſi aliquas hic illic capiti xxi. inſeram explicationes, quibus animi mei ſenſum negligentius forſan, vel obſcurius traditum, clariorem reddam, adeo ut feſtinanti etiam, uti fit, lectori impoſterum pateat, modo quæ tradita ſunt memoria tenere non dedignetur. Hæc cum tu attente perlegeris, & cum reliquis, quæ in ipſo capite expoſui, contuleris, plene tibi ſatisfactum iri ſpero. Quod ſi quæ poſtea tibi remanſerint dubia, & aliqua reſtant, quæ vel obſcura nimis, quorum te fugit ſenſus, vel parum veritati congrua, quibus aſſenſum præbere non potes, moneas rogo, ut aut te auctore corrigam, aut ulterius explicando, veritatem ſua propria luce nitentem tibi ante oculos ponam.

Si qua ſunt in epiſtola tua, ad quæ non ſatis diſtincte reſponſum à me credas, ignoſcas rogo valetudini parum firmæ, quæ languidiorem me & ad ſcribendum minus aptum reddit. Quanquam ſpero ex annexis explicationibus, ex quibus mentem meam percipies, perſpicuum tibi fore quid ad ſingulas dubitationes tuas reſpondi poſſit. Vale, vir optime, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 19 Nov.
1701.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,
J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

QUOD lectionem tractatus Epiſcopii de Libero Arbitrio tibi commendaverim, id eo fine non feci, ut viri illius auctoritate contra te utar; nihil minus: ſcio enim in ſincera veritatis inquiſitione nullam valere auctoritatem humanam, ſed tantum momenta rationum, quibus veritas adſtruitur. Nec ego, licet Epiſcopii ſententiam approbem, vellem illius auctoritate conſtringi, ut omnia, etiam quæ, ſalva principali veritate, in dubium vocari poſſunt, admittam, nedum phraſibus ac loquendi formulis ab ipſo uſurpatis alligari me patiar. Sed illius legendi tibi auctor fui, ut ex illo cognoſceres, nos jam a multo tempore renuntiâſſe illi ſententiæ, quæ ſtatuit animam intermediis facultatibus agere; ſed aſſeruiſſe tecum, animam immediate per ſeipſam intelligere ac velle. Unde cognoſcere poſſes, quando communem loquendi uſum ſecuti utimur vocibus intellectus ac voluntatis, nos iis non intelligere facultates realiter ab anima diſtinctas; ſed ipſas intelligendi ac volendi actiones, quas anima immediate ex ſeipſa elicit. Hoc ego etiam brevioribus verbis ſignificatum dedi, in Theologia mea Chriſtiana, lib. ii. cap. xxiii. §. 1, 2. Itaque ſi per incogitantiam, ex inveterata conſuetudine, mihi forte exciderit voluntatem eſſe liberam, rogo ut id meo ſenſu accipias, ac ſi dixiſſem actio volendi eſt libera, ſeu homo in elicienda actione volendi eſt liber: ac proinde pro verbis meis, ſi tua libertatis definitio agnoſcatur, "certum eſt libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati," hæc ſubſtituas, "certum eſt actionem volendi neutiquam eſſe liberam, ſeu hominem non libere velle." Gratias interim tibi ago, quod inconſideratam hanc meam locutionem mihi indicaveris: ego annitar ut in poſterum omnem ambiguam locutionem vitem, & ab inolita loquendi conſuetudine non abripiar; ne ulla in verbis meis ſit obſcuritas.

LIBERTATEM ego definivi per dominium in actiones: quia vox "dominii" tibi explicatione indigere videtur, ſimplicius dico libertatem eſſe facultatem hominis actionem ſuam vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi: qui alteutrum tantum poteſt, non eſt liber. Per actionem autem ego intelligo actionem quamcunque, etiam actiones internas intelligendi ac volendi: circa quaſcunque actiones non habet homo hanc facultatem eas vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi, ſed alterutrum tantum poteſt, hæ non ſunt liberæ: & quia illi hanc facultatem tribuo circa actiones volendi, ideo eas liberas voco: quando hac facultate homo deſtitutus eſt, libere nec vult, nec velle poteſt.

UTINAM facultas eſſet coram tecum de omnibus his diſſerendi, & ex ore tuo pleniorem omnium, circa quæ hæſito, explanationem audiendi; meamque ſententiam, ac loquendi phraſes diſtincte explicandi, non dubito, quin felicius totam hanc quæſtionem terminare poſſemus. Nunc etiam circa ea, quæ explicationis gratia addidiſti, hæſito, an ſtatuas judicium illud, quo formato, non amplius in homine libertas eſt non volendi, ſit actio mera intelligendi, eaque intelligendi actio ſit libera vel neceſſaria: ſi in ea elicienda hominem liberum agnoſcas, non video quis inter nos, quoad ſummam rei, maneat diſſenſus. Sed coram poſſemus hæc diſtinctius & exactius expendere; idque maxime percuperem, ut uterque in hac materia, quanta fieri poteſt perſpicuitate, nos explicemus, & difficultatibus hinc inde oborientibus occurramus. Nunc quoniam utriuſque ætas id neutiquam permittit, quæ miſiſti, ſemper, quando de hac materia ago, conſulam, ne aut ipſe errem, aut aliis inconſiderata loquendi ratione errandi occaſionem præbeam. Vale, vir ampliſſime. Salutat te uxor ac filia, omneſque proſperam tibi precamur valetudinem. Generoſo Domino Maſham gratulamur continuatam dignitatem: illi, ut & Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ, ut annus hic ex voto fluat precamur.

Amſtelod. 3 Jan.
1702.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

DE valetudine ſatis conſtanti quod ſcribis, maxime lætor, & quod palpitatio illa cordis moleſta amplius non fuerit, gaudeo. Quæ ad ſanitatem tuendam faciunt tam recte & prudenter moderaris, ut ſperem te diu ab illo aliiſque morbis tutum & ſoſpitem futurum; præcipue ſi dictæ mediocritati venæ ſectionem, ſi plethoram vel ſentias vel metuas, quotieſcunque inde malum ingruit, addere velis.

NUNC demum, ſi placet, ad diu intermiſſa ſtudia redeamus. Habeo jam præ manibus literas tuas 3 Januarii datas, in quibus videris mihi dubitare, an ego ſtatuam hominem eſſe in volendo vel in intelligendo liberum; ita enim quæſtionem tuam interpretor: etiam tu rogas, an actio volendi vel intelligendi ſit libera? ad quam quæſtionem ſic reſpondeo.

1. GENERALITER, nempe quod mea ſententia homo in omni actione tam volendi quam intelligendi liber eſt, ſi ab actione illa volendi aut intelligendi potuit abſtinuiſſe; ſi non, non.

2. SPECIALIUS, quoad voluntatem, aliqui ſunt caſus in quibus homo non poteſt non velle, & in omnibus iſtis volendi actibus homo non eſt liber, quia non poteſt non agere. In cæteris, ubi potuit velle, vel non velle, liber eſt.

3. QUOAD actus intelligendi, in iſta voce "intelligendi" ſuſpicor latere amphibologiam; nam ſignificare poteſt actionem cogitandi de aliquo ſubjecto, & in iſto ſenſu homo plerumque liber eſt in iſtiuſmodi actionibus intellectus. V. g. poſſum cogitare de peccato Adami, vel inde amovere cogitationem meam ad urbem Romam, vel ad artem bellicam præſentis ſæculi. In quibus omnibus & hujuſmodi aliis infinitis liber ſum, quia pro libitu meo poſſum de hoc vel illo cogitare, vel non cogitare, vel actus intelligendi poteſt ſumi pro ea actione, qua percipio aliquid eſſe verum, & in hac actione intelligendi; v. g. quod tres anguli trianguli ſunt æquales duobus rectis, homo non eſt liber, qui excuſſa demonſtratione non poteſt non hoc intelligere. Homo poteſt plerumque

que non aperire oculos, vel non advertere aciem oculorum ad hoc vel illud objectum, verum apertis & converſis ad ſolem vel lunam oculis, neceſſario videt & ſplendorem & figuram quæ ſe offert intuitui videndam. Quod de oculis dixi ad intellectum transferre licet. Par utrinque eſt ratio, Sed de his hactenus. Si ſatisfactum tibi ſit gaudeo. Sin dubia reſtent, utere libertate tua, ego paratus ſum & in his & in omnibus, quantum in me eſt, tibi obtemperare.

Oates, 28 Sept.
1702.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimus,

J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

MULTIS me obruis beneficiis, quorum memoriam nulla unquam eluet ætas. Ego hactenus Dei gratia bene valeo: ante ſeptem circiter hebdomadas plethoram mihi moleſtam ſenſi, ſine tamen gravi cordis palpitatione: quare venæ ſectionem adhibui, atque ita omnis illa moleſtia evanuit.

1. Quæ de libertate hominis in actione intetlligendi ac volendi ſcribis, tecum veriſſima agnoſco; nimirum in omnibus actionibus, à quibus homo potuit abſtinuiſſe, eſſe liberum: minime vero, ſi abſtinuiſſe non potuit.

2. Similiter, quoſdam eſſe caſus, in quibus homo non poteſt non velle, & non agere; quia facultate non agendi deſtitutus eſt. Sed vero in omnibus actibus obedientiæ ab ipſo præſtandis, & ob quos non præſtitos pœnæ reus fit, liberum credo, neque quemquam poſſe reum pœnæ fieri, ob non præſtitum actum ſibi minime poſſibilem, aut ob præſtitum ſibi inevitabilem: nihil enim homini magis liberum eſſe debet, quam id ob quod pœnæ reus redditur.

3. Hominem eſſe liberum, ut contemplationem vel cogitationem ſuam ab uno objecto avertat & in aliud dirigat, atque hoc reſpectu in actionibus intellectus liberum dici poſſe, tecum agnoſco. Verum hæc actio, ſi accurate loqui velimus, proprie eſt actio volendi, non intelligendi: avertit enim homo cogitationes ſuas ab uno objecto, & in aliud dirigit, quia non vult priores cogitationes continuare, & quia vult novas inchoare. Quod vera actionem intelligendi attinet, qua homo aliquid percipit eſſe verum, eam recte dicis non eſſe liberam: idque locum habet tam in percipiendis iis, quæ philoſophi per ſolam intelligentiam cognoſci dicunt; ut, bis duo ſunt quatuor; idem non poteſt ſimul eſſe & non eſſe, &c. quam illis, quæ excuſſa demonſtratione cognoſci, optimé dicis; videl. tres angulos trianguli eſſe æquales duobus rectis. Idem etiam locum habere cenſeo in aliis intelligendi actionibus, quando res eſt obſcura aut dubia, & nullæ ſunt rationes eam evidenter probantes, aut pro utraque ſententia rationes ſunt æqualis ponderis; tum enim homo neceſſario aut ſuſpenſus eſt, aut dubitat, aut leviter tantum aſſentitur, ita tamen ut falli poſſe ſe credat. Adeo ut intelligendi actio accommodata ſit rationibus ac argumentis, quorum pondere in hanc aut illam partem inclinatur. Qualia plurima ſunt in vita humana. Et actio illa intelligendi non mutatur, quamdiu non accedunt novæ rationes, aut rationum, quibus rei veritas innititur, clarior & evidentior perceptio. Non nego tamen in ejuſmodi cognitione inevidenti fieri poſſe, quin & ſæpius contingere, ut nulla accedente nova luce, aut magis diſtincta perceptione, homo aut eliceat plenum aſſenſum, aut opinionem ſuam mutet: verum illa mutatio judicii aut aſſenſus, non procedit ab actione aliqua intelligendi, ſed volendi: quia nimirum homo, licet nova ratione minime illuſtratus judicium ſuum in alteram partem inclinare vult. Scimus affectus noſtros valde inclinare judicium noſtrum: itaque indulgendo affectui cuipiam, qui me in alteram partem impellit, eo etiam judicium & aſſenſum meum inclinare poſſum. Atque ita judicium hoc meum erit actio mixta, partim intelligendi, partim volendi: quatenus imtelligendi eſt actio, ſeu rem percipit, eſt

neceſſaria:

neceſſaria: verum quicquid in judicio liberum eſt, procedit ab actione volendi: quatenus ſcilicet ego rationibus allatis aquieſcere volo, ut judicium feram. Qualem actionem mixtam ego etiam credo fidem noſtram eſſe, prout explicui in Theol. mea Chriſt. lib. v. cap. ix. §. 21, 22, 23. ibique plenius oſtendo, quomodo actio intelligendi & volendi in fide chriſtiana concurrunt: ſolummodo ex inveterata loquendi conſuetudine, uſus ſum vocibus intellectus & voluntatis, quibus actiones intelligendi & volendi deſigno, juxta ea quæ jam declaraveram lib. ii. cap. xxiii. §. 1, 2. Hæc ſic diſtincte conſideranda exiſtimo: verum nolim ego multum contendere, utrum illa libertas etiam ſit dicenda ineſſe actioni intelligendi, dummodo conſtet hominem in actione illa liberum eſſe: & hominem libere ab una cogitatione ſe convertere in alteram. Diſtinctione tamen hac adhibita puto rem dilucidius explicari. Et ſic etiam ſimilitudo tua ab oculis deſumta plenius applicatur: quod enim homo non aperiat oculos, aut oculorum aciem non advertat, hoc facit, quia ita vult: oculi autem quando aperiuntur & in objectum diriguntur, illud quale ſe oculis repreſentat, neceſſario conſpiciunt: ſi in debita diſtantia oculis objiciatur, etiam neceſſario diſtincte videtur: ſi nimis remotum ſit, diſtincte videri non poteſt; neque homo libertatem habet procurandi ut objectum in tali diſtantia ipſi diſtincte appareat: ſed ſi diſtincte contemplari velit, libertatem habet propius accedendi. In his puto nos conſentire, atque ita in ſumma rei nullum eſſe diſſenſum, licet forſitan in modo explicandi aliqua diſcrepantia ſit. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & ſalve ab uxore, filia, & me

Amſtelod 27 Oct. 1702.

Tui amantiſſimo,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime.

POSTQUAM afflicta tua valetudo, præſertim in extrema ſenectute, nos admodum de te ſolicitos habuit, tandem gratior paulo nuntius nos recreavit calore æſtatis, qui tamen nunc apud nos calorem vernum non excedit, te nonnihil reſpirare, & meliuſcule te habere. Utinam firmam tibi valetudinem concedat benignum numen, ut quos vitæ tuæ adjicere dignabitur dies iis, quibus te conſecrâſti, ſtudiis impendas, & donec hujus vitæ uſura frueris, doctiſſimis tuis lucubrationibus, orbi chriſtiano inſervire poſſis! Quæ tu concordiæ chriſtianæ jeciſti ſemina, licet nunc ab ingratis conculcentur, gratæ poſteritati fructus ſuos ferent. Quod licet mens mihi certo præſagiat, nihilominus, quando ſervilia plurimorum, & pro auctoritate humana decertantia ingenia conſidero, ægre ſperare licet, eos depoſitis præjudiciis & affectibus, animo puro ac ſincero momenta rationum, quibus veritas nititur ponderaturus, ac uni veritati candide ceſſuros. Etiam reformatos, qui ſeſe opponendo papatui nulla ſe humana auctoritate conſtringi velle, aut poſſe, proteſtati ſunt, nimium humanæ auctoritati tribuere, ſcriptaque humana majore quam par eſt in veneratione habere, actus ſingulis trienniis in patria noſtra repetitus, & cujus ſolennem repetitionem novellæ noſtrates paucas ante hebdomadas nobis retulerunt, argumentum eſt omni exceptione majus: cujus quoniam nunc recens memoria eſt, quia illius narrationem tibi non ingratam fore confido, licet res ipſa maxime diſpliceat, eam diſtinctius & cum præcipuis circumſtantiis deſcribam. Jam anno CIↃIↃCXXV. Ordines Generales decreverunt, ut ſingulis trienniis acta authentico ſynodi Dordracenæ, quæ Hagæ aſſervantur, à deputatis ordinum & eccleſiarum inſpiciantur: poſtquam deinde anno CIↃIↃCXXXVII. prodiit nova bibliorum verſio, juſſu ejuſdem ſynodi adornata, illius etiam exemplar, à tranſlatoribus & reviſoribus, hunc in finem Lugdunum evocatis, ultimo correctum, quod Lugduni Batavorum aſſervatur, inſpici ſolet. Redeunte itaque quolibet triennio deputati ſynodorum Hollandiæ Auſtralis & Borealis cœtum convocant, ex omnium provinciarum eccleſiis, necnon ex eccleſia Walonica. Hi patres conſcripti, ubi convenere, præſidi Ordinum Generalium adventum fratrum indicant: precibus à paſtore loci, ſi cœtus membrum ſit, habitis, & literis credentialibus lectis, præſes & ſcriba eliguntur. Præcedentis cœtus acta præleguntur: exinde deputati cœtus ad Ordines Generales mittuntur, ut ſcriptorum ſynodalium viſionem petant, & ut aliquos è collegio ſuo ad eam deputent, locum & tempus ſtatuant, quin & per epiſtolam conſules Lugdunenſes præmoneant, & collegii regentem, unius clavis cuſtodem, ut adſit, quando Lugdunum convenient ad inſpiciendum autographa verſionis. His peractis, certa à deputatis Ordinum conſtituta hora, comparent in Ord. Generalium camera; primo funduntur preces, quibus Deo gratiæ aguntur, quod eccleſiam reformatam à variis erroribus purgaverit, quod ſynodum ipſis conceſſerit, cujus acta authentica in præcedente cœtu adhuc incorrupta conſpexerunt; & quoniam nunc convenerunt ut ea denuo inſpiciant, oratur Deus ut gratiam hanc ipſis concedat, ut integra æque ac incorrupta ab ipſis conſpiciantur, perinde uti ante triennium conſpecta fuere. Poſtquam ſcripta inſpecta ſunt, gratiæ Deo pro tanto beneficio aguntur, idque depoſitum denuo tutelæ divinæ committitur, ut in proximo cœtu æque ſincerum atque incorruptum reperiatur prout nunc deponitur. Poſtridie Lugdunum proficiſcuntur, & à magiſtratu in curiam adſciti authentica verſionis inſpiciunt. Hæc inſpectio ſimilibus precibus inchoatur ac finitur. Exin lauto excipiuntur convivio, in quo à præſide cœtus & ſcriba deputatis Ordinum & magiſtratus Lugdunenſis gratiæ aguntur. Hagam reverſi in actis ſcribunt, ſcripta illis integra adhuc, & à vermibus, tinea & muribus inviolata eſſe reperta: atque ita cœtui finis imponitur. Hæc eſt illa triennalis ſolennitas, viſioni ſcriptorum ſynodalium deſtinata, quam paulo diſtinctius, variiſque circumſtantiis veſtitam tibi ſcribere volui, ut, quanta veneratione ſynodi illius famoſæ reliquiæ hic aſſerventur, cognoſcas. Hæc ego excerpſi ex narratione cujuſdam miniſtri, qui ipſe cœtus illius membrum fuit, ſcripta inſpexit, & in quorundam amicorum gratiam hanc hiſtoriolam ſcripto conſignavit. Cui etiam conſonant aliorum qui ſolennitati illi interfuerunt relationes. Non credo Romæ tanta cum veneratione tantiſque ſumptibus acta concilii Tridenti inſpici. Ridenda hæc forent, ſi quorundam privatorum inconſiderato zelo agerentur; nunc, quia auctoritate publica fiunt, dolenda ſunt. Quid Gallica ſynodus nuperrime contra D. Clerici verſionem Gallicam Novi Teſtamenti ejuſque notas decreverit, quam frivolæ illius ſint criminationes, quam plene brevi ſcripto edito eas D. Clericus refutaverit, ipſe tibi aut jam ſcripſit, aut brevi, ut credo, ſcripturus eſt. Hæc ſimiliaque quando conſidero, bonæ conſcientiæ ſtudio acquieſcendum, & neglectis hominum iniquorum molitionibus, veritati ac paci indefeſſo ſtudio unice litandum, laborumque noſtrorum benedictionem à ſolo Deo, qui è tenebris lucem eruere poteſt, expectandum eſſe certus ſum. Illius te tutelæ commendo; illum oro, ut omnia tibi largiatur fauſta ac ſalutaria, necnon honoratiſſimæ in qua vivis familiæ. Salutant te, Dominum ac Dominam Maſham, una cum digniſſima filia ac filio, uxor ac filia. Salutem etiam à me dices D° Coſte.

Amſtelod. Jun. 21.
1704.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

PUDET me ſane tam diuturni ſilentii, nec ab infirma & plane fracta valetudine ſatis excuſatum credo, etiamſi admixta etiam aliqua tui reverentia me à ſcribendo aliquantulum detinuit, ſatis ex ipſo morbo deſidioſum. Quorſum enim attinet te eruditioribus ſermonibus aptum & commerciis literarum docto liberoque animo dignis, ægrotantis quærelis, laborioſiſque verbis anhelum ſcriptorem redolentibus fatigare? juvat tamen experiri amicitiam tuam, veterem amicum, etiamſi ſenio & morbo mutilum, ad ſepulchrum uſque proſequi. Nihil ſane jucundius, nec eſt, quod magis animum debilem & langueſcentem refocillat, quam conſtans & vegeta amicorum benevolentia; magnum perfugium humanæ fragilitatis, in quo reperitur magna pars voluptatis, cum reliqua plane inſipida ſunt & fruſtra ſolicitantur. Gratiſſimæ igitur mihi fuerunt epiſtolæ tuæ benevolentiæ & amicitiæ plenæ, nec quantum ex illis ſolatii perceperim ex taciturnitate mea, ſed ex voluptate quam profiteor, judicare debes. Ea enim infirmi corporis morbus eſt, hoc ſentientis grati & animi teſtimonium.

ETIAMSI ſervilium ingeniorum, humana venerantium, exempla cumulate ſatis mihi obtulit longa dies, nec melior omnino mihi ſpes eſt de futuro; donec placuerit Deo optimo maximo ex miſericordia ſua, ſecundo filii ſui adventu, reſtaurare eccleſiam; maxime tamen mihi placuit hiſtoria iſta, quam in noviſſimis tuis perſcripſiſti. Actus ille triennalis, cum omni ſuo apparatu, partim ridiculo, partim ſuperſtitioſo, habet in ſe quod & ſtomachum & ſplenem moveat: certe cum omnibus ſuis circumſtantiis ita graphice depictus conſervari debet, etiam ubi commode fieri poteſt typis mandari, & in publicum prodire, ut quod privatim obtinet, oculis hominum obverſetur, & pudefiant qui ſic ſacris illudunt, Deique nomen ſacroſanctum, placitis inventiſque ſuis, audacter præfigunt. Vitam tibi in utilitatem religionis longam validamque, & in uſum familiæ & amicorum tuorum animitùs precor, uti & omnia proſpera tibi tuiſque. Optimam tuam fœminam filiamque, reliquoſque amicos noſtros, meo nomine, rogo officioſiſſime ſalutes. Hæc tota familia te tuoſque ſalutat. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & me ama

Oates, 4 Auguſt. 1704.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

A
COLLECTION
OF
SEVERAL PIECES
OF
M$^{R.}$ JOHN LOCKE.

PUBLISH'D BY
M$^{R.}$ DESMAIZEAUX,
Under the DIRECTION of
ANTHONY COLLINS, Eſq;

Now firſt printed with his OTHER WORKS.

TO

HUGH WROTTESLEY, Eſquire.

SIR,

HAVING met with ſeveral of Mr. LOCKE's works, which were never printed; I thought myſelf obliged to impart them to the public, together with ſome pieces, of that illuſtrious writer, which had indeed been publiſhed before, but without his name to them, and were grown very ſcarce. The value you have for every thing that was written by Mr. LOCKE, and your eſteem for ſome of his friends concern'd in this collection, emboldens me to offer it to you; and I flatter myſelf that you will favour it with your acceptance.

THE firſt piece in this collection, contains "the fundamental conſtitutions "of Carolina." You know, Sir, that CHARLES II. made a grant of that country by letters patents, bearing date March 24th, 1663, to the duke of ALBEMARLE, the earl of CLARENDON, the earl of CRAVEN, the lord BERKELEY of Stratton, the lord ASHLEY, Sir GEORGE CARTERET, Sir WILLIAM BERKELEY, and Sir JOHN COLLETON; who thereupon became proprietors of that colony. My lord ASHLEY, afterwards ſo well known by the title of earl of SHAFTSBURY, was diſtinguiſhed by an exquiſite judgment, an uncommon penetration, and a deep inſight into civil affairs. The other proprietors deſired him to draw up the laws neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of their new colony; to which he the more readily conſented, becauſe he relied on the aſſiſtance of Mr. LOCKE, who had the good fortune to gain his friendſhip and confidence.

MY lord ASHLEY well knew, that our philoſopher had a peculiar right to a work of this nature. He call'd to his mind ſo many antient philoſophers, who had been legiſlators, and who on this very account, had ſtatues erected to them. And indeed, Sir, if we conſider on the one hand, that a philoſopher makes man his particular ſtudy, knows the reach of his mind, and the ſprings of his paſſions, in fine, his good and bad qualities; and that on the other hand, not being biaſs'd by any motives of ſelf-intereſt, he hath nothing in view but the general good of mankind; it will be granted, that no body is better qualified than ſuch a one, not only to civilize a barbarous people, but to prevent the inconveniences and diſorders, which even the moſt polite nations are apt to fall into. In this reſpect it is, that the philoſopher hath the advantage over the courtier, or what we call the politician. For, this latter, being accuſtom'd to ſtudy the genius and inclinations of men for his own ends only, and to make his own advantage of them; it is impoſſible he ſhould entirely overcome the force of cuſtom, and the tyranny of prejudice, when the concerns of the publick, and the welfare of ſociety, are under deliberation. But the philoſopher conſiders things in general, and as they really are in themſelves. He examines the moſt difficult and important points of government, with the ſame accuracy, and the ſame diſpoſition of mind, as his other philoſophical ſpeculations.

And therefore, as all his views are more extenſive and impartial, they muſt needs be more beneficial and ſecure.

But tho' ſome may be of opinion, that in matters of ſtate, the politician ought to have the preference of the philoſopher, this will not in the leaſt diminiſh the value of the fundamental conſtitutions of Carolina; ſince not only a philoſopher, but a politician of the firſt rank, was concern'd therein. No man is more capable of judging of the excellence of ſuch conſtitutions, than your ſelf, ſir, who not only have acquired a complete knowledge of our laws, but ſtudied them as a philoſopher, by looking for the motives and foundations of them, in the very nature of mankind.

For the reſt, you have here thoſe conſtitutions, printed from Mr. Locke's copy, wherein are ſeveral amendments made with his own hand. He had preſented it, as a work of his, to one of his friends, who was pleaſed to communicate it to me.

The ſecond piece in this collection is, "A letter from a perſon of quality, "to his friend in the country." It gives an account of the debates and reſolutions of the houſe of lords, in April and May, 1675, concerning a bill, entitled, "an act to prevent the dangers, which may ariſe from perſons diſaffected to "the government." By that bill, which was brought in by the court-party, all ſuch as enjoy'd any beneficial office or employment, civil, or military; to which was afterwards added, privy counſellors, juſtices of the peace, and members of parliament; were, under a penalty, to take the oath, and make the declaration and abhorrence following: "I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful, "upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up arms againſt the king; and that I "do abhor that traiterous poſition of taking arms by his authority, againſt his "perſon; or againſt thoſe that are commiſſion'd by him, in purſuance of ſuch "commiſſion; and I do ſwear, that I will not, at any time, endeavour the al-"teration of the government, either in church or ſtate. So help me, God.

Such of the lords as had no dependance upon the court, and were diſtinguiſh'd by the name of country-lords, look'd upon this bill as a ſtep the court was making, to introduce arbitrary power; and they oppoſed it ſo vigorouſly, that the debate laſted five ſeveral days, before it was committed to a committee of the whole houſe; and afterwards it took up ſixteen or ſeventeen whole days; the houſe ſitting many times till eight or nine of the clock at night, and ſometimes till midnight. However, after ſeveral alterations, which they were forced to make, it paſs'd the committee; but a conteſt then ariſing between the two houſes, concerning their privileges; they were ſo inflamed againſt each other, that the king thought it adviſeable to prorogue the parliament; ſo that the bill was never reported from the committee to the houſe.

The debates, occaſion'd by that bill, fail'd not to make a great noiſe throughout the whole kingdom: and becauſe there were but few perſons duly apprized thereof, and every body ſpoke of it, as they ſtood affected; my lord Shaftsbury, who was at the head of the country-party, thought it neceſſary to publiſh an exact relation of every thing that had paſs'd upon that occaſion; in order, not only to open the peoples eyes upon the ſecret views of the court; but to do juſtice to the country-lords, and thereby to ſecure to them the continuance of the affection and attachment of ſuch as were of the ſame opinion with themſelves, which was the moſt conſiderable part of the nation. But tho' this lord had all the faculties of an orator; yet, not having time to exerciſe himſelf in the art of writing, he deſired Mr. Locke to draw up this relation; which he did under his lordſhip's inſpection, and only committed to writing what my lord Shaftsbury did in a manner dictate to him. Accordingly, you will find in it a great many ſtrokes, which could proceed from no body but my lord Shaftsbury himſelf; and among others, the characters and elogiums of ſuch lords, as had ſignalized themſelves, in the cauſe of publick liberty.

This letter was privately printed ſoon afterwards; and the court was ſo incenſed at it, that at the next meeting of the parliament, towards the end of the year 1675, the court-party, who ſtill kept the aſcendant in the houſe of lords, order'd it to be burnt by the common hangman. “The particular relation of this debate, ſays the ingenious Mr. Marvel, which laſted many days with great eagerneſs on both ſides, and the reaſons but on one, was in the next ſeſſion, burnt by order of the lords, but the ſparks of it will eternally fly in their adverſaries faces*.”

This piece was grown very ſcarce. It is true it was inſerted, in the year 1689, in the firſt volume of the State Tracts; but in ſuch a manner, that it had been far better not to have reprinted it at all. And indeed, among numbers of leſſer faults, there are ſeveral whole periods left out; and many places, appear to be deſignedly falſified. It is likely all this was occaſion'd by the compiler's making uſe of the firſt printed copy, that fell into his hands; without giving himſelf the trouble to look out for more exact ones. That I might not be guilty of the ſame fault, I have ſought after all the editions I cou'd poſſibly hear of; and have luckily met two printed in the year 1675, both pretty exact, tho' one is more ſo than the other. I have collated them with each other, and with that contain'd in the State Tracts. In ſhort, that this piece might appear to the beſt advantage, I have taken the ſame care, as if I had been to publiſh ſome Greek or Latin author from antient manuſcripts. And truly, when a man undertakes to republiſh a work that is out of print, and which deſerves to be made more eaſy to be come at; be it either antient or modern, it is the ſame thing; the publick is equally abuſed, if, inſtead of reſtoring it according to the beſt editions, and in the moſt correct manner that is poſſible, the editor gives it from the firſt copy he chances to light upon, without troubling himſelf whether that copy be defective or not.

The third piece in this collection conſiſts of “remarks upon ſome of Mr. Norris's books, wherein he aſſerts father Malebranche's opinion, of our ſeeing all things in God.” It is in a manner the ſequel of a much larger diſcourſe, printed in the year 1706, among the “poſthumous works of Mr. Locke.” Our author had reſolved to give that ſubject a thorough examination; and this ſmall piece is but a ſketch, containing ſome curſory reflections, which he had thrown together, in reading over ſome of Mr. Norris's books. Accordingly, I find theſe words in his manuſcript, written before thoſe remarks: “Some other thoughts, which I ſet down, as they came in my way, in a haſty peruſal of ſome of Mr. Norris's writings, to be better digeſted, when I ſhall have leiſure to make an end of this argument.” And at the end of them, he hath added theſe words: “the finiſhing of theſe haſty thoughts muſt be defer'd to another ſeaſon.” But tho' this ſmall piece is far from being perfected, it however contains many important reflections; and therefore, I was of opinion it deſerved to be publiſh'd; and I hope, Sir, you will not diſapprove my inſerting it in this collection.

It is followed here by the “elements of natural philoſophy.” Mr. Locke had compoſed, or rather dictated theſe elements for the uſe of a young gentleman, whoſe education he had very much at heart. It is an abſtract or ſummary of whatever is moſt material in natural philoſophy; which Mr. Locke did afterwards explain more at large, to that young gentleman. The ſame is practiſed in the univerſities, where, you know it is cuſtomary, for the profeſſors to dictate ſuch abridgments, to ſerve for the ſubject and rule of their lectures. And therefore this ſmall tract is far from being what Mr. Locke would have made it, had he written upon that matter profeſſedly, and deſign'd to make it a complete work.

However, as the generality of men expect every thing ſhould be perfect, that proceeds from ſuch a writer as Mr. Locke, and do not enter into the occaſions or deſigns, which he propoſed to himſelf in writing; I own that ſome perſons, very good judges, whom I have taken the liberty to conſult about the impreſſion of ſome pieces in this collection, were of opinion that this little treatiſe had better been left out, for fear every reader ſhould not make the proper allowances,

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* An account of the growth of popery, and arbitrary government in England; more particularly from the long prorogation of November 1675, ending the 15th of February 1676, till the laſt meeting of parliament; the 16th of July 1677. By Andrew Marvel, Eſq; p. m. 89.

allowances, and leſt the memory of Mr. Locke ſhould ſuffer by it. I yielded to their opinion; and was reſolved to lay that piece aſide. But being inform'd that there were ſeveral other copies of it abroad, which it was impoſſible to ſuppreſs, or hinder from falling, one time or other, into the hands of the printers, maim'd and diſfigured, as is too often the caſe on ſuch occaſions; I was obliged to take other meaſures; and I the more eaſily determined to publiſh it, becauſe I could give it more complete, more correct, and in better order, than can poſſibly be pretended to, by the copies above-mention'd.

After all, I may take upon me to ſay, that, in its kind, this piece is no way to be deſpiſed. We wanted ſuch a work in engliſh; and it would not have been an eaſy matter to find any other perſon, who could have comprehended ſo many things in ſo few words, and in ſo clear and diſtinct a manner. Great uſe may be made of it in the inſtruction of young gentlemen, as it was originally deſign'd by Mr. Locke. And perſons even of riper years may improve by it; either by recalling ideas, that had ſlipt out of their memory; or by informing themſelves of ſeveral things, which were unknown to them.

To this treatiſe are ſubjoin'd, “ ſome thoughts concerning reading and ſtudy “ for a gentleman.” Mr. Locke having one day in converſation diſcourſed upon the method, that a young gentleman ſhould take in his reading, and ſtudy; one of the company was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he deſired him to dictate to him the ſubſtance of what he had been ſpeaking; which Mr. Locke immediately did. This is one of the uſual converſations of Mr. Locke, reduced into writing; from whence you may judge, Sir, how agreeable and advantageous it was, to converſe with that great man.

Mr. Locke not only points out the ſciences that a gentleman ought to ſtudy, whether as a private man, or one in a publick capacity; but likewiſe directs to ſuch books, as treat of thoſe ſciences, and which in his opinion are the propereſt for that end. As you have acquired, Sir, in Italy, the moſt refined taſte for the politer arts, and have added that ſtudy to thoſe Mr. Locke here recommends to a gentleman; you will perhaps wonder, that he ſays nothing of painting, ſculpture, architecture, and other arts of this kind, which make an accompliſh'd gentleman. But I deſire you would conſider, that there are but few perſons, in poſſeſſion of the means neceſſary for attaining this ſort of knowledge; and that Mr. Locke is ſpeaking here of what may ſuit the circumſtances of the generality of people. Beſides, he was very far from imagining, that an extemporary advice, which he was giving by his fireſide, would ever be expoſed to common view. However, I preſume to think, that after you have peruſed it, you will be of opinion it was not unworthy to be made publick.

But among the works of Mr. Locke, contain'd in this volume, I don't know that any will afford you more pleaſure than his letters. Some of them are written upon weighty ſubjects; and are upon that very account exceeding valuable. Others are what Mr. Locke wrote out of the country to one of his friends in London, about private buſineſs. In theſe, one would expect nothing but what was common, and cuſtomary; but a ſubject ſo ſimple, and vulgar in itſelf, changes, as it were, its very nature, when managed by Mr. Locke; and becomes ſomething conſiderable and of moment, by the turn and manner, in which he expreſſes the ſentiments of affection and gratitude he hath for his friend. And indeed, tho' true friendſhip be founded upon eſteem; yet we may ſay, if friendſhip goes no farther, there is ſomething in it auſtere, not to ſay dry, and ruſtick. But there is a certain agreeable and complaiſant way of ſhewing this eſteem, wherein conſiſts the greateſt charm of friendſhip; as it is what ſupports it, and adds force and vigour to it. Now this is Mr. Locke's peculiar talent; and it is impoſſible that a perſon of your nice taſte, ſhould not be ſenſibly touch'd with the reſpectful, endearing and affectionate manner, in which he writes here to his friend; and which he ſtill repeats with new graces. It is a pattern of urbanity, politeneſs, and gaiety. For our old philoſopher hath nothing moroſe, nor uneaſy. Whenever he ſpeaks of his infirmities, it is by way of pleaſantry, or that he may have an opportunity of ſaying ſome obliging thing to his friend.

The laſt piece in this collection, contains the "rules of a ſociety, which "met once a week for their improvement in uſeful knowledge, and the promo-"ting of truth and chriſtian charity." Mr. Locke took a delight in forming ſuch ſocieties, wherever he made any ſtay. He had eſtabliſh'd one at Amſterdam in 1687, of which Mr. Limborch, and Mr. le Clerc, were members. He ſettled this club at London ſoon after the revolution; and drew up the rules you will find here. But his deſign in doing this, was not only to paſs away time in an agreeable converſation of two or three hours; he had views far more ſolid and ſublime. As there is nothing that more obſtructs the advancement of truth, and the progreſs of real chriſtianity, than a certain narrow ſpirit, which leads men to cantoniſe themſelves, if I may ſo ſpeak, and to break into ſmall bodies, which at laſt grow into ſo many factions; Mr. Locke, zealous for the general good of mankind, would have gladly inſpired them with ſentiments of a higher and more extenſive nature; and united thoſe, whom the ſpirit of prejudice or party had kept aſunder. This is what continually employ'd his thoughts. He never loſes ſight of it throughout his works. Nay, it is the principal ſubject of them. But he did not confine himſelf to bare ſpeculation; and he form'd the ſociety above mention'd, with a deſign to render, as much as lay in his power, ſuch a deſirable union practicable. This appears from the diſpoſition of mind he requires in thoſe, who were to be members of it; and eſpecially by the declaration they were obliged to ſubſcribe; that "by their becoming of that ſociety, they propoſed to them-"ſelves an improvement in uſeful knowledge, and the promoting of truth and "chriſtian charity."

But you will find, Sir, the ſame mind, the ſame genius, not only in this ſmall piece, but in all the others in this collection. Mr. Locke every where diſcovers a ſincere love of truth, and an invincible averſion to whatever may do it the leaſt wrong. To the quality of a great philoſopher, he every where joins that of a true chriſtian. You ſee him full of love, reſpect, and admiration for the chriſtian religion. And thereby he furniſhes us with the ſtrongeſt preſumption, that can be imagined, for the truth as well as excellency of that holy inſtitution. For this is not the approbation of a vulgar mind, who is ſtill fetter'd by the prejudices of infancy; it is the ſuffrage of a wit, a ſuperior genius, who has labour'd all his life to guard againſt error; who, in ſeveral important points, departed from the common opinion; and made chriſtianity his ſtudy, without taking it upon truſt. It is doubtleſs a great advantage, not to ſay an honour, for a doctrine to be embraced and countenanced by ſuch a man. But let us return to our collection.

To make it more uſeful, I have added notes to illuſtrate certain paſſages, which ſuppoſe the knowledge of ſome facts, that may be unknown to the reader, or which would not readily occur to his memory; and therefore theſe notes are merely hiſtorical. I pretend neither to approve nor diſſapprove the particulars they contain. I only act the part of an hiſtorian. There is but one of them, that can be look'd upon as critical; and even that, is only intended to ſettle a matter of fact, miſrepreſented by a late hiſtorian. Theſe notes are not very numerous; and I do not know but the fear of ſwelling them too much, may have made me ſuppreſs ſome, which would not have been wholly uſeleſs.

As for what concerns the impreſſion it ſelf, in order to make it more beautiful, I have been obliged to recede, in ſeveral reſpects, from our uſual way of printing; which, if I am allow'd to ſpeak freely, is extremely vicious. It is matter of wonder, that in ſuch a country as this, where there is ſo much encouragement for printing, there ſhould prevail a ſort of Gothick taſte, which deforms our Engliſh impreſſions, and makes them not a little ridiculous. For can any thing be more abſurd, than ſo many capital letters, that are not only prefix'd to all noun ſubſtantives, but alſo often to adjectives, pronouns, particles, and even to verbs? And what ſhall we ſay of that odd mixture of

italick,

italick, which, inſtead of helping the reader to diſtinguiſh matters the more clearly, does only perplex him; and breeds a confuſion ſhocking to the eye? But you are not to be inform'd, Sir, you, who every day enrich your library with books of the fineſt editions, that none of theſe faults were ever committed by the printers, who have been eminent in their art. Surely, if the authors on the one hand, and the readers on the other, would oppoſe this barbariſm, it would be no difficult matter to reſtore a juſt taſte, and a beautiful way of printing.

To the pieces already mention'd, I have prefix'd the character of Mr. LOCKE, at the requeſt of ſome of his friends; as you will ſee by the letter before it, which was ſent to me together with that character.

THESE, Sir, are all the pieces, which make up this volume. Why may I not, at the ſame time that I offer it to you, unfold to the view of the publick, ſo many perfections, which a too ſevere and ſcrupulous modeſty conceals from it! Why may I not make known the rare endowments of your mind, as well as the noble and generous ſentiments of your heart! But I fear I have already too much preſumed upon your goodneſs, by prefixing your name to this diſcourſe. And after having been ſo bold, as not to conſult you, upon a thing, which you would never have permitted; I ought to account my ſelf very fortunate, if in conſideration of my paſſing over your excellent qualities in profound ſilence, you are pleaſed to forgive the freedom I have taken; and will give me leave to declare to you and all the world, how ſenſible I am of the friendſhip you honour me with, and to aſſure you that I ſhall always be with the greateſt reſpect.

March 23, 1719. SIR,

Your moſt obedient

and moſt humble ſervant,

DES MAIZEAUX.

THE

THE CHARACTER OF Mr. LOCKE,

BY

Mr. PETER COSTE:

WITH

A LETTER

Relating to that CHARACTER, and to the AUTHOR of it.

A LETTER

TO

Mr. ******.

SIR, London, Feb. 4. 1720.

BEING inform'd, that you deſign to publiſh ſeveral new pieces of Mr. LOCKE, I here ſend you, at the requeſt of ſome of his friends, the tranſlation of a letter, attempting his character, and containing ſeveral paſſages of his life and converſation; which you are deſired to prefix before that collection.

THE author of that letter is Mr. PETER COSTE, who has tranſlated into French Mr. LOCKE's thoughts concerning education, his reaſonableneſs of chriſtianity, and vindications thereof; with his principal work, the eſſay concerning human underſtanding.

Mr. COSTE lived in the ſame family with Mr. LOCKE, during the ſeven laſt years of that great man's life; whereby he had all poſſible opportunities to know him.

THE letter was written ſome time after Mr. LOCKE's death; and appears to be the production of a man in raptures, and ſtruck with the higheſt admiration of Mr. LOCKE's virtue, capacity, and of the excellency of his writings; and under the deepeſt affliction for the loſs of a perſon, to whom in his life-time he had paid the moſt profound reſpect, and for whom he had conſtantly expreſs'd the greateſt eſteem, and that even in writings, whereof Mr. LOCKE did not know him to be the author.

AND therefore, Mr. LOCKE's friends judge its publication neceſſary, not only, as they think it contains a juſt character of Mr. LOCKE, as far as it goes; but, as it is a proper vindication of him againſt the ſaid Mr. COSTE, who in ſeveral writings, and in his common converſation throughout France, Holland, and England, has aſperſed and blacken'd the memory of Mr. LOCKE; in thoſe very reſpects, wherein he was his panegyriſt before.

FOR, they conceive, the elogium contain'd in the following letter muſt ſtand good, till Mr. COSTE thinks fit, either to deny his own experience; or to confeſs, that the ſame things, which he then thought praiſe-worthy, have ſince changed their nature. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

***.

The Character of Mr. LOCKE; in a Letter to the Author of the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres. By Mr. P. COSTE *.

SIR, London, Dec. 10, 1704.

YOU muſt have heard of the death of the illuſtrious Mr. LOCKE. It is a general loſs. For that reaſon he is lamented by all good men, and all ſincere lovers of truth, who were acquainted with his character. He was born for the good of mankind. Moſt of his actions were directed to that end; and I doubt, whether in his time, any man in Europe applied himſelf more earneſtly to that noble deſign, or executed it with more ſucceſs.

I will forbear to ſpeak of the valueableneſs of his works. The general eſteem they have attained, and will preſerve as long as good ſenſe and virtue are left in the world; the ſervice they have been of to England in particular, and univerſally to all that ſet themſelves ſeriouſly to the ſearch of truth, and the ſtudy of chriſtianity, as their beſt elogium. The love of truth is viſible in every part of them. This is allow'd by all that have read them. For, even they, who have not reliſhed ſome of Mr. LOCKE's opinions, have done him the juſtice to confeſs, that the manner, in which he defends them, ſhews he advanced nothing, that he was not ſincerely convinced of himſelf. This his friends gave him an account of from ſeveral hands: "Let them after this, "anſwered he, object whatever they pleaſe againſt my works; I ſhall never be "diſturb'd at it. For ſince they grant I advance nothing in them but what I "really

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* That letter was printed in the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, for the month of February 1705; art. II. pag. 154. with this title; A LETTER of Mr. COSTE to the author of theſe Nouvelles, written on occaſion of the death of Mr. LOCKE.

“ really believe, I ſhall always be glad to prefer truth to any of my opinions, “ whenever I diſcover it by my ſelf, or am ſatisfied that they are not conformable to it.” Happy turn of mind! which, I am fully perſuaded, contributed more even than the penetration of that noble genius, to his diſcovery of thoſe great and uſeful truths which appear in his works.

BUT without dwelling any longer upon conſidering Mr. LOCKE in the quality of an author, which often ſerves only to diſguiſe the real character of the man, I haſte to ſhew him to you in particulars much more amiable, and which will give you a higher notion of his merit.

MR. LOCKE had a great knowledge of the world, and of the buſineſs of it. Prudent without being cunning; he won people's eſteem by his probity, and was always ſafe from the attacks of a falſe friend, or a ſordid flatterer. Averſe to all mean complaiſance; his wiſdom, his experience, his gentle and obliging manners, gained him the reſpect of his inferiors, the eſteem of his equals, the friendſhip and confidence of the greateſt quality.

WITHOUT ſetting up for a teacher, he inſtructed others by his own conduct. He was at firſt pretty much diſpoſed to give advice to ſuch of his friends as he thought wanted it; but at length, finding that “ good counſels are very little “ effectual in making people more prudent,” he grew much more reſerved in that particular. I have often heard him ſay, that the firſt time he heard that maxim, he thought it very ſtrange; but that experience had fully convinced him of the truth of it. By counſels, we are here to underſtand thoſe, which are given to ſuch, as do not aſk them. Yet, as much as he deſpaired of rectifying thoſe, whom he ſaw taking of falſe meaſures; his natural goodneſs, the averſion he had to diſorder, and the intereſt he took in thoſe about him, in a manner forced him ſometimes to break the reſolution he had made of leaving them to go their own way; and prevailed upon him to give them the advice, which he thought moſt likely to reclaim them; but this he always did in a modeſt way, and ſo as to convince the mind by fortifying his advice with ſolid arguments, which he never wanted upon a proper occaſion,

BUT then, Mr. LOCKE was very liberal of his counſels, when they were deſired; and nobody ever conſulted him in vain. An extreme vivacity of mind, one of his reigning qualities, in which perhaps he never had an equal, his great experience, and the ſincere deſire he had of being ſerviceable to all mankind; ſoon furniſhed him with the expedients, which were moſt juſt and leaſt dangerous. I ſay, the leaſt dangerous; for what he propoſed to himſelf before all things, was to lead thoſe, who conſulted him, into no trouble. This was one of his favourite maxims, and he never loſt ſight of it upon any occaſion.

THO' Mr. LOCKE chiefly loved truths that were uſeful, and with ſuch fed his mind, and was generally very well pleaſed to make them the ſubject of his diſcourſe; yet he uſed to ſay, that in order to employ one part of this life in ſerious and important occupations, it was neceſſary to ſpend another in mere amuſements; and when an occaſion naturally offered, he gave himſelf up with pleaſure to the charms of a free and facetious converſation. He remember'd a great many agreeable ſtories, which he always brought in properly; and generally made them yet more delightful, by his natural and agreeable way of telling them. He was no foe to raillery, provided it were delicate and perfectly innocent.

NO body was ever a greater maſter of the art of accommodating himſelf to the reach of all capacities; which, in my opinion, is one of the ſureſt marks of a great genius.

IT was his peculiar art in converſation, to lead people to talk of what they underſtood beſt. With a Gardener, he diſcourſed of gardening; with a Jeweller, of a diamond; with a Chymiſt, of chymiſtry, &c. “ By this, “ ſaid he himſelf, I pleaſe all thoſe men, who commonly can ſpeak pertinently “ upon nothing elſe. As they believe I have an eſteem for their profeſſion, “ they are charmed with ſhewing their abilities before me; and I, in the mean “ while, improve myſelf by their diſcourſe.” And indeed, Mr. LOCKE had by this means acquired a very good inſight into all the arts, of which he daily learnt more and more. He uſed to ſay too, that the knowledge of the arts contained more true philoſophy, than all thoſe fine learned hypotheſes, which, having no relation to the nature of things, are fit for nothing at the bottom, but to make men loſe their time in inventing, or comprehending them. A thouſand times have I admired how, by the ſeveral queſtions he would put to artificers, he would find out the ſecret of their art, which they did not underſtand themſelves; and oftentimes give them views entirely new, which ſometimes they put in practice to their profit.

THIS eaſineſs, with which Mr. LOCKE knew how to converſe with all ſorts of men, and the pleaſure he took in doing it; at firſt, ſurprized thoſe, who had never talked with him before. They were charmed with this condeſcenſion, not very common among men of letters; and which they ſo little expected from a perſon, whoſe great qualities raiſed him ſo very much above all other men. Many who knew him only by his writings, or by the reputation he had gained of being one of the greateſt philoſophers of the age, having imagined to themſelves beforehand, that he was one of thoſe ſcholars, that, being always full of themſelves and their ſublime ſpeculations, are incapable of familiarizing themſelves with the common ſort of mankind, or of entering into their little concerns, or diſcourſing of the ordinary affairs of life; were perfectly amazed to find him nothing but affability, good-humour, humanity, pleaſantneſs, always ready to hear them, to talk with them of things, which they beſt underſtood, much more deſirous of informing himſelf in what they underſtood better than himſelf, than to make a ſhew of his own ſcience. I know a very ingenious gentleman in England, that was for ſome time in the ſame prejudice. Before he ſaw Mr. LOCKE, he had formed a notion of him to himſelf under the idea of one of the antient philoſophers, with a long beard, ſpeaking nothing but by ſentences, negligent of his perſon, without any other politeneſs but what might proceed from the natural goodneſs of his temper, a ſort of politeneſs often very coarſe and very troubleſome in civil ſociety. But one hour's converſation entirely cured him of his miſtake, and obliged him to declare, that he looked upon Mr. LOCKE to be one of the politeſt men he ever ſaw. "He is not a philoſopher always grave, always confined to that character, "as I imagined; he is, ſaid he, a perfect courtier, as agreeable for his obliging "and civil behaviour, as admirable for the profoundneſs and delicacy of his "genius."

MR. LOCKE was ſo far from aſſuming thoſe airs of gravity, by which ſome folks, as well learned as unlearned, love to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt of the world; that on the contrary, he looked upon them, as an infallible mark of impertinence. Nay, ſometimes he would divert himſelf with imitating that ſtudy'd gravity, in order to turn it the better into ridicule; and upon this occaſion he always remember'd this maxim of the duke of LA ROCHEFOUCAULT, which he admired above all others, "that gravity is a myſtery of the "body, invented to conceal the defects of the mind." He loved alſo to confirm his opinion on this ſubject, by that of the famous earl of SHAFTSBURY*, to whom he took a delight to give the honour of all the things, which he thought he had learnt from his converſation.

NOTHING ever gave him a more ſenſible pleaſure than the eſteem, which that earl conceived for him, almoſt the firſt moment he ſaw him, and which he afterwards preſerved as long as he lived. And, indeed, nothing ſet Mr. LOCKE's merit in a better light, than the conſtant eſteem of my lord SHAFTSBURY, the greateſt genius of his age, ſuperior to ſo many great men that ſhone at the ſame time at the court of CHARLES II, not only for his reſolution and intrepidity in maintaining the true intereſts of his country; but alſo for his great abilities in the conduct of the moſt knotty affairs. When Mr. LOCKE ſtudied at Oxford, he fell by accident into his company, and one ſingle converſation with that great man won him his eſteem and confidence to ſuch a degree, that

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* Chancellor of England in the reign of CHARLES II.

ſoon afterwards my lord SHAFTSBURY took him to be near his perſon, and kept him as long as Mr. LOCKE's health or affairs wou'd permit. That earl particularly excell'd in the knowledge of men. It was impoſſible to catch his eſteem by moderate qualities; this his enemies themſelves could never deny. I wiſh I could, on the other hand, give you a full notion of the idea, which Mr. LOCKE had of that nobleman's merit. He loſt no opportunity of ſpeaking of it; and that in a manner, which ſufficiently ſhewed he ſpoke from his heart. Tho' my lord SHAFTSBURY had not ſpent much time in reading; nothing in Mr. LOCKE's opinion, could be more juſt than the judgment he paſs'd upon the books, which fell into his hands. He preſently ſaw thro' the deſign of a work; and without much heeding the words, which he ran over with vaſt rapidity, he immediately found whether the author was maſter of his ſubject, and whether his reaſonings were exact. But above all, Mr. LOCKE admired in him that penetration, that preſence of mind, which always prompted him with the beſt expedients, in the moſt deſperate caſes; that noble boldneſs, which appear'd in all his public diſcourſes; always guided by a ſolid judgment, which, never allowing him to ſay any thing but what was proper, regulated his leaſt word, and left no hold to the vigilance of his enemies.

DURING the time Mr. LOCKE lived with that illuſtrious lord, he had the advantage of becoming acquainted with all the polite, the witty, and agreeable part of the court. It was then that he got the habit of thoſe obliging and benevolent manners, which, ſupported by an eaſy and polite expreſſion, a great knowledge of the world, and a vaſt extent of capacity, made his converſation ſo agreeable to all ſorts of people. It was then too, without doubt, that he fitted himſelf for the great affairs, of which he afterwards appeared ſo capable.

I KNOW not whether it was the ill ſtate of his health, that obliged him, in the reign of king WILLIAM, to refuſe going ambaſſador to one of the moſt conſiderable courts in Europe. It is certain that great prince judged him worthy of that poſt, and no body doubts but he would have filled it glorioufly.

THE ſame prince, after this, gave him a place among the lords commiſſioners, whom he eſtabliſhed for advancing the intereſt of trade and the plantations. Mr. LOCKE executed that employment for ſeveral years; and it is ſaid (abſit invidia verbo) that he was in a manner the ſoul of that illuſtrious body. The moſt experienced merchants were ſurprized, that a man, who had ſpent his life in the ſtudy of phyſic, of polite literature, or of philoſophy, ſhould have more extenſive and certain views than themſelves, in a buſineſs, which they had wholly applied themſelves to from their youth. At length, when Mr. LOCKE could no longer paſs the ſummer at London, without endangering his life, he went and reſigned that office to the king himſelf, upon account that his health would permit him to ſtay no longer in town. This reaſon did not hinder the king from intreating Mr. LOCKE to continue in his poſt, telling him expreſly, that tho' he could ſtay at London but a few weeks, his ſervices in that office would yet be very neceſſary to him; but at length he yielded to the repreſentations of Mr. LOCKE, who could not prevail upon himſelf, to hold an employment of that importance, without doing the duties of it more regularly. He formed and executed this deſign, without mentioning a word of it to any body whatſoever; thus avoiding, with a generoſity rarely to be found, what others would have earneſtly laid out after; for by making it known, that he was about to quit that employment, which brought him in a thouſand pounds a year, he might eaſily have enter'd into a kind of compoſition with any pretender, who having particular notice of this news, and being befriended with Mr. LOCKE's intereſt, might have caried the poſt from any other perſon. This, we may be ſure, he was told of, and that too by way of reproach. "I knew "it very well, replied he; but this was the very reaſon why I communicated "my deſign to no body. I received this place from the king himſelf, and to "him I reſolved to reſtore it, to diſpoſe of it as he thought proper. HEU priſca "fides!" Where are ſuch examples, at this day, to be met with?

One thing, which thoſe who lived for any time with Mr. Locke could not help obſerving in him, was, that he took a delight in making uſe of his reaſon in every thing he did; and nothing, that is attended with any uſefulneſs, ſeem'd unworthy his care; ſo that we may ſay of him, what was ſaid of queen Elizabeth, that he was no leſs capable of ſmall things, than of great. He uſed often to ſay himſelf, that there was an art in every thing; and it was eaſy to be convinced of it, to ſee the manner in which he went about the moſt trifling thing he did, and always with ſome good reaſon. I might here deſcend into particulars, which probably to many would not be unpleaſant; but the bounds I have ſet my ſelf, and the fear of taking up too many pages in your journal, will not give me leave to do it.

Mr. Locke above all things loved order; and he had got the the way of obſerving it in every thing, with wonderful exactneſs.

As he always kept the uſeful in his eye in all his diſquiſitions, he eſteemed the employments of men, only in proportion to the good they were capable of producing; for which reaſon he had no great value for thoſe critics, or mere grammarians, that waſte their lives in comparing words and phraſes, and in coming to a determination in the choice of a various reading, in a paſſage that has nothing important in it. He cared yet leſs for thoſe profeſſed diſputants, who being wholly taken up with the deſire of coming off with the victory, fortify themſelves behind the ambiguity of a word, to give their adverſaries the more trouble. And whenever he had to deal with this ſort of folks, if he did not beforehand take a ſtrong reſolution of keeping his temper, he quickly fell into a paſſion. And in general, it muſt be own'd, he was naturally ſomewhat cholerick. But his anger never laſted long. If he retained any reſentment, it was againſt himſelf for having given way to ſo ridiculous a paſſion; which, as he uſed to ſay, may do a great deal of harm, but never yet did the leaſt good. He often would blame himſelf for this weakneſs. Upon which occaſion I remember, that two or three weeks before his death, as he was ſitting in a garden, taking the air in a bright ſun-ſhine, whoſe warmth afforded him a great deal of pleaſure, which he improved as much as poſſible, by cauſing his chair to be drawn more and more towards the ſun as it went down; we happened to ſpeak of Horace, I know not on what occaſion, and having repeated to him theſe verſes, where that poet ſays of himſelf, that he was

> Solibus aptum;
> Iraſci celerem, tamen ut placabilis eſſem:

"that he loved the warmth of the ſun, and that tho' he was naturally cholerick, his anger was eaſily appeaſed." Mr. Locke replied, that if he durſt preſume to compare himſelf with Horace in any thing, he thought he was perfectly like him in thoſe two reſpects. But that you may be the leſs ſurprized at his modeſty upon this occaſion, I muſt at the ſame time inform you, that he looked upon Horace to be one of the wiſeſt and happieſt Romans, that lived in the age of Augustus, by means of the care he took to preſerve himſelf clear of ambition and avarice, to keep his deſires within bounds; and to cultivate the friendſhip of the greateſt men of thoſe times, without living in their dependance.

Mr. Locke alſo diſliked thoſe authors that labour only to deſtroy, without eſtabliſhing any thing themſelves. "A building, ſaid he, diſpleaſes them. "They find great faults in it; let them demoliſh it and welcome, provided "they endeavour to raiſe another in its place, if it be poſſible."

He adviſed, that whenever we have meditated any thing new, we ſhould throw it as ſoon as poſſible upon paper, in order to be the better able to judge of it by ſeeing it altogether; becauſe the mind of man is not capable of retaining clearly a long chain of conſequences, and of ſeeing without confuſion the relation of a great number of different ideas. Beſides, it often happens, that what we had moſt admired, when conſidered in the groſs and in a perplex'd plex'd manner, appears to be utterly inconſiſtent and unſupportable, when we ſee every part of it diſtinctly.

Mr. Locke alſo thought it neceſſary, always to communicate ones thoughts to ſome friend, eſpecially if one propoſed to offer them to the public; and this was what he conſtantly obſerved himſelf. He could hardly conceive how a being of ſo limited a capacity as man, and ſo ſubject to error, could have the confidence to neglect this precaution.

Never man employ'd his time better than Mr. Locke, as appears by the works he publiſhed himſelf; and perhaps in time we may ſee new proofs of it. He ſpent the laſt fourteen or fifteen years of his life at Oates, a country ſeat of Sir Francis Masham's, about five and twenty miles from London, in the county of Eſſex. I cannot but take pleaſure in imagining to my ſelf, that this place, ſo well known to ſo many perſons of merit, whom I have ſeen come thither from ſo many parts of England to viſit Mr. Locke,' will be famous to poſterity for the long abode that great man made there. Be that as it may, it was there that enjoying ſometimes the converſation of his friends, and always the company of my lady Masham, for whom Mr. Locke had long conceived a very particular eſteem and friendſhip (in ſpite of all that lady's merit, this is all the elogium ſhe ſhall have of me now) he taſted ſweets, which were interrupted by nothing but the ill ſtate of a weakly and delicate conſtitution. During this agreeable retirement, he applied himſelf eſpecially lo the ſtudy of the holy ſcripture; and employed the laſt years of his life in hardly any thing elſe. He was never weary of admiring the great views of that ſacred book, and the juſt relation of all its parts; he every day made diſcoveries in it, that gave him freſh cauſe of admiration. It is ſtrongly reported in England, that thoſe diſcoveries will be communicated to the public. If ſo, the whole world, I am confident, will have a full proof of what was obſerved by all that were near Mr. Locke to the laſt part of his life; I mean, that his mind never ſuffered the leaſt decay, tho' his body grew every day viſibly weaker and weaker.

His ſtrength began to fail him more remarkably than ever, at the entrance of the laſt ſummer; a ſeaſon, which in former years had always reſtored him ſome degrees of ſtrength. Then, he foreſaw that his end was very near. He often ſpoke of it himſelf, but always with great compoſure, tho' he omitted none of the precautions, which his ſkill in phyſic taught him, to prolong his life. At length, his legs began to ſwell; and that ſwelling increaſing every day, his ſtrength diminiſhed very viſibly. He then ſaw how ſhort a time he had left to live, and prepared to quit this world, with a deep ſenſe of all the bleſſings, which God had granted him, which he took delight in numbering up to his friends, and full of a ſincere reſignation to his will, and of firm hopes in his promiſes, built upon the word of Jesus Christ, ſent into the world to bring to light life and immortality, by his goſpel.

At length his ſtrength failed him to ſuch a degree, that the 26th of October 1704, two days before his death, going to ſee him in his cloſet, I found him on his knees, but unable to riſe again without aſſiſtance.

The next day, tho' he was not worſe, he would continue a-bed. All that day, he had a greater difficulty of reſpiration than ever, and about five of the clock in the evening, he fell into a ſweat, accompanied with an extreme weakneſs, that made us fear for his life. He was of opinion himſelf that he was not far from his laſt moment. Then he deſired to be remembred at evening prayers; thereupon my lady Masham told him, that if he would, the whole family ſhould come and pray by him in his chamber. He anſwered he ſhould be very glad to have it ſo, if it would not give too much trouble; there he was prayed for particularly. After this, he gave ſome orders with great ſerenity of mind; and an occaſion offering of ſpeaking of the Goodneſs of God, he eſpecially exalted the Love, which God ſhewed to man, in juſtifying him by Faith in Jesus Christ. He returned him thanks in particular, for having called him to the knowledge of that divine Saviour. He exhorted all about him to read the Holy Scripture attentively, and to apply themſelves ſincerely to the practice of all their duties, adding expreſsly, that "by this "means they would be more happy in this world, and ſecure to themſelves the "poſſeſſion of eternal felicity in the other." He paſt the whole night without ſleep. The next day he cauſed himſelf to be carried into his cloſet, for he had not ſtrength to walk by himſelf; and there in his chair, and in a kind of dozing, tho' in his full ſenſes, as appeared by what he ſaid from time to time, he gave up the ghoſt about three in the afternoon the 28th of October.

I BEG you, Sir, not to take what I have ſaid of Mr. LOCKE's character for a finiſhed portrait. It is only a ſlight ſketch of ſome few of his excellent qualities. I am told we ſhall quickly have it done by the hand of a maſter. To that I refer you. Many features, I am ſure, have eſcaped me; but I dare affirm, that thoſe, which I have given you a draught of, are not ſet off with falſe colours, but drawn faithfully from the life.

I MUST not omit a particular in Mr. LOCKE's will, which it is of no ſmall importance to the commonwealth of learning to be acquainted with; namely, that therein he declares what were the works, which he had publiſhed without ſetting his name to them. The occaſion of it was this; ſome time before his death, Dr. HUDSON, keeper of the Bodleian library at Oxford, had deſired him to ſend him all the works, with which he had favoured the public, as well thoſe with his name as thoſe without, that they might be all placed in that famous library. Mr. LOCKE ſent him only the former, but in his will he declares, he is reſolved fully to ſatisfy Dr. HUDSON; and to that intent he bequeaths to the Bodleian library a copy of the reſt of his works, to which he had not prefixed his name, viz. a Latin "letter concerning toleration," printed at Tergou, and tranſlated ſome time afterwards into Engliſh unknown to Mr. LOCKE; two other letters upon the ſame ſubject, in anſwer to the objections made againſt the firſt; "the reaſonableneſs of chriſtianity," with two vindications of that book; and "two treatiſes of Government." Theſe are all the anonymous works, which Mr. LOCKE owns himſelf to be the author of.

FOR the reſt, I ſhall not pretend to tell you at what age he died, becauſe I do not certainly know it. I have often heard him ſay, he had forgot the year of his birth; but that he believed he had ſet it down ſomewhere. It has not yet been found among his papers; but it is computed that he was about ſixty-ſix.

THO' I have continued ſome time at London, a city very fruitful in literary news, I have nothing curious to tell you. Since Mr. LOCKE departed this life, I have hardly been able to think of any thing, but the loſs of that great man, whoſe memory will always be dear to me; happy, if, as I admired him for many years, that I was near him; I could but imitate him, in any one reſpect! I am with all ſincerity, Sir, your, &c.

THE FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS OF CAROLINA.

OUR SOVEREIGN LORD THE KING having, out of his royal grace and bounty, granted unto us the province of CAROLINA, with all the royalties, properties, juriſdictions, and privileges of a county palatine, as large and ample as the county palatine of Durham, with other great privileges; for the better ſettlement of the government of the ſaid place, and eſtabliſhing the intereſt of the lords proprietors with equality, and without confuſion; and that the government of this province may be made moſt agreeable to the monarchy, under which we live, and of which this province is a part; and that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy: We the lords and proprietors of the province aforeſaid, have agreed to this following form of government, to be perpetually eſtabliſhed amongſt us, unto which we do oblige ourſelves, our heirs and ſucceſſors, in the moſt binding ways that can be deviſed.

I.

THE eldeſt of the lords proprietors ſhall be palatine; and upon the deceaſe of the palatine, the eldeſt of the ſeven ſurviving proprietors ſhall always ſucceed him.

II.

THERE ſhall be ſeven other chief offices erected, viz. the admirals, chamberlains, chancellors, conſtables, chief juſtices, high ſtewards, and treaſurers; which places ſhall be enjoyed by none but the lords proprietors, to be aſſigned at firſt by lot; and upon the vacancy of any one of the ſeven great offices by death or otherwiſe, the eldeſt proprietor ſhall have his choice of the ſaid place.

III.

THE whole province ſhall be divided into counties; each county ſhall conſiſt of eight ſigniories, eight baronies, and four precincts; each precinct ſhall conſiſt of ſix colonies.

IV.

EACH ſigniory, barony, and colony, ſhall conſiſt of twelve thouſand acres; the eight ſigniories being the ſhare of the eight proprietors, and the eight baronies of the nobility; both which ſhares, being each of them one fifth part of the whole, are to be perpetually annexed, the one to the proprietors, the other to the hereditary nobility, leaving the colonies, being three fifths, amongſt the people; that ſo in ſetting out, and planting the lands, the balance of the government may be preſerved.

V.

AT any time before the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and one, any of the lords proprietors ſhall have power to relinquiſh, alienate, and diſpoſe to any other perſon, his proprietorſhip, and all the ſigniories, powers, and intereſt ~~thereunto belonging, wholly and entirely together, and not otherwiſe.~~ But after the year one thouſand ſeven hundred, thoſe, who are then lords pro~~prietors, ſhall not have power to alienate or make over their proprietorſhip~~, with the ſigniories and privileges thereunto belonging, or any part thereof, to any peſron whatſoever, otherwiſe than as in §. XVIII; but it ſhall all deſcend unto their heirs male, and for want of heirs male, it ſhall all deſcend on that landgrave or caſſique of CAROLINA, who is deſcended of the next heirs female of the proprietor; and for want of ſuch heirs, it ſhall deſcend on the next heir general; and for want of ſuch heirs, the remaining ſeven proprietors ſhall, upon the vacancy, chuſe a landgrave to ſucceed the deceaſed proprietor, who being choſen by the majority of the ſeven ſurviving proprietors, he and his heirs ſucceſſively ſhall be proprietors, as fully to all intents and purpoſes as any of the reſt.

VI.

THAT the number of eight proprietors may be conſtantly kept; if, upon the vacancy of any proprietorſhip, the ſeven ſurviving proprietors ſhall not chuſe a landgrave to be a proprietor, before the ſecond biennial parliament after the vacancy; then the next biennial parliament but one after ſuch vacancy, ſhall have power to chuſe any landgrave to be a proprietor.

VII.

WHOSOEVER after the year one thouſand ſeven hundred, either by inheritance or choice, ſhall ſucceed any proprietor in his proprietorſhip, and ſigniories thereunto belonging; ſhall be obliged to take the name and arms of that proprietor, whom he ſucceeds; which from thenceforth ſhall be the name and arms of his family and their poſterity.

VIII.

WHATSOEVER landgrave or caſſique ſhall any way come to be a proprietor, ſhall take the ſigniories annexed to the ſaid proprietorſhip; but his former dignity, with the baronies annexed, ſhall devolve into the hands of the lords proprietors.

IX.

THERE ſhall be juſt as many landgraves as there are counties, and twice as many caſſiques, and no more. Theſe ſhall be the hereditary nobility of the province, and by right of their dignity be members of parliament. Each landgrave ſhall have four baronies, and each caſſique two baronies, hereditarily and unalterably annexed to, and ſettled upon the ſaid dignity.

X.

THE firſt landgraves and caſſiques of the twelve firſt counties to be planted, ſhall be nominated thus; that is to ſay, of the twelve landgraves the lords proprietors ſhall each of them ſeparately for himſelf, nominate and chuſe one; and the remaining four landgraves of the firſt twelve, ſhall be nominated and choſen by the palatine's court. In like manner of the twenty-four firſt caſſiques, each proprietor for himſelf ſhall nominate and chuſe two, and the remaining eight ſhall be nominated and choſen by the palatine's court; and when the twelve firſt counties ſhall be planted, the lords proprietors ſhall again in the ſame manner nominate and chuſe twelve more landgraves, and twenty-four caſſiques for the twelve next counties to be planted; that is to ſay, two-thirds of each number by the ſingle nomination of each proprietor for himſelf, and the remaining one-third by the joint election of the palatine's court, and ſo proceed in the ſame manner till the whole province of CAROLINA be ſet out and planted, according to the proportions in theſe FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS.

XI.

ANY landgrave or caſſique at any time before the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and one, ſhall have power to alienate, ſell, or make over to any other perſon, his dignity, with the baronies thereunto belonging, all intirely together. But after the year one thouſand ſeven hundred, no landgrave or caſſique ſhall have power to alienate, ſell, make over, or lett the hereditary baronies of his dignity, or any part thereof, otherwiſe than as in §. XVIII; but they ſhall all intirely, with the dignity thereunto belonging, deſcend unto his heirs male;

male; and for want of heirs male, all intirely and undivided, to the next heir general; and for want of ſuch heirs, ſhall devolve into the hands of the lords proprietors,

XII.

THAT the due number of landgraves and caſſiques may be always kept up; if, upon the devolution of any landgraveſhip or caſſiqueſhip, the palatine's court ſhall not ſettle the devolved dignity, with the baronies thereunto annexed, before the ſecond biennial parliament after ſuch devolution; the next biennial parliament but one after ſuch devolution ſhall have power to make any one landgrave or caſſique in the room of him, who dying without heirs, his dignity and baronies devolved.

XIII.

No one perſon ſhall have more than one dignity, with the ſigniories or baronies thereunto belonging. But whenſoever it ſhall happen, that any one, who is already proprietor, landgrave, or caſſique, ſhall have any of theſe dignities deſcend to him by inheritance; it ſhall be at his choice to keep which of the dignities, with the land annexed, he ſhall like beſt; but ſhall leave the other with the lands annexed, to be enjoyed by him, who not being his heir apparent, and certain ſucceſſor to his preſent dignity, is next of blood.

XIV.

WHOSOEVER by the right of inheritance ſhall come to be landgrave or caſſique, ſhall take the name and arms of his predeceſſor in that dignity, to be from thenceforth the name and arms of his family and their poſterity.

XV.

SINCE the dignity of proprietor, landgrave, or caſſique, cannot be divided, and the ſigniories or baronies thereunto annexed muſt for ever all intirely deſcend with, and accompany that dignity; whenſoever for want of heirs male it ſhall deſcend on the iſſue female, the eldeſt daughter and her heirs ſhall be preferred, and in the inheritance of thoſe dignities, and the ſigniories or baronies annexed, there ſhall be no coheirs.

XVI.

IN every ſigniory, barony, and manor, the reſpective lord ſhall have power in his own name to hold court-leet there, for trying of all cauſes both civil and criminal; but where it ſhall concern any perſon being no inhabitant, vaſſal, or leet-man of the ſaid ſigniory, barony, or manor, he, upon paying down of forty ſhillings to the lord's proprietors uſe, ſhall have an appeal from the ſigniory or barony-court to the county-court, and from the mannor-court to the precinct-court.

XVII.

EVERY manor ſhall conſiſt of not leſs than three thouſand acres, and not above twelve thouſand acres in one entire piece and colony; but any three thouſand acres or more in one piece, and the poſſeſſion of one man, ſhall not be a manor, unleſs it be conſtituted a manor by the grant of the palatine's court.

XVIII.

THE lords of ſigniories and baronies ſhall have power only of granting eſtates not exceeding three lives, or thirty-one years, in two thirds of the ſaid ſigniories or baronies, and the remaining third ſhall be always demeſne.

XIX.

ANY lord of a manor may alienate, ſell, or diſpoſe to any other perſon and his heirs for ever, his manor, all entirely together, with all the privileges and leet-men thereunto belonging, ſo far forth as any colony lands; but no grant of any part thereof, either in fee, or for any longer term than three lives, or one and twenty years, ſhall be good againſt the next heir.

XX.

No manor, for want of iſſue male, ſhall be divided amongſt coheirs; but the manor, if there be but one, ſhall all entirely deſcend to the eldeſt daughter and her heirs. If there be more manors than one, the eldeſt daughter firſt ſhall have her choice, the ſecond next, and ſo on, beginning again at the eldeſt, till all the manors be taken up; that ſo the privileges, which belong to manors being indiviſible, the lands of the manors, to which they are annexed, may be kept entire, and the manor not loſe thoſe privileges, which, upon parcelling out to ſeveral owners, muſt neceſſarily ceaſe.

XXI.

Every lord of a manor, within his manor, ſhall have all the powers, juriſdictions, and privileges, which a landgrave or caſſique hath in his baronies.

XXII.

In every ſigniory, barony, and manor, all the leet-men ſhall be under the juriſdiction of the reſpective lords of the ſaid ſigniory, barony, or manor, without appeal from him. Nor ſhall any leet-man, or leet-woman, have liberty to go off from the land of their particular lord, and live any where elſe, without licence obtained from their ſaid lord, under hand and ſeal.

XXIII.

All the children of leet-men ſhall be leet-men, and ſo to all generations.

XXIV.

No man ſhall be capable of having a court-leet, or leet-men, but a proprietor, landgrave, caſſique, or lord of a manor.

XXV.

Whoever ſhall voluntarily enter himſelf a leet-man, in the regiſtry of the county-court, ſhall be a leet-man.

XXVI.

Whoever is lord of lee-tmen, ſhall upon the marriage of a leet-man, or leet-woman of his, give them ten acres of land for their lives; they paying to him therefore not more than one eighth part of all the yearly produce and growth of the ſaid ten acres.

XXVII.

No landgrave or caſſique ſhall be tried for any criminal cauſe, in any but the chief juſtice's court, and that by a jury of his peers.

XXVIII.

There ſhall be eight ſupreme courts. The firſt called the palatine's court, conſiſting of the palatine, and the other ſeven proprietors. The other ſeven courts of the other ſeven great officers, ſhall conſiſt each of them of a proprietor, and ſix councellors added to him. Under each of theſe latter ſeven courts, ſhall be a college of twelve aſſiſtants. The twelve aſſiſtants of the ſeveral colleges ſhall be choſen, two out of the landgraves, caſſiques, or eldeſt ſons of proprietors, by the palatine's court; two out of the landgraves, by the landgraves chamber; two out of the caſſiques, by the caſſiques chamber; four more of the twelve ſhall be choſen by the commons chamber, out of ſuch as have been, or are members of parliament, ſheriffs, or juſtices of the county court, or the younger ſons of proprietors, or eldeſt ſons of landgraves or caſſiques; the two other ſhall be choſen by the palatine's court, out of the ſame ſort of perſons, out of which the commons chamber is to chuſe.

XXIX.

Out of theſe colleges ſhall be choſen at firſt by the palatine's court, ſix councellors, to be joined with each proprietor in his court; of which ſix; one ſhall be of thoſe, who were choſen in any of the colleges by the palatine's court, out of the landgraves, caſſiques, or eldeſt ſons of proprietors; one out of thoſe who were choſen by the landgraves chamber; and one out of thoſe, who were choſen by the caſſiques chamber; two out of thoſe, who were choſen by the commons chamber; and one out of thoſe, who were choſen by the palatine's court, out of the proprietors younger ſons, or eldeſt ſons of landgraves, caſſiques, or commons, qualified as aforeſaid.

XXX.

When it ſhall happen that any councellor dies, and thereby there is a vacancy, the grand council ſhall have power to remove any councellor that is willing to be removed out of any of the proprietors courts to fill up the vacancy;

provided

provided they take a man of the ſame degree and choice the other was of, whoſe vacant place is to be filled up. But if no councellor conſent to be removed, or upon ſuch remove, the laſt remaining vacant place, in any of the proprietor's courts, ſhall be filled up by the choice of the grand council, who ſhall have power to remove out of any of the colleges, any aſſiſtant, who is of the ſame degree and choice that councellor was of, into whoſe vacant place he is to ſucceed. The grand council alſo ſhall have power to remove any aſſiſtant, that is willing, out of one college into another, provided he be of the ſame degree and choice. But the laſt remaining vacant place in any college, ſhall be filled up by the ſame choice, and out of the ſame degree of perſons the aſſiſtant was of who is dead, or removed. No place ſhall be vacant in any proprietor's court above ſix months. No place ſhall be vacant in any college longer than the next ſeſſion of parliament.

XXXI.

No man, being a member of the grand council, or of any of the ſeven colleges, ſhall be turned out, but for miſdemeanor, of which the grand council ſhall be judge; and the vacancy of the perſon ſo put out ſhall be filled, not by the election of the grand council, but by thoſe, who firſt choſe him, and out of the ſame degree he was of, who is expelled. But it is not hereby to be underſtood, that the grand council hath any power to turn out any one of the lords proprietors or their deputies, the lords proprietors having in themſelves an inherent original right.

XXXII.

All elections in the parliament, in the ſeveral chambers of the parliament, and in the grand council, ſhall be paſſed by baloting.

XXXIII.

The palatine's court ſhall conſiſt of the palatine, and ſeven proprietors, wherein nothing ſhall be acted without the preſence and conſent of the palatine or his deputy, and three others of the proprietors or their deputies. This court ſhall have power to call parliaments, to pardon all offences, to make elections of all officers in the proprietor's diſpoſe, and to nominate and appoint Port Towns; and alſo ſhall have power by their order to the treaſurer to diſpoſe of all publick treaſure, excepting money granted by the parliament, and by them directed to ſome particular publick uſe; and alſo ſhall have a negative upon all acts, orders, votes and judgments, of the grand council and the parliament, except only as in §. VI. and XII; and ſhall have all the powers granted to the lords proprietors, by their patent from OUR SOVEREIGN LORD THE KING, except in ſuch things as are limited by theſe FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS.

XXXIV.

The palatine himſelf, when he in perſon ſhall be either in the army, or in any of the proprietors courts, ſhall then have the power of general, or of that proprietor, in whoſe court he is then preſent; and the proprietor, in whoſe court the palatine then preſides, ſhall during his preſence there be but as one of the council.

XXXV.

The chancellor's court, conſiſting of one of the proprietors, and his ſix councellors, who ſhall be called vice-chancellors, ſhall have the cuſtody of the ſeal of the palatinate, under which all charters of lands or otherwiſe, commiſſions and grants of the palatine's court, ſhall paſs. And it ſhall not be lawful to put the ſeal of the palatinate to any writing, which is not ſigned by the palatine or his deputy, and three other proprietors or their deputies. To this court alſo belong all ſtate matters, diſpatches, and treaties with the neighbour Indians. To this court alſo belong all invaſions of the law, of liberty of conſcience, and all diſturbances of the publick peace, upon pretence of religion, as alſo the licence of printing. The twelve aſſiſtants belonging to this court ſhall be called recorders.

XXXVI.

XXXVI.

Whatever paſſes under the ſeal of the palatinate, ſhall be regiſter'd in that proprietors court, to which the matter therein contained belongs.

XXXVII.

The chancellor or his deputy, ſhall be always ſpeaker in parliament, and preſident of the grand council, and in his and his deputy's abſence, one of his vice-chancellors.

XXXVIII.

The chief juſtice's court, conſiſting of one of the proprietors and his ſix councellors, who ſhall be called juſtices of the bench, ſhall judge all appeals in caſes both civil and criminal, except all ſuch caſes as ſhall be under the juriſdiction and cognizance of any other of the proprietor's courts, which ſhall be tried in thoſe courts reſpectively. The government and regulation of the regiſtries of writings and contracts, ſhall belong to the juriſdiction of this court. The twelve aſſiſtants of this court ſhall be called maſters.

XXXIX.

The conſtable's court, conſiſting of one of the proprietors and his ſix councellors, who ſhall be called marſhals, ſhall order and determine of all military affairs by land, and all land-forces, arms, ammunition, artillery, garriſons and forts, &c. and whatever belongs unto war. His twelve aſſiſtants ſhall be called lieutenant-generals.

XL.

In time of actual war, the conſtable, whilſt he is in the army, ſhall be general of the army, and the ſix councellors, or ſuch of them as the palatine's court ſhall for that time or ſervice appoint, ſhall be the immediate great officers under him, and the lieutenant-generals next to them.

XLI.

The admiral's court, conſiſting of one of the proprietors, and his ſix councellors, called conſuls, ſhall have the care and inſpection over all ports, moles, and navigable rivers, ſo far as the tide flows, and alſo all the publick ſhipping of Carolina, and ſtores thereunto belonging, and all maritime affairs. This court alſo ſhall have the power of the court of admiralty; and ſhall have power to conſtitute judges in Port-Towns, to try caſes belonging to law-merchant, as ſhall be moſt convenient for trade. The twelve aſſiſtants, belonging to this court, ſhall be called proconſuls.

XLII.

In time of actual war, the Admiral, whilſt he is at ſea, ſhall command in chief, and his ſix councellors, or ſuch of them as the palatine's court ſhall for that time and ſervice appoint, ſhall be the immediate great officers under him, and the pro-conſuls next to them.

XLIII.

The treaſurer's court, conſiſting of a proprietor and his ſix councellors, called under-treaſurers, ſhall take care of all matters that concern the publick revenue and treaſury. The twelve aſſiſtants ſhall be called auditors.

XLIV.

The high ſteward's court, conſiſting of a proprietor and his ſix councellors, called comptrollers, ſhall have the care of all foreign and domeſtick trade, munufactures, publick buildings, work-houſes, highways, paſſages by water above the flood of the tide, drains, ſewers and banks againſt inundations, bridges, poſt, carriers, fairs, markets, corruption or infection of the common air or water, and all things in order to the publick commerce and health; alſo ſetting out and ſurveying of lands; and alſo ſetting out and appointing places for towns to be built on in the precincts, and the preſcribing and determining the figure and bigneſs of the ſaid towns, according to ſuch models as the ſaid court ſhall order; contrary or differing from which models it ſhall not be lawful for any one to build in any town. This court ſhall have power alſo to make any publick building, or any new highway, or enlarge any old highway, upon any man's land whatſoever; as alſo to make cuts, channels, banks, locks, and bridges, for making rivers navigable, or for draining fens, or any other publick uſe. The damage the owner of ſuch lands (on or through which any ſuch publick things ſhall be made) ſhall receive thereby, ſhall be valued, and ſatisfaction made by ſuch ways as the grand council ſhall appoint. The twelve aſſiſtants, belonging to this court, ſhall be called ſurveyors.

XLV.

THE chamberlain's court, conſiſting of a proprietor and his ſix councellors, called vice-chamberlains, ſhall have the care of all ceremonies, precedency, heraldry, reception of publick meſſengers, pedigrees, the regiſtry of all births, burials, and marriages, legitimation, and all caſes concerning matrimony, or ariſing from it; and ſhall alſo have power to regulate all faſhions, habits, badges, games and ſports. To this court alſo it ſhall belong to convocate the grand council. The twelve aſſiſtants belonging to this court, ſhall be called provoſts.

XLVI.

ALL cauſes belonging to, or under the juriſdiction of any of the proprietors courts, ſhall in them reſpectively be tried, and ultimately determined without any farther appeal.

XLVII.

THE proprietor's courts ſhall have a power to mitigate all fines, and ſuſpend all executions in criminal cauſes, either before or after ſentence, in any of the other inferior courts reſpectively.

XLVIII.

IN all debates, hearings, or trials, in any of the proprietor's courts, the twelve aſſiſtants belonging to the ſaid courts reſpectively, ſhall have liberty to be preſent, but ſhall not interpoſe, unleſs their opinions be required, nor have any vote at all; but their buſineſs ſhall be, by the direction of the reſpective courts, to prepare ſuch buſineſs as ſhall be committed to them; as alſo to bear ſuch offices, and diſpatch ſuch affairs, either where the court is kept, or elſewhere, as the court ſhall think fit.

XLIX.

IN all the proprietors courts, the proprietor, and any three of his councellors, ſhall make a quorum; provided always, that for the better diſpatch of buſineſs, it ſhall be in the power of the palatine's court, to direct what ſort of cauſes ſhall be heard and determined by a quorum of any three.

L.

THE grand council ſhall conſiſt of the palatine and ſeven proprietors, and the forty two councellors of the ſeveral proprietors courts, who ſhall have power to determine any controverſies that may ariſe between any of the proprietors courts, about their reſpective juriſdictions, or between the members of the ſame court, about their manner and methods of proceeding; to make peace and war, leagues, treaties, &c. with any of the neighbour Indians; to iſſue out their general orders to the conſtable's and admiral's courts, for the raiſing, diſpoſing, or diſbanding the forces, by land or by ſea.

LI.

THE grand council ſhall prepare all matters to be propoſed in parliament. Nor ſhall any matter whatſoever be propoſed in parliament, but what hath firſt paſſed the grand council; which after having been read three ſeveral days in the parliament, ſhall by majority of votes be paſſed or rejected.

LII.

THE grand council ſhall always be judges of all cauſes and appeals that concern the palatine, or any of the lords proprietors, or any councellor of any proprietor's court, in any cauſe, which otherwiſe ſhould have been tried in the court, in which the ſaid councellor is judge himſelf.

LIII.

THE grand council, by their warrants to the treaſurer's court, ſhall diſpoſe of all the money given by the parliament, and by them directed to any particular publick uſe.

LIV.

LIV.

The quorum of the grand council ſhall be thirteen, whereof a proprietor or his deputy ſhall be always one.

LV.

The grand council ſhall meet the firſt Tueſday in every month, and as much oftner as either they ſhall think fit, or they ſhall be convocated by the chamberlain's court.

LVI.

The palatine, or any of the lords proprietors, ſhall have power under hand and ſeal, to be regiſter'd in the grand council, to make a deputy, who ſhall have the ſame power to all intents and purpoſes as he himſelf, who deputes him; except in confirming acts of parliament, as in §. lxxvi, and except alſo in nominating and chuſing landgraves and caſſiques, as in §. x. All ſuch deputations ſhall ceaſe and determine at the end of four years, and at any time ſhall be revocable at the pleaſure of the deputator.

LVII.

No deputy of any proprietor ſhall have any power, whilſt the deputator is in any part of CAROLINA, except the proprietor, whoſe deputy he is, be a minor.

LVIII.

During the minority of any proprietor, his guardian ſhall have power to conſtitute and appoint his deputy.

LIX.

The eldeſt of the lords proprietors, who ſhall be perſonally in CAROLINA, ſhall of courſe be the palatine's deputy, and if no proprietor be in CAROLINA, he ſhall chuſe his deputy out of the heirs apparent of any of the proprietors, if any ſuch be there; and if there be no apparent of any of the lords proprietors above one and twenty years old in CAROLINA, then he ſhall chuſe for deputy any one of the landgraves of the grand council; and till he have by deputation under hand and ſeal choſen any one of the forementioned heirs apparent or landgraves to be his deputy, the eldeſt man of the landgraves, and for want of a landgrave, the eldeſt man of the caſſiques, who ſhall be perſonally in CAROLINA, ſhall of courſe be his deputy.

LX.

Each proprietor's deputy ſhall be always one of his own ſix councellors reſpectively; and in caſe any of the proprietors hath not in his abſence out of CAROLINA, a deputy, commiſſioned under his hand and ſeal, the eldeſt nobleman of his court ſhall of courſe be his deputy.

LXI.

In every county there ſhall be a court, conſiſting of a ſheriff and four juſtices of the county, for every precinct one. The ſheriff ſhall be an inhabitant of the county, and have at leaſt five hundred acres of freehold within the ſaid county; and the juſtices ſhall be inhabitants, and have each of them five hundred acres a-piece freehold within the precinct, for which they ſerve reſpectively. Theſe five ſhall be choſen and commiſſioned from time to time by the palatine's court.

LXII.

For any perſonal cauſes exceeding the value of two hundred pounds ſterling, or in title of land, or in any criminal cauſe; either party, upon paying twenty pounds ſterling to the lords proprietors uſe, ſhall have liberty of appeal from the county-court unto the reſpective proprietor's court.

LXIII.

In every precinct there ſhall be a court conſiſting of a ſteward and four juſtices of the precinct, being inhabitants, and having three hundred acres of freehold within the ſaid precinct, who ſhall judge all criminal cauſes; except for treaſon, murder, and any other offences puniſhable with death, and except all criminal cauſes of the nobility; and ſhall judge alſo all civil cauſes whatſoever; and in all perſonal actions, not exceeding fifty pounds ſterling, without appeal; but where the cauſe ſhall exceed that value, or concern a title of land, and in all criminal cauſes; there either party, upon paying five pounds ſterling to the lords proprietors uſe, ſhall have liberty of appeal to the county-court.

LXIV.

No cauſe ſhall be twice tried in any one court, upon any reaſon or pretence whatſoever.

LXV.

For treaſon, murder, and all other offences puniſhable with death, there ſhall be a commiſſion, twice a year at leaſt, granted unto one, or more members of the grand council or colleges, who ſhall come as itinerant judges to the ſeveral counties, and with the ſheriff and four juſtices ſhall hold aſſizes to judge all ſuch cauſes; but, upon paying of fifty pounds ſterling to the lords proprietors uſe, there ſhall be liberty of appeal to the reſpective proprietor's court.

LXVI.

The grand jury at the ſeveral aſſizes, ſhall upon their oaths, and under their hands and ſeals, deliver in to the itinerant judges a preſentment of ſuch grievances, miſdemeanors, exigences, or defects, which they think neceſſary for the publick good of the county; which preſentments ſhall by the itinerant judges, at the end of their circuit, be deliver'd in to the grand council at their next ſitting. And whatſoever therein concerns the execution of laws already made; the ſeveral proprietors courts, in the matters belonging to each of them reſpectively, ſhall take cognizance of it, and give ſuch order about it, as ſhall be effectual for the due execution of the laws. But whatever concerns the making of any new law, ſhall be referred to the ſeveral reſpective courts, to which that matter belongs, and be by them prepared and brought to the grand council.

LXVII.

For terms, there ſhall be quarterly ſuch a certain number of days, not exceeding one and twenty at any one time, as the ſeveral reſpective courts ſhall appoint. The time for the beginning of the term, in the precinct-court, ſhall be the firſt Monday in January, April, July, and October; in the county-court, the firſt Monday in February, May, Auguſt, and November; and in the proprietors courts, the firſt Monday in March, June, September, and December.

LXVIII.

In the precinct-court no man ſhall be a jury-man under fifty acres of freehold. In the county-court, or at the aſſizes, no man ſhall be a grand jury-man under three hundred acres of freehold; and no man ſhall be a petty jury-man under two hundred acres of freehold. In the proprietors courts no man ſhall be a jury-man under five-hundred acres of free-hold.

LXIX.

Every jury ſhall conſiſt of twelve men; and it ſhall not be neceſſary they ſhould all agree, but the verdict ſhall be according to the conſent of the majority.

LXX.

It ſhall be a baſe and vile thing to plead for money or reward; nor ſhall any one (except he be a near kinſman, not farther off than couſin-german to the party concerned) be permitted to plead another man's cauſe, 'till before the judge in open court he hath taken an oath, that he doth not plead for money or reward, nor hath nor will receive, nor directly nor indirectly bargained with the party, whoſe cauſe he is going to plead, for money or any other reward for pleading his cauſe.

LXXI.

There ſhall be a parliament, conſiſting of the proprietors or their deputies, the landgraves and caſſiques, and one free-holder out of every precinct, to be choſen by the freeholders of the ſaid precinct reſpectively. They ſhall ſit all together in one room, and have every member one vote.

LXXII.

LXXII.

No man ſhall be choſen a member of parliament, who hath leſs than five hundred acres of freehold within the precinct, for which he is choſen; nor ſhall any have a vote in chuſing the ſaid member that hath leſs than fifty acres of freehold within the ſaid precinct.

LXXIII.

A new parliament ſhall be aſſembled the firſt Monday of the month of November every ſecond year, and ſhall meet and ſit in the town they laſt ſate in, without any ſummons, unleſs by the palatine's court they be ſummoned to meet at any other place. And if there ſhall be any occaſion of a parliament in theſe intervals, it ſhall be in the power of the palatine's court to aſſemble them in forty days notice, and at ſuch time and place as the ſaid court ſhall think fit; and the palatine's court ſhall have power to diſſolve the ſaid parliament when they ſhall think fit.

LXXIV.

At the opening of every parliament, the firſt thing, that ſhall be done, ſhall be the reading of theſe FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS, which the palatine and proprietors, and the reſt of the members then preſent, ſhall ſubſcribe. Nor ſhall any perſon whatſoever ſit or vote in the parliament, 'till he hath that ſeſſion ſubſcribed theſe FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS, in a book kept for that purpoſe by the clerk of the parliament.

LXXV.

In order to the due election of members for the biennial parliament, it ſhall be lawful for the freeholders of the reſpective precincts to meet the firſt Tueſday in September every two years, in the ſame town or place that they laſt met in to chuſe parliament-men; and there chuſe thoſe members that are to ſit the next November following, unleſs the ſteward of the precinct ſhall, by ſufficient notice thirty days before, appoint ſome other place, for their meeting, in order to the election.

LXXVI.

No act or order of parliament ſhall be of any force, unleſs it be ratified in open parliament during the ſame ſeſſion, by the palatine or his deputy, and three more of the lords proprietors or their deputies; and then not to continue longer in force but until the next biennial parliament, unleſs in the mean time it be ratified under the hands and ſeals of the palatine himſelf, and three more of the lords proprietors themſelves, and by their order publiſh'd at the next biennial parliament.

LXXVII.

Any proprietor or his deputy may enter his proteſtation againſt any act of the parliament, before the palatine or his deputy's conſent be given as aforeſaid; if he ſhall conceive the ſaid act to be contrary to this eſtabliſhment, or any of theſe FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS of the government. And in ſuch caſe after full and free debate, the ſeveral eſtates ſhall retire into four ſeveral chambers; the palatine and proprietors into one; the landgraves into another, the caſſiques into another; and thoſe choſen by the precincts into a fourth; and if the major part of any of the four eſtates ſhall vote that the law is not agreeable to this eſtabliſhment, and theſe FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS of the government, then it ſhall paſs no farther, but be as if it had never been propoſed.

LXXVIII.

The quorum of the parliament ſhall be one half of thoſe, who are members, and capable of ſitting in the houſe that preſent ſeſſion of parliament. The quorum of each of the chambers of parliament ſhall be one half of the members of that chamber.

LXXIX.

To avoid multiplicity of laws, which by degrees always change the right foundations of the original government, all acts of parliament whatſoever, in whatſoever form paſſed or enacted, ſhall, at the end of an hundred years after their enacting, reſpectively ceaſe and determine of themſelves, and without any repeal become null and void, as if no ſuch acts of laws had ever been made.

LXXX.

SINCE multiplicity of comments, as well as of laws, have great inconveniences, and ſerve only to obſcure and perplex; all manner of comments and expoſitions on any part of theſe FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS, or any part of the common or ſtatute law of CAROLINA, are abſolutely prohibited.

LXXXI.

THERE ſhall be a regiſtry in every precinct, wherein ſhall be enrolled all deeds, leaſes, judgments, mortgages, and other conveyances, which may concern any of the land within the ſaid precinct; and all ſuch conveyances not ſo enter'd or regiſter'd, ſhall not be of force againſt any perſon nor party to the ſaid contract or conveyance.

LXXXII.

No man ſhall be regiſter of any precinct, who hath not at leaſt three hundred acres of freehold within the ſaid precinct.

LXXXIII.

THE freeholders of every precinct ſhall nominate three men; out of which three, the chief juſtice's court ſhall chuſe and commiſſion one to be regiſter of the ſaid precinct, whilſt he ſhall well behave himſelf.

LXXXIV.

THERE ſhall be a regiſtry in every ſigniory, barony, and colony, wherein ſhall be recorded all the births, marriages, and deaths, that ſhall happen within the reſpective ſigniories, baronies, and colonies.

LXXXV.

No man ſhall be regiſter of a colony, that hath not above fifty acres of freehold within the ſaid colony.

LXXXVI.

THE time of every one's age, that is born in CAROLINA, ſhall be reckoned from the day that his birth is entred in the regiſtry, and not before.

LXXXVII.

No marriage ſhall be lawful, whatever contract and ceremony they have uſed, till both the parties mutually own it before the regiſter of the place where they were married, and he regiſter it, with the names of the Father and Mother of each party.

LXXXVIII.

No man ſhall adminiſter to the goods, or have right to them, or enter upon the eſtate of any perſon deceaſed, till his death be regiſter'd in the reſpective regiſtry.

LXXXIX.

HE, that doth not enter in the reſpective regiſtry the birth or death of any perſon that is born or dies in his houſe or ground, ſhall pay to the ſaid regiſter one ſhilling per week for each ſuch neglect, reckoning from the time of each birth or death reſpectively, to the time of regiſtring it.

XC.

IN like manner the births, marriages, and deaths of the lords proprietors, landgraves, and caſſiques, ſhall be regiſter'd in the chamberlain's court.

XCI.

THERE ſhall be in every colony one conſtable, to be choſen annually by the freeholders of the colony; his eſtate ſhall be above a hundred acres of freehold within the ſaid colony, and ſuch ſubordinate officers appointed for his aſſiſtance, as the county-court ſhall find requiſite, and ſhall be eſtabliſhed by the ſaid county-court. The election of the ſubordinate annual officers ſhall be alſo in the freeholders of the colony.

XCII.

ALL towns incorporate ſhall be governed by a Mayor, twelve Aldermen, and twenty-four of the common-council. The ſaid common-council ſhall be choſen by the preſent houſholders of the ſaid town; the aldermen ſhall be choſen out of the common-council; and the mayor out of the aldermen, by the palatine's court.

XCIII.

It being of great conſequence to the plantation, that Port-Towns ſhould be built and preſerved; therefore whoſoever ſhall lade or unlade any commodity at any other place but a Port-Town, ſhall forfeit to the lords proprietors, for each Tun ſo laden or unladen, the ſum of ten pounds ſterling; except only ſuch goods as the palatine's court ſhall licenſe to be laden or unladen elſewhere.

XCIV.

The firſt Port-Town upon every river, ſhall be in a colony, and be a Port-Town for ever.

XCV.

No man ſhall be permitted to be a freeman of CAROLINA, or to have any eſtate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a GOD; and that God is publickly and ſolemnly to be worſhipped.

XCVI.

[As the country comes to be ſufficiently planted and diſtributed into fit diviſions, it ſhall belong to the parliament to take care for the building of churches, and the publick maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exerciſe of religion, according to the church of England; which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominions, is ſo alſo of CAROLINA; and therefore it alone ſhall be allowed to receive publick maintenance, by grant of parliament *].

XCVII.

But ſince the natives of that place, who will be concerned in our plantation, are utterly ſtrangers to chriſtianity, whoſe idolatry, ignorance, or miſtake, gives us no right to expel, or uſe them ill; and thoſe who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them, and it will not be reaſonable for us on this account to keep them out; that civil peace may be maintained amidſt the diverſity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully obſerved; the violation whereof, upon what pretence ſoever, cannot be without great offence to almighty God, and great ſcandal to the true religion, which we profeſs; and alſo that Jews, Heathens, and other Diſſenters, from the purity of chriſtian religion, may not be ſcared and kept at a diſtance from it, but by having an opportunity of acquainting themſelves with the truth and reaſonableneſs of its Doctrines, and the peaceableneſs and inoffenſiveneſs of its profeſſors, may by good uſage and perſuaſion, and all thoſe convincing methods of gentleneſs and meekneſs, ſuitable to the rules and deſign of the goſpel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth; therefore any ſeven, or more perſons agreeing in any religion, ſhall conſtitute a church or profeſſion, to which they ſhall give ſome name, to diſtinguiſh it from others.

XCVIII.

The terms of admittance and communion with any church or profeſſion, ſhall be written in a book, and therein be ſubſcribed by all the members of the ſaid Church or profeſſion; which book ſhall be kept by the publick regiſter of the precinct where they reſide.

XCIX.

The time of every one's ſubſcription and admittance ſhall be dated in the ſaid book of religious record.

C.

In the terms of communion of every church or profeſſion, theſe following ſhall be three; without which no agreement or aſſembly of men, upon pretence of religion, ſhall be accounted a church or profeſſion within theſe rules:

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* This article was not drawn up by Mr. LOCKE; but inſerted by ſome of the chief of the proprietors, againſt his judgment; as Mr. LOCKE himſelf informed one of his friends, to whom he preſented a copy of theſe conſtitutions.

1. “ THAT there is a GOD.

2. “ THAT GOD is publickly to be worſhipped.

3. “ THAT it is lawful and the duty of every man, being thereunto called “ by thoſe that govern, to bear witneſs to truth; and that every church or “ profeſſion ſhall in their terms of communion ſet down the external way “ whereby they witneſs a truth as in the preſence of GOD, whether it be by “ laying hands on, or kiſſing the bible, as in the church of England, or by “ holding up the hand, or any other ſenſible way.”

CI.

No perſon above ſeventeen years of age, ſhall have any benefit or protection of the law, or be capable of any place of profit or honour, who is not a member of ſome church or profeſſion, having his name recorded in ſome one, and but one religious record at once.

CII.

No perſon of any other church or profeſſion ſhall diſturb or moleſt any religious aſſembly.

CIII.

No perſon whatſoever ſhall ſpeak any thing in their religious aſſembly, irreverently or ſeditiouſly of the government or governors, or ſtate-matters.

CIV.

ANY perſon ſubſcribing the terms of communion in the record of the ſaid church or profeſſion, before the precinct regiſter, and any five members of the ſaid church or profeſſion; ſhall be thereby made a member of the ſaid church or profeſſion.

CV.

ANY perſon ſtriking out his own name out of any religious record, or his name being ſtruck out by any officer thereunto authoriſed by each church or profeſſion reſpectively, ſhall ceaſe to be a member of that church or profeſſion.

CVI.

No man ſhall uſe any reproachful, reviling, or abuſive language, againſt the religion of any church or profeſſion; that being the certain way of diſturbing the peace, and of hindring the converſion of any to the truth, by engaging them in quarrels and animoſities, to the hatred of the profeſſors and that profeſſion, which otherwiſe they might be brought to aſſent to.

CVII.

SINCE charity obliges us to wiſh well to the ſouls of all men, and religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil eſtate or right, it ſhall be lawful for ſlaves, as well as others, to enter themſelves, and be of what church or profeſſion any of them ſhall think beſt, and thereof be as fully members as any freeman. But yet no ſlave ſhall hereby be exempted from that civil dominion his maſter hath over him, but be in all other things in the ſame ſtate and condition he was in before.

CVIII.

ASSEMBLIES, upon what pretence ſoever of religion, not obſerving and performing the aboveſaid rules, ſhall not be eſteemed as churches, but unlawful meetings, and be puniſhed as other riots.

CIX.

No perſon whatſoever ſhall diſturb, moleſt, or perſecute another for his ſpeculative opinions in religion, or his way of worſhip.

CX.

EVERY freeman of CAROLINA ſhall have abſolute power and authority over his negro ſlaves, of what opinion or religion ſoever.

CXI.

No cauſe, whether civil or criminal, of any freeman, ſhall be tried in any court of judicature, without a jury of his peers.

CXII.

No perſon whatſoever ſhall hold or claim any land in CAROLINA by purchaſe or gift, or otherwiſe, from the natives or any other whatſoever; but merely

merely from and under the lords proprietors; upon pain of forfeiture of all his eſtate, moveable or immoveable, and perpetual baniſhment.

CXIII.

Whosoever ſhall poſſeſs any freehold in Carolina, upon what title or grant ſoever, ſhall at the fartheſt from and after the year one thouſand ſix hundred eighty-nine, pay yearly unto the lords proprietors for each acre of land, Engliſh meaſure, as much fine ſilver as is at this preſent in one Engliſh penny, or the value thereof, to be as a chief rent and acknowledgment to the lords proprietors, their heirs and ſucceſſors for ever. And it ſhall be lawful for the palatine's court by their officers at any time, to take a new ſurvey of any man's land, not to out him of any part of his poſſeſſion, but that by ſuch a ſurvey the juſt number of acres he poſſeſſeth may be known, and the rent thereupon due may be paid by him.

CXIV.

All wrecks, mines, minerals, quarries of gems, and precious ſtones, with pearl-fiſhing, whale-fiſhing, and one half of all amber-greeſe, by whomſoever found, ſhall wholly belong to the lords proprietors.

CXV.

All revenues and profits belonging to the lords proprietors, in common, ſhall be divided into ten parts, whereof the palatine ſhall have three, and each proprietor one; but if the palatine ſhall govern by a deputy, his deputy ſhall have one of thoſe three tenths, and the palatine the other two tenths.

CXVI.

All inhabitants and freemen of Carolina above ſeventeen years of age, and under ſixty, ſhall be bound to bear arms, and ſerve as ſoldiers whenever the grand council ſhall find it neceſſary.

CXVII.

A true copy of theſe FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS ſhall be kept in a great book by the regiſter of every precinct, to be ſubſcribed before the ſaid regiſter. Nor ſhall any perſon of what condition or degree ſoever above ſeventeen years old, have any eſtate or poſſeſſion in Carolina, or protection or benefit of the law there, who hath not before a precinct regiſter ſubſcribed theſe FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS in this form:

"I A. B. do promiſe to bear faith and true allegiance to our ſovereign lord "king Charles the Second, his heirs and ſucceſſors; and will be true "and faithful to the palatine and lords proprietors of Carolina, their "heirs and ſucceſſors; and with my utmoſt power will defend them, and "maintain the government according to this eſtabliſhment in theſe FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS.

CXVIII.

Whatsoever alien ſhall, in this form, before any precinct regiſter ſubſcribe theſe FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS ſhall be thereby naturalized.

CXIX.

In the ſame manner ſhall every perſon, at his admittance into any office, ſubſcribe theſe FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS.

CXX.

THESE FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS, in number a hundred and twenty, and every part thereof, ſhall be and remain the ſacred and unalterable form and rule of government of Carolina for ever. Witneſs our hands and ſeals, the firſt day of March, 1669.

RULES of PRECEDENCY.

I.

THE lords proprietors; the eldeſt in age firſt, and ſo in order.

II.

THE eldeſt ſons of the lords proprietors; the eldeſt in age firſt, and ſo in order.

III.

THE landgraves of the grand council; he that hath been longeſt of the grand council firſt, and ſo in order.

IV.

THE caſſiques of the grand council; he that hath been longeſt of the grand council firſt, and ſo in order.

V.

THE ſeven commoners of the grand council that have been longeſt of the grand council; he that hath been longeſt of the grand council firſt, and ſo in order.

VI.

THE younger ſons of proprietors; the eldeſt firſt, and ſo in order.

VII.

THE landgraves; the eldeſt in age firſt, and ſo in order.

VIII.

THE ſeven commoners, who next to thoſe before-mentioned have been longeſt of the grand council; he that hath been longeſt of the grand council firſt, and ſo in order.

IX.

THE caſſiques; the eldeſt in age firſt, and ſo in order.

X.

THE ſeven remaining commoners of the grand council; he that hath been longeſt of the grand council firſt, and ſo in order.

XI.

THE male line of the proprietors.

THE reſt ſhall be determined by the chamberlain's court.

A Letter from a Perſon of Quality, to his friend in the country, giving an account of the debates and reſolutions of the houſe of Lords, in April and May, 1675, concerning a bill, entitled, *An act to prevent the dangers, which may ariſe from perſons diſaffected to the government.*

SIR,

THIS ſeſſion being ended, and the bill of teſt being finiſhed at the committee of the whole houſe; I can now give you a perfect account of this ſtate maſter-piece. It was firſt hatch'd (as almoſt all the miſchiefs of the world have hitherto been) amongſt the great churchmen; and is a project of ſeveral years ſtanding, but found not miniſters bold enough to go thro' with it, until theſe new ones, who wanting a better bottom to ſupport them, betook themſelves wholly to this; which is no ſmall undertaking, if you conſider it in its whole extent.

First, To make a diſtinct party from the reſt of the nation of the high epiſcopal man, and the old cavalier; who are to ſwallow the hopes of enjoying all the power and office of the kingdom; being alſo tempted by the advantage they may receive from overthrowing the act of oblivion; and not a little rejoicing to think, how valiant they ſhould prove, if they could get any to fight the old quarrel over again; now they are poſſeſs'd of the arms, forts, and ammunition of the nation.

Next they deſign to have the government of the church ſworn to as unalterable; and ſo tacitly owned to be of divine right; which, tho' inconſiſtent with the oath of ſupremacy, yet the churchmen eaſily break through all obligations whatſoever, to attain this ſtation; the advantage of which, the prelate of Rome hath ſufficiently taught the world.

Then in requital to the crown, they declare the government abſolute and arbitrary; and allow monarchy, as well as epiſcopacy, to be jure divino, and not to be bounded or limited by human laws.

And to ſecure all this, they reſolve to take away the power and opportunity of parliaments, to alter any thing in church or ſtate; only leave them as an inſtrument to raiſe money, and to paſs ſuch laws, as the court and church ſhall have a mind to; the attempt of any other, how neceſſary ſoever, muſt be no leſs a crime than perjury.

And as the top-ſtone of the whole fabrick, a pretence ſhall be taken from the jealouſies they themſelves have raiſed, and a real neceſſity from the ſmallneſs of their party, to increaſe and keep up a ſtanding army; and then in due time the cavalier and churchman will be made greater fools, but as arrant ſlaves as the reſt of the nation.

In order to this, the firſt ſtep was made in the act for regulating corporations, wiſely beginning that, in thoſe leſſer governments, which they meant afterwards to introduce upon the government of the nation; and making them ſwear to a declaration and belief of ſuch propoſitions as they themſelves afterwards, upon debate, were enforced to alter, and could not juſtify in thoſe words*; ſo that many of the wealthieſt, worthieſt, and ſobereſt men, are ſtill kept out of the magiſtracy of thoſe places.

The

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* By the act for the well governing and regulating of corporations, paſs'd in the year 1661, all perſons bearing any office of magiſtracy, place of truſt, or other imployment, relating to the government of any city, corporation, borough, &c. were ordered to take the following oath:

"I A. B. do declare and believe, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take arms againſt "the king; and that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his per"ſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him."

THE next ſtep was in the act of militia[*], which went for moſt of the chiefeſt nobility, and gentry, being obliged as lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, &c. to ſwear to the ſame declaration and belief; with the addition only of theſe words, "in purſuance of ſuch military commiſſions"; which makes the matter rather worſe than better. Yet this went down ſmoothly, as an oath in faſhion, a teſtimony of loyalty; and none adventuring freely to debate the matter, the humour of the age, like a ſtrong tide, carries wiſe and good men down before it. This act is of a piece; for it eſtabliſheth a ſtanding army by a law, and ſwears us into a military government.

IMMEDIATELY after this, followeth the act of uniformity, by which all the clergy of England are obliged to ſubſcribe, and declare what the corporations, nobility, and gentry had before ſworn; but with this additional clauſe of the militia act omitted. This the clergy readily complied with; for you know, that ſort of men are taught rather to obey than underſtand; and to uſe that learning they have, to juſtify, not to examine what their ſuperiors command. And yet that Bartholomew-day was fatal to our church and religion, in throwing out a very great number of worthy, learned, pious, and orthodox divines, who could not come up to this, and other things in that act. And it is upon this occaſion, worth your knowledge; that ſo great was the zeal in carrying on this church affair, and ſo blind was the obedience required, that if you compute the time of the paſſing this act, with the time allowed for the clergy to ſubſcribe the book of Common-Prayer thereby eſtabliſh'd! you ſhall plainly find it could not be printed and diſtributed ſo, as one man in forty could have ſeen and read the book they did ſo perfectly aſſent and conſent to[†].

BUT this matter was not compleat until the five-mile act paſſed at Oxford, wherein they take an opportunity to introduce the oath in the terms they would have it[‡]. This was then ſtrongly oppoſed by the lord treaſurer SOUTHAMPTON, lord WHARTON, lord ASHLEY[||], and others; not only in the concern of thoſe poor miniſters that were ſo ſeverely handled, but as it was in it ſelf a moſt unlawful, and unjuſtifiable oath. However, the zeal of that time againſt all non-conformiſts eaſily paſſed the act.

THIS act was ſeconded the ſame ſeſſion at Oxford, by another bill in the houſe of commons, to have impoſed that oath on the whole nation. And the providence, by which it was thrown out, was very remarkable; for Mr. PEREGRINE BERTIE, being newly choſen, was that morning introduced into the houſe by his brother the now Earl of LINDSEY, and Sir THOMAS OSBORN[§], now lord treaſurer, who all three gave their votes againſt that bill; and the numbers were ſo even upon the diviſion, that their three votes carried the queſtion againſt it. But we owe that right to the earl of LINDSEY, and the lord treaſurer, as to acknowledge that they have ſince made ample ſatisfaction for whatever offence they gave either the church or court in that vote.

THUS our church became triumphant, and continued ſo for divers years; the diſſenting proteſtant being the only enemy, and therefore only perſecuted; whilſt

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[*] THE act for ordering the forces in the ſeveral counties of this kingdom.

[†] BY the act of uniformity of publick prayers, &c. which received the royal aſſent, on the 19th of May, 1662, all parſons, vicars or other miniſters, &c. were order'd to conform to the church of England, before the feaſt of St. Bartholomew, or the 20th of Auguſt following; upon pain of loſing all their eccleſiaſtical preferments, &c. And it is certain, that "the Common-Prayer book with the alterations and amendments ..... "made by the convocation, did not come out of the preſs till a few days before the 24th of Auguſt." See Dr. CALAMY's abridgment of Mr. BAXTER's hiſtory of his life and times, ubi ſupra, p. 201.

[‡] BY that act, paſſed in the parliament held at Oxford the 9th of October, 1665. and entitled: an act for reſtraining non-conformiſts from inhabiting corporations; the non-conforming miniſters were prohibited, upon a penalty of forty pounds for every offence, to come, unleſs only in paſſing upon the road, within five miles of any city, corporation, borough, town, or place where they had been miniſters, or had preach'd after the act of uniformity; unleſs they firſt ſubſcrib'd to the declarations of the act of uniformity, and did take and ſubſcribe the following oath:

> "I A. B. do ſwear, that it is not lawful upon a pretence whatſoever to take arms againſt the king: and "that I do abhor that traiterous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt "thoſe that are commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch commiſſions; and that I will not at any time "endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or ſtate."

[||] ANTHONY ASHLEY-COOPER, afterwards earl of SHAFTSBURY.

[§] SIR THOMAS OSBORN, created afterwards baron of KIVETON and viſcount LATIMER, in 1673; earl of DANBY, in 1674; marquis of CARMARTHEN, in 1689; and duke of LEEDS, in 1694.

whilſt the papiſts remained undiſturbed, being by the court thought loyal, and by our great biſhops not dangerous; they differing only in doctrine, and fundamentals; but, as to the government of the church, that was, in their religion, in its higheſt exaltation.

THIS dominion continued unto them, until the lord CLIFFORD, a man of a daring and ambitious ſpirit, made his way to the chief miniſtry of affairs by other, and far different meaſures; and took the opportunity of the war with Holland, the king was then engaged in, to propoſe the declaration of indulgence *, that the diſſenters of all ſorts, as well proteſtants as papiſts, might be at reſt, and ſo a vaſt number of people, not be made deſperate at home, while the king was engaged with ſo potent an enemy abroad. This was no ſooner propoſed, but the Earl of SHAFTSBURY, a man as daring, but more able, (tho' of principles and intereſt diametrically oppoſite to the other) preſently cloſed with it; and perhaps the opportunity I have had, by my converſation with them both; who were men of diverſion, and of free open diſcourſes where they had a confidence; may give you more light into both their deſigns, and ſo by conſequence the aims of their parties, than you will have from any other hand.

MY Lord CLIFFORD did in expreſs terms tell me one day in private diſcourſe: "That the king, if he would be firm to himſelf, might ſettle what religion he "pleaſed, and carry the government to what height he would. For if men "were aſſured in the liberty of their conſcience, and undiſturbed in their pro"perties, able and upright judges made in Weſtminſter-hall, to judge the cauſes "of meum and tuum; and if, on the other hand, the fort of Tilbury was "finiſhed to bridle the city; the fort of Plymouth to ſecure the weſt; and "arms for 20000 in each of theſe; and in Hull, for the northern parts; "with ſome addition, which might be eaſily and undiſcernably made to the "forces now on foot; there were none that would have either will, opportu"nity, or power to reſiſt." But he added withal, "he was ſo ſincere in the "maintenance of property and liberty of conſcience, that if he had his will, "though he ſhould introduce a biſhop of Durham (which was the inſtance he "then made, that ſee being then vacant) of another religion; yet he would "not diſturb any of the church beſide, but ſuffer them to die away, and not "let his change (how haſty ſoever he was in it) overthrow either of thoſe "principles, and therefore deſired he might be thought an honeſt man as to "his part of the declaration, for he meant it really."

THE lord SHAFTSBURY (with whom I had more freedom) I with great aſſurance aſk'd, "What he meant by the declaration? for it ſeem'd to me "(as I then told him) that it aſſumed a power to repeal and ſuſpend all our "laws, to deſtroy the church, to overthrow the proteſtant religion, and to "tolerate popery." He replied, all angry, "that he wondered at my objection, "there being not one of theſe in the caſe. For the king aſſumed no power of "repealing laws, or ſuſpending them, contrary to the will of his parliament, "or people; and not to argue with me at that time the power of the king's "ſupremacy, which was of another nature than that he had in civils, and had "been exerciſed without exception in this very caſe by his father, grandfather, "and queen ELIZABETH, under the great ſeal to foreign proteſtants, become "ſubjects of England; not to inſtance in the ſuſpending the execution of the "two acts of navigation and trade, during both this, and the laſt Dutch war, "in the ſame words, and upon the ſame neceſſity, and as yet, without cla"mour that ever we heard; but to paſs by all that, this was certain, a govern"ment could not be ſuppoſed, whether monarchical, or of any other ſort, "without a ſtanding ſupreme, executive power, fully enabled to mitigate, or "wholly to ſuſpend, the execution of any penal law, in the intervals of the "legiſlative power; which when aſſembled, there was no doubt, but where"ever there lies a negative in paſſing of a law, there the addreſs or ſenſe known "of either of them to the contrary, (as for inſtance of either of our two houſes "of parliament in England) ought to determine that indulgenee, and reſtore "the law to its full execution. For without this, the laws were to no purpoſe

"made,

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* That declaration bore date, March 17, 1671-2.

“made, if the prince could annul them at pleaſure; and ſo on the other hand, without a power always in being of diſpenſing upon occaſion, was to ſuppoſe a conſtitution extremely imperfect and unpracticable; and to cure thoſe with a legiſlative power always in being, is, when conſidered, no other than a perfect tyranny.

“As to the church, he conceived the declaration was extremely their intereſt; for the narrow bottom they had placed themſelves upon, and the meaſures they had proceeded by, ſo contrary to the properties and liberties of the nation, muſt needs in ſhort time prove fatal to them; whereas this led them into another way to live peaceably with the diſſenting and differing proteſtants, both at home and abroad, and ſo by neceſſary and unavoidable conſequences, to become the head of them all. For that place is due to the church of England, being in favour, and of neareſt approach to the moſt powerful prince of that religion, and ſo always had it in their hands to be the interceſſors and procurers of the greateſt good and protection, that party throughout all Chriſtendom can receive. And thus the archbiſhop of Canterbury might become, not only *alterius orbis*, but *alterius regionis papa*; and all this addition of honour and power attain'd without the leaſt loſs or diminution of the church; it not being intended that one living, dignity, or preferment ſhould be given to any, but thoſe that were ſtrictly conformable.

“As to the proteſtant religion, he told me plainly, it was for the preſerving of that, and that only, that he heartily joined in the declaration; for beſides that, he thought it his duty to have care, in his place and ſtation, of thoſe he was convinced were the people of God, and feared him; though of different perſuaſions. He alſo knew nothing elſe but liberty and indulgence, that could poſſibly (as our caſe ſtood) ſecure the proteſtant religion in England; and he begg'd me to conſider, if the church of England ſhould attain to a rigid, blind, and undiſputed conformity, and that power of our church ſhould come into the hands of a popiſh prince; which was not a thing ſo impoſſible, or remote, as not to be apprehended; whether, in ſuch a caſe, would not all the arms and artillery of the government of the church be turned againſt the preſent religion of it? and ſhould not all good proteſtants tremble to think what biſhops ſuch a prince was like to make, and whom thoſe biſhops would condemn for hereticks, and that prince might burn. Whereas if this, which is now but a declaration, might ever, by the experience of it, gain the advantage of becoming an eſtabliſhed law; the true proteſtant religion would ſtill be kept up amongſt the cities, towns and trading places, and the worthieſt and ſobereſt (if not the greateſt) part of the nobility, and gentry, and people.”

As for the toleration of popery, he ſaid, “It was a pleaſant objection, ſince he could confidently ſay, that the papiſts had no advantage in the leaſt by this declaration, that they did not as fully enjoy, and with leſs noiſe, by the favour of all the biſhops. It was the vanity of the lord keeper, that they were named at all; for the whole advantage was to the diſſenting proteſtants, which were the only men diſturb'd before. And yet he confeſt to me, that it was his opinion, and always had been, that the papiſts ought to have no other preſſure laid upon them; but to be made uncapable of office, court, or arms, and to pay ſo much as might bring them at leaſt to a balance with the proteſtants, for thoſe chargeable offices they are liable unto.”

And concluded with this, “that he deſired me ſeriouſly to weigh, whether liberty and property were likely to be maintained long, in a country like ours, where trade is ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the very being, as well as proſperity of it, and in this age of the world; if articles of faith, and matters of religion, ſhould become the only acceſſible ways to our civil rights.”

Thus ſir, you have perhaps a better account of the declaration, than you can receive from any other hand; and I could have wiſh'd it a longer continuance, and better reception than it had; for the biſhops took ſo great ofſence at it, that they gave the alarum of popery through the whole nation, and by their emiſſaries the clergy, (who by the conexture and ſubordination of their government, and their being poſted in every pariſh, have the advantage of a quick diſperſing their orders, and a ſudden and univerſal inſinuation of whatever they pleaſe), raiſed ſuch a cry, that thoſe good and ſober men, who had really long feared the increaſe and countenance, popery had hitherto received, began to believe the biſhops were in earneſt; their eyes opened, though late, and therefore joined in heartily with them; ſo that, at the next meeting of parliament [*], the proteſtants intereſt was run ſo high, as an act came up from the commons to the houſe of lords in favour of the diſſenting proteſtants, and had paſſed the lords, but for want of time. Beſides, another excellent act paſſed the royal aſſent for the excluding all papiſts from office [†]; in the oppoſition of which, the lord treaſurer CLIFFORD fell, and yet to prevent his ruin this ſeſſion had the ſpeedier end. Notwithſtanding, the biſhops attained their ends fully; the declaration being canceled, and the great ſeal being broken off from it; the parliament having paſſed no act in favour of the diſſenters, and yet the ſenſe of both houſes ſufficiently declared againſt all indulgence but by act of parliament. Having got this point, they uſed it at firſt with ſeeming moderation. There were no general directions given for perſecuting the nonconformiſts; but here and there ſome of the moſt confiding juſtices were made uſe of, to try how they could revive the old perſecution. For as yet, the zeal raiſed againſt the papiſts was ſo great, that the worthieſt, and ſobereſt of the epiſcopal party, thought it neceſſary to unite with the diſſenting proteſtants, and not to divide their party, when all their forces were little enough. In this poſture the ſeſſion of parliament, that began October 27, 1673, found matters; which being ſuddenly broken up, did nothing.

THE next ſeſſion, which began January 7, following [‡]; the biſhops continued their zeal againſt the papiſts, and ſeem'd to carry on, in joining with the country lords, many excellent votes in order to a bill, as in particular, that the princes of the blood-royal ſhould all marry proteſtants, and many others; but their favour to diſſenting proteſtants was gone, and they attempted a bargain with the country lords, with whom they then joined, not to promote any thing of that nature, except the bill for taking away aſſent and conſent, and renouncing the covenant [‖].

THIS ſeſſion was no ſooner ended without doing any thing, but the whole clergy were inſtructed to declare that there was now no more danger of the papiſts. The fanatick (for ſo they call the diſſenting proteſtant) is again become the only dangerous enemy; and the biſhops had found a Scotch lord, and two new miniſters, or rather great officers of England, who were deſperate and raſh enough to put their maſter's buſineſs upon ſo narrow and weak a bottom; and the old covenanter, LAUDERDALE [‡‡], is become the patron of the church, and has his coach and table fill'd with biſhops. The keeper [‖‖], and the treaſurer are of a juſt ſize to this affair; for it is a certain rule with the churchmen, to endure (as ſeldom as they can) in buſineſs, men abler than themſelves. But his grace of Scotland was leaſt to be excuſed of the three; for having fallen from preſbytery, proteſtant religion, and all principles of publick good, and private friendſhip; and become the ſlave of CLIFFORD, to carry on the ruin of all that he had profeſſed to ſupport, does now alſo quit

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[*] February 4. 1672-3.

[†] By the act for preventing dangers, which may happen from popiſh recuſants, paſſed March 29, 1673, all perſons having any office, or place of truſt under his majeſty, &c. were obliged to take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, &c. and to receive the ſacrament according to the uſage of the church of England, &c. From that time no act was paſs'd till the 13th of October 1675.

[‡] 1673-4.

[‖] See Dr. Calamy's abridgment of Mr. Baxter's hiſtory of his life and times, &c. Vol. I. pag. 340. of the 2d. edit. London 1713. in 8vo.

[‡‡] JOHN MAITLAND, duke of LAUDERDALE. He was created baron of PETERSHAM, and earl of GUILFORD in England, in the year 1674.

[‖‖] Sir HENEAGE FINCH, afterwards earl of NOTTINGHAM.

quit even CLIFFORD's generous principles, and betake himſelf to a ſort of men, that never forgive any man the having once been in the right; and ſuch men, who would do the worſt of things by the worſt of means, enſlave their country, and betray them, under the maſk of religion, which they have the publick pay for, and the charge of; ſo ſeething the Kid in the mother's milk. Our ſtateſmen and biſhops being now as well agreed, as in old LAUD's time, on the ſame principles, with the ſame paſſion to attain their end; they in the firſt place give orders to the judges in all their circuits to quicken the execution of the laws againſt diſſenters; a new declaration is publiſh'd directly contrary to the former; moſt in words againſt the papiſts, but in the ſenſe, and in the cloſe, did fully ſerve againſt both; and in the execution, it was plain who were meant. A commiſſion, beſides, comes down, directed to the principal gentlemen of each county, to ſeize the eſtates of both papiſts and fanaticks, mentioned in a liſt annexed; wherein, by great misfortune, or ſkill, the names of papiſts of beſt quality and fortune (and ſo beſt known) were miſtaken, and the commiſſion render'd ineffectual as to them.

BESIDES this, the great miniſters of ſtate did, in their common publick talk, aſſure the party, that all the places of profit, command, and truſt, ſhould only be given to the old cavalier; no man that had ſerved, or been of the contrary party, ſhould be left in any of them. And a direction is iſſued to the great miniſters before-mentioned, and ſix or ſeven of the biſhops, to meet at Lambeth-houſe, who were, like the lords of the articles in Scotland, to prepare their compleat model for the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament.

AND now comes this memorable ſeſſion of April 13, 1675, than which never any came with more expectation of the court, or dread and apprehenſion of the people. The officers, court-lords, and biſhops, were clearly the major vote in the lords houſe; and they aſſured themſelves to have the commons as much at their diſpoſe, when they reckoned the number of the courtiers, officers, penſioners, increaſed by the addition of the church and cavalier party; beſides the addreſs they had made to men of the beſt quality there, by hopes of honour, great employment, and ſuch things as would take. In a word, the French king's miniſters, who are the great chapmen of the world, did not out-do ours at this time, and yet the over-ruling hand of God has blown upon their politicks, and the nation is eſcaped this ſeſſion, like a Bird out of the ſnare of the fowler.

IN this ſeſſion the biſhops wholly laid aſide their zeal againſt popery. The committee of the whole houſe for religion, which the country lords had cauſed to be ſet up again by the example of the former ſeſſions, could hardly get, at any time, a day appointed for their ſitting; and the main thing deſign'd for a bill voted in the former ſeſſion, viz. the marrying our princes to none but proteſtants, was rejected, and carry'd in the negative by the unanimous votes of the biſhop's bench; for I muſt acquaint you that our great prelates were ſo near an infallibility, that they were always found in this ſeſſion of one mind in the lord's houſe; yet the lay lords, not underſtanding from how excellent a principle this proceeded, commonly called them for that reaſon the dead weight. And they really proved ſo in the following buſineſs; for the third day of this ſeſſions, this bill of the teſt was brought into the lords houſe by the earl of LINDSEY, lord high chamberlain, a perſon of great quality, but in this impoſed upon; and received its firſt reading, and appointment for the ſecond, without much oppoſition; the country lords being deſirous to obſerve what weight they put upon it, or how they deſign'd to manage it.

AT the ſecond reading, the lord keeper and ſome other of the court-lords recommended the bill to the houſe in ſet and elaborate ſpeeches, the keeper calling it, a moderate ſecurity to the church and crown; and that no honeſt man could refuſe it, and whoſoever did, gave great ſuſpicion of dangerous and anti-monarchical principles. The other lords declamed very much upon the rebellion of the late times; the great number of fanaticks; the dangerous principles of rebellion ſtill remaining; carrying the diſcourſe on, as if they meant to trample down the act of oblivion, and all thoſe, whoſe ſecurities depended on it. But the earl of SHAFTSBURY, and ſome other of the country lords, earneſtly preſt that the bill might be laid aſide, and that they might not be engaged in the debate of it; or elſe that that freedom they ſhould be forced to uſe in the neceſſary defence of their opinion, and the preſerving of their laws, rights, and liberties, which this bill would overthrow, might not be miſconſtrued. For there are many things that muſt be ſpoken upon the debate, both concerning church and ſtate, that it was well known they had no mind to hear. Notwithſtanding this, the great officers and biſhops called out for the queſtion of referring the bill to a committee; but the earl of SHAFTSBURY, a man of great abilities and knowledge in affairs, and one that in all theſe variety of changes of this laſt age, was never known to be either bought or frighted out of his publick principles; at large opened the miſchievous and ill deſigns, and conſequences of the bill, which, as it was brought in, required all officers of church and ſtate, and all members of both houſes of parliament, to take this oath following.

"I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to
" take up arms againſt the king; and that I do abhor that traiterous po-
" ſition of taking arms by his authority, againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe
" that are commiſſion'd by him in purſuance of ſuch commiſſion; and I do
" ſwear, that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the govern-
" ment, either in church or ſtate. So help me, God."

THE earl of SHAFTSBURY and other lords ſpake with ſuch convincing reaſon, that all the lords, who were at liberty from court engagements, reſolved to oppoſe to the uttermoſt a bill of ſo dangerous conſequence; and the debate laſted five ſeveral days before it was committed to a committee of the whole houſe; which hardly ever happened to any bill before. All this and the following debates were managed chiefly by the lords, whoſe names you will find to the following proteſtations; the firſt whereof was as followeth:

"We, whoſe names are under-written, being peers of this realm, do, ac-
" cording to our rights, and the antient uſage of parliaments, declare; that
" the queſtion having been put whether the bill, entitled *An act to prevent*
" *the dangers, which may ariſe from perſons diſaffected to the government,*
" doth ſo far intrench upon the privileges of this houſe, that it ought there-
" fore to be caſt out; it being reſolved in the negative, we do humbly con-
" ceive, that any bill, which impoſeth an oath upon the peers with a penalty,
" as this doth, that upon the refuſal of that oath, they ſhall be made uncapa-
" ble of ſitting and voting in this houſe; as it is a thing unprecedented in for-
" mer times, ſo is it, in our humble opinion, the higheſt invaſion of the
" liberties and privileges of the peerage, that poſſibly may be, and moſt de-
" ſtructive of the freedom which they ought to enjoy as members of par-
" liament; becauſe the privilege of ſitting and voting in parliament is an
" honour they have by birth, and a right ſo inherent in them, and inſeparable
" from them, as that nothing can take it away, but what by the law of
" the land muſt withal take away their lives, and corrupt their blood;
" upon which ground we do here enter our diſſent from that vote, and our
" proteſtation againſt it."

BUCKINGHAM
BRIDGEWATER
BEDFORD
DORSET
AILSBURY
BRISTOL
DENBIGH
PAGITT
HOLLES
PETER
HOWARD of BERKS

WINCHESTER
SALISBURY
MOHUN
STAMFORD
HALLIFAX
DE LA MER
EURE
SHAFTSBURY
CLARENDON
GREY ROLL
SAY and SEAL
WHARTON

THE

The next proteſtation was againſt the vote of committing the bill, in the words following:

"The queſtion being put, whether the bill, entitled, *An act to prevent the dangers, which may ariſe from perſons diſaffected to the government,* ſhould be committed; it being carried in the affirmative, and we, after ſeveral days debate, being in no meaſure ſatisfied, but ſtill apprehending that this bill doth not only ſubvert the privileges and birth-right of the peers, by impoſing an oath upon them with the penalty of loſing their places in parliament, but alſo, as we humbly conceive, ſtrike at the very root of government; it being neceſſary to all government to have freedom of votes and debates in thoſe, who have power to alter and make laws; and beſides, the expreſs words of this bill, obliging every man to abjure all endeavours to alter the government in the church, without regard to any thing that rules of prudence in the government, or chriſtian compaſſion to proteſtant diſſenters, or the neceſſity of affairs at any time, ſhall or may require; upon theſe conſiderations, we humbly conceive it to be of dangerous conſequence to have any bill of this nature ſo much as committed, and do enter our diſſents from that vote, and proteſtation againſt it."

BUCKINGHAM	CLARENDON
WINTON	STAMFORD
SALISBURY	SHAFTSBURY
DENBIGH	WHARTON
BRISTOL	MOHUN
HOWARD of BERKS	DE LA MER.

Which proteſtation was no ſooner entred and ſubſcribed the next day, but the great officers and biſhops raiſed a ſtorm againſt the lords that had ſubſcribed it; endeavouring not only ſome ſevere proceedings againſt their perſons, if they had found the houſe would have borne it, but alſo to have taken away the very liberty of entring proteſtations with reaſons. But that was defended with ſo great ability, learning, and reaſon by the lord Holles, that they quitted the attempt; and the debate ran for ſome hours, either wholly to raze the proteſtation out of the books, or at leaſt ſome part of it; the expreſſion of chriſtian compaſſion to proteſtant diſſenters, being that, which gave them moſt offence. But both theſe ways were ſo diſagreeable to the honour and privilege of the houſe, and the latter to common ſenſe and right; that they deſpaired of carrying it, and contented themſelves with having voted, "that the reaſons given, in the ſaid proteſtation, did reflect upon the honour of the houſe, and were of dangerous conſequence." And I cannot here forbear to mention the worth and honour of that noble lord Holles, ſuitable to all his former life; that whilſt the debate was at the height, and the proteſting lords in danger of the Tower, he begg'd the houſe to give him leave to put his name to that proteſt, and take his fortune with thoſe lords, becauſe his ſickneſs had forced him out of the houſe the day before; ſo that not being at the queſtion, he could not, by the rules of the houſe, ſign it. The vote againſt thoſe twelve lords begat the next day this following proteſtation, ſigned by one and twenty:

"Whereas it is the undoubted privilege of each peer in parliament, when a queſtion is paſt contrary to his vote and judgment, to enter his proteſtation againſt it; and that in purſuance thereof, the bill, entitled, *An act to prevent the dangers, which may ariſe from perſons diſaffected to the government,* being conceived by ſome lords to be of ſo dangerous a nature, as that it was not fit to receive the countenance of a commitment; thoſe lords did proteſt againſt the commitment of the ſaid bill; and the houſe having taken exceptions at ſome expreſſions in their proteſtation, thoſe lords, who were preſent at the debate, did all of them ſeverally and volun-

“ tarily declare, that they had no intention to reflect upon any member, much
“ leſs upon the whole houſe; which, as is humbly conceived, was more than
“ in ſtrictneſs did conſiſt with that abſolute freedom of proteſting, which is in-
“ ſeparable from every member of this houſe, and was done by them merely
“ out of their great reſpect to the houſe, and their earneſt deſire to give all
“ ſatisfaction concerning themſelves, and the clearneſs of their intentions;
“ yet the houſe not ſatisfied with this their declaration, but proceeding to a
“ vote, *That the reaſons given in the ſaid proteſtation do reflect upon the ho-*
“ *nour of the houſe, and are of dangerous conſequence*; which is, in our humble
“ opinion, a great diſcountenancing of the very liberty of proteſting; we,
“ whoſe names are underwritten, conceive ourſelves and the whole houſe of
“ peers, extremely concerned that this great wound ſhould be given (as we
“ humbly apprehend) to ſo eſſential a privilege of the whole peerage of this
“ realm, as their liberty of proteſting; do now, (according to our unqueſtion-
“ able right) make uſe of the ſame liberty to enter this our diſſent from, and
“ proteſtation againſt the ſaid vote:

BUCKS
WINTON
BEDFORD
DORSET
SALISBURY
BRIDGEWATER
DENBIGH
BERKS
CLARENDON
AILSBURY
SHAFTSBURY

SAY and SEAL
HALLIFAX
AUDLEY
FITZWATER
EURE
WHARTON
MOHUN
HOLLES
DE LA MER
GREY ROLL

AFTER this bill being committed to a committee of the whole houſe, the firſt thing inſiſted upon by the lords, againſt the bill, was, that there ought to be paſſed ſome previous votes to ſecure the rights of peerage, and privilege of parliament, before they entered upon the debate of amendments of ſuch a bill as this. And at laſt two previous votes were obtained, which I need not here ſet down, becauſe the next proteſtation hath them both *in terminis:*

“ WHEREAS upon the debate on the bill, entitled, *An act to prevent the*
“ *dangers, which may ariſe from perſons diſaffected to the government*, it was
“ ordered by the houſe of peers, the 30th of April laſt, that no oath ſhould
“ be impoſed, by any bill, or otherwiſe, upon the peers, with a penalty,
“ in caſe of refuſal, *to loſe their places, or votes in parliament, or liberty to*
“ *debate therein*; and, whereas alſo, upon debate of the ſame, it was ordered,
“ the third of this inſtant May, *that there ſhall be nothing in this bill, which*
“ *ſhall extend to deprive either of the houſes of parliament, or any of their*
“ *members, of their juſt, antient freedom and privilege of debating any mat-*
“ *ter or buſineſs, which ſhall be propounded or debated in either of the ſaid*
“ *houſes, or at any conference or committee of both, or either of the ſaid*
“ *houſes of parliament; or touching the repeal, or alteration of any old, or*
“ *preparing any new laws; or the redreſſing any publick grievance*; but that
“ *the ſaid members of either of the ſaid houſes, and the aſſiſtants of the houſe*
“ *of peers, and every of them, ſhall have the ſame freedom of ſpeech, and all*
“ *other privileges whatſoever, as they had before the making of this act*; both
“ which orders were paſſed as previous directions unto the committee of the
“ whole houſe, to whom the ſaid bill was committed, to the end that no-
“ thing ſhould remain in the ſaid bill, which might any ways tend towards
“ the depriving of either of the houſes of parliament, or any of their mem-
“ bers, of their antient freedom of debates, or votes, or other privileges what-
“ ſoever; yet the houſe being pleaſed, upon the report from the committee,
“ to paſs a vote, *That all perſons who have, or ſhall have right to ſit and*

“ *vote in either houſe of parliament*, ſhould be added to the firſt enacted “ clauſe in the ſaid bill, whereby an oath is to be impoſed upon them as “ members of either houſe; which vote we whoſe names are underwritten, “ being peers of the realm, do humbly conceive, is not agreeable to the ſaid “ two previous orders; and it having been humbly offered and inſiſted upon “ by divers of us, that the *proviſo* in the late act, entitled, *An act for* “ *preventing dangers that may happen from popiſh recuſants*, might be added “ to the bill depending, whereby the peerage of every peer of this realm, and “ all their privileges, might be preſerved in this bill, as fully as in the ſaid late “ act; yet the houſe not pleaſing to admit of the ſaid *proviſo*, but proceeding to the paſſing of the ſaid vote; we do humbly, upon the grounds aforeſaid, and according to our undoubted right, enter this our diſſent from, and “ proteſtation againſt the ſame:

BUCKS
BEDFORD
WINTON
SALISBURY
BERKS
BRIDGWATER
STAMFORD
CLARENDON

DENBIGH
DORSET
SHAFTSBURY
WHARTON
EURE
DE LA MER
PAGITT
MOHUN.

THIS was their laſt proteſtation; for after this, they alter'd their method, and reported not the votes of the committee, and parts of the bill to the houſe, as they paſſed them; but took the ſame order as is obſerved in other bills, not to report unto the houſe, until they had gone through with the bill, and ſo report all the amendments together. This they thought a way of more diſpatch, and which did prevent all proteſtations, until it came to the houſe, for the votes of a committee, though of the whole houſe, are not thought of that weight, as that there ſhould be allowed the entring a diſſent of them, or proteſtation againſt them.

THE bill being read over at the committee, the lord keeper objected againſt the form of it, and deſired that he might put it in another method; which was eaſily allow'd him, that being not the diſpute. But it was obſervable the hand of God was upon them in this whole affair; their chariot-wheels were taken off, they drew heavily; a bill ſo long deſign'd, prepared, and of that moment to all their affairs, had hardly a ſenſible compoſure.

THE firſt part of the bill that was fallen upon, was; “ whether there ſhould “ be an oath at all in the bill;” and this was the only part the court-party defended with reaſon. For the whole bill being to enjoin an oath, the houſe might reject it, but the committee was not to deſtroy it. Yet the lord HALLIFAX did with that quickneſs, learning, and elegance, which are inſeparable from all his diſcourſes, make appear; that as there really was no ſecurity to any ſtate by oaths; ſo alſo no private perſon, much leſs ſtates-man, would ever order his affairs as relying on it; no man would ever ſleep with open doors, or unlockt-up treaſure or plate, ſhould all the town be ſworn not to rob; ſo that the uſe of multiplying oaths, had been moſt commonly to exclude or diſturb ſome honeſt conſcientious men, who would never have prejudiced the government. It was alſo inſiſted on by that lord and others, that the oath, impoſed by the bill, contained three clauſes; the two former aſſertory, and the laſt promiſſory; and that it was worthy the conſideration of the biſhops; whether aſſertory oaths, which were properly appointed to give teſtimony of a matter of fact, whereof a man is capable to be fully aſſured by the evidence of his ſenſes, be lawful to be made uſe of to confirm or invalidate doctrinal propoſitions; and whether that legiſlative power, which impoſes ſuch an oath, does not neceſſarily aſſume to it ſelf an infallibility? And, as for promiſſory oaths, it was deſired that thoſe learned prelates would conſider the opinion of GROTIUS, *de jure belli & pacis*, who ſeems to make it plain, that thoſe

thoſe kind of oaths are forbidden by our SAVIOUR CHRIST, Mat. v. 34. 37*; and whether it would not become the fathers of the church, when they have well weighed that and other places of the New Teſtament, to be more tender in multiplying oaths, than hitherto the great men of the church have been? But the biſhops carried the point, and an oath was ordered by the major vote.

THE next thing in conſideration, was about the perſons that ſhould be enjoined to take this oath; and thoſe were to be "all ſuch as enjoyed any beneficial office or employment, eccleſiaſtical, civil or military;" and no farther went the debate for ſome hours, until at laſt the lord keeper riſes up, and with an eloquent oration, deſires to add privy-counſellors, juſtices of the peace, and members of both houſes; the two former particularly mentioned only to uſher in the latter, which was ſo directly againſt the two previous votes; the firſt of which was enrolled amongſt the ſtanding orders of the houſe, that it wanted a man of no leſs aſſurance in his eloquence to propoſe it. And he was driven hard, when he was forced to tell the houſe, that they were maſters of their own orders, and interpretation of them.

THE next conſideration, at the committee, was the oath itſelf; and it was deſired by the country lords that it might be clearly known, whether it were meant all for an oath, or ſome of it for a declaration, and ſome an oath? If the latter, then it was deſired it might be diſtinctly parted; and that the declaratory part ſhould be ſubſcribed by itſelf, and not ſworn. There was no ſmall pains taken by the lord keeper and the biſhops, to prove that the two firſt parts were only a declaration, and not an oath. And though it was replied, that to delare upon one's oath, or to abhor upon one's oath, is the ſame thing with, I do ſwear; yet there was ſome difficulty to obtain the dividing of them, and that the declaratory part ſhould be only ſubſcribed, and the reſt ſworn to.

THE perſons being determined, and this diviſion agreed to; the next thing was the parts of the declaration; wherein the firſt was, "I, A. B. do declare, "that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up arms "againſt the king." This was liable to great objections; for it was ſaid, it might introduce a great change of government, to oblige all the men in great truſt in England, to declare that exact boundary and extent of the oath of allegiance, and enforce ſome things to be ſtated, that are much better involved in generals, and peradventure are not capable of another way of expreſſion, without great wrong on the one ſide or the other. There is a law of 25th EDWARD III. that "arms ſhall not be taken up againſt the king, and that it "is treaſon to do ſo;" and it is a very juſt and reaſonable law. But it is an idle queſtion at beſt, to aſk "whether arms in any caſe can be taken up "againſt a lawful prince;" becauſe it neceſſarily brings, in the debate, in every man's mind, how there can be a diſtinction then left between abſolute and bounded monarchies, if monarchs have only the fear of God, and no fear of human reſiſtance to reſtrain them. And it was farther urged, that if the chance of human affairs in future ages, ſhould give the French king a juſt title and inveſtiture in the crown of England, and he ſhould avowedly own a deſign by force to change the religion, and make his government here as abſolute as in France, by the extirpation of the nobility, gentry, and principal citizens of the proteſtant party; whether in ſuch, or like caſes, this declaration will be a ſervice to the government, as it is now eſtabliſhed. Nay, and it was farther ſaid, that they overthrow the government, that ſuppoſe to place any part of it above the fear of man. For, in our Engliſh government, and all bounded monarchies, where the prince is not abſolute, there every individual

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* Notandum hic eſt obiter, quod in Chriſti præceptis, & apud Jacobum de non jurando dicitur, proprie non ad aſſertorium juramentum, cujus apud Paulum apoſtolum exempla extant aliquot, ſed ad promiſſorium futuri incerti pertinere. Oſtendit hoc evidenter oppoſitio illa in verbis Chriſti: "Audiſtis dictum antiquis, non "pejerabis, ſed reddes Domino juramentum. Ego vero dico vobis, ne jurate omnino." Et ratio quam Jacobus adjicit: μὴ εἰς ὑπόκρισιν πέσητε, id eſt, "ne fallaces inveniamini." Nam eum ſenſum vox ὑποκρίσεως apud Helleniſtas habet . . . . . . Idem evincit illud in Chriſti verbis ἔστω δὲ λόγος ὑμῶν, ναὶ ναὶ, οὒ, οὔ, quod ſic Jacobus explicat, ἤτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ, καὶ τὸ οὒ οὔ, ... Nam prius ναὶ & οὒ promiſſum ſignificat, poſterius ejus implementum, &c. De jure belli & pacis, lib. II, cap. xiii. §. 21.

dual ſubject is under the fear of the king and his people; either for breaking the peace, or diſturbing the common intereſt that every man hath in it; or if he invades the perſon or right of his prince, he invades his whole people who have bound up in him, and derive from him, all their liberty, property, and ſafety; as alſo the prince himſelf is under the fear of breaking that golden chain and connexture between him and his people, by making his intereſt contrary to that they juſtly and rightly claim. And therefore neither our anceſtors, nor any other country free like ours, whilſt they preſerved their liberties, did ever ſuffer any mercenary or ſtanding guards to their prince; but took care that his ſafety ſhould be in them, as theirs was in him.

THOUGH theſe were the objections to this head, yet they were but lightly touch'd, and not fully inſiſted upon, until the debate of the ſecond head, where the ſcope of the deſign was open'd clearer, and more diſtinct to every man's capacity.

THE ſecond was, " and that I do abhor that traiterous poſition of taking " arms by his authority againſt his perſon." To this was objected, that if this be meant an explanation of the oath of allegiance, to leave men without pretence to oppoſe where the individual perſon of the king is; then it was to be conſidered, that the poſition, as it is here ſet down, is univerſal; and yet in moſt caſes, the poſition is not to be abhorred by honeſt or wiſe men. For there is but one caſe, and that never like to happen again, where this poſition is in danger to be traiterous, which was the caſe of the long-parliament, made perpetual by the king's own act, by which the government was perfectly altered, and made inconſiſtent with itſelf; but it is to be ſuppoſed, the crown hath ſufficient warning, and full power to prevent the falling again into that danger. But the other caſes are many, and ſuch as may every day occur, wherein this poſition is ſo far from traiterous, that it would prove both neceſſary and our duty. The famous inſtance of HENRY VI, who being a ſoft and weak prince, when taken priſoner by his couſin EDWARD IV, that pretended to the crown, and the great earl of WARWICK, was carried in their armies; gave what orders and commiſſions they pleaſed; and yet all thoſe, that were loyal to him, adhered to his wife and ſon; fought in a pitch'd battle againſt him in perſon; and retook him. This was directly " taking up arms " againſt his perſon, and againſt thoſe that were commiſſion'd by him:" and yet to this day no man hath ever blamed them, or thought but that if they had done otherwiſe, they had betray'd their prince. The great caſe of CHARLES VI. of France, who being of a weak and crazy brain, yet govern'd by himſelf, or rather by his wife, a woman of paſſionate and heady humour, that hated her ſon the Dauphin, a vigorous and brave prince, and paſſionately loved her daughter; ſo that ſhe eaſily (being preſſed by the victory of HENRY V. of England) comply'd to ſettle the crown of France upon him, to marry her daughter to him, and own his right, contrary to the Salique law. This was directly oppoſed with arms and force by the Dauphin, and all good Frenchmen; even in his father's life-time. A third inſtance is that of king JAMES of bleſſed memory; who, when he was a child, was ſeized and taken priſoner, by thoſe, who were juſtly thought no friends to his crown or ſafety. And if the caſe ſhould be put, that a future king of England, of the ſame temper with HENRY VI. or CHARLES VI. of France, ſhould be taken priſoner by Spaniard, Dutch or French, whoſe overgrowing power ſhould give them thoughts of vaſt empire, and ſhould, with the perſon and commiſſion of the king invade England for a conqueſt; were it not ſuitable to our loyalty to join with the ſon of that king, for the defence of his father's crown and dignity, even againſt his perſon and commiſſion? In all theſe and the like caſes, it was not juſtified, but that the ſtrict letter of the law might be otherwiſe conſtrued; and when wiſely conſidered, fit it ſhould be ſo; yet that it was not ſafe either for the kingdom, or perſon of the king and his crown, that it ſhould be in expreſs words ſworn againſt; for if we ſhall forſwear all diſtinctions, which ill men have made ill uſe of, either in rebellion or hereſy, we muſt extend the oath to all the particulars of divinity and politicks. To this the aged biſhop of Wincheſter * replied, that "to take up arms, in ſuch "caſes, is not againſt, but for the perſon of the King;" but his lordſhip was told, that he might then as well, nay much better, have left it upon the old oath of allegiance, than made ſuch a wide gap in this new declaration.

THE third and laſt part of the declaration was, "or againſt thoſe that are "commiſſioned by him." Here the maſk was plainly pluck'd off, and arbitrary government appeared bare-faced, and a ſtanding army to be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament. For it was ſaid by ſeveral of the lords, that if whatever is by the king's commiſſion, be not oppoſed by the king's authority; then a ſtanding army is law, whenever the king pleaſes; and yet the king's commiſſion was never thought ſufficient to protect, or juſtify any man, where it is againſt his authority, which is the law. This allowed, alters the whole law of England, in the moſt eſſential and fundamental parts of it; and makes the whole law of property to become arbitrary, and without effect, whenever the king pleaſes.

For inſtance, if in ſuit with a great favourite, a man recovers houſe and lands, and by courſe of law be put into poſſeſſion by the ſheriff; and afterwards a warrant is obtained by the intereſt of the perſon, to command ſome ſoldiers of the ſtanding army to take the poſſeſſion, and deliver it back; in ſuch a caſe, the man in poſſeſſion may juſtify to defend himſelf, and killing thoſe, who ſhall violently endeavour to enter his houſe. The party, whoſe houſe is invaded, "takes up arms by the king's authority againſt thoſe, who are com-"miſſioned by him." And it is the ſame caſe, if the ſoldiers had been commiſſioned to defend the houſe againſt the ſheriff, when he firſt endeavour'd to take poſſeſſion according to law. Neither could any order or commiſſion of the king's put a ſtop to the ſheriff, if he had done his duty in raiſing the whole force of that county to put the law in execution; neither can the court, from whom that order proceeds, (if they obſerve their oaths and duty) put any ſtop to the execution of the law in ſuch a caſe, by any command or commiſſion from the king whatſoever; nay, all the guards and ſtanding forces in England cannot be ſecured by any commiſſion from being a direct riot and unlawful aſſembly, unleſs in time of open war and rebellion. And it is not out of the way to ſuppoſe, that if any king hereafter, ſhall, contrary to the petition of right, demand and levy money by privy ſeal, or otherwiſe, and cauſe ſoldiers to enter and diſtrain for ſuch like illegal taxes; that in ſuch a caſe any man may by law defend his houſe againſt them; and yet this is of the ſame nature with the former, and againſt the words of the declaration. Theſe inſtances may ſeem ſomewhat rough, and not with the uſual reverence towards the crown; but they alledged, they were to be excuſed, when all was concerned; and without ſpeaking thus plain, it is refuſed to be underſtood; and, however happy we are now, either in the preſent prince, or thoſe, we have in proſpect; yet the ſuppoſitions are not extravagant, when we conſider kings are but men, and compaſſed with more temptations than others; and, as the earl of SALISBURY, who ſtood like a rock of nobility, and Engliſh principles, excellently replied to the lord keeper, who was pleaſed to term them remote inſtances; that they would not hereafter prove ſo, when this declaration had made the practice of them juſtifiable.

THESE arguments enforced the lords for the bill, to a change of this part of the declaration; ſo that they agreed the ſecond and third parts of it ſhould run thus; "and I do abhor that traiterous poſition of taking arms by his au-"thority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him "according to law, in time of rebellion or war, acting in purſuance of "ſuch commiſſion." Which mends the matter very little; for if they mean the king's authority, and his lawful commiſſion, to be two things, and ſuch as are capable of oppoſition; then it is as dangerous to the liberties of the nation, as when it ran in the former words, and we are only cheated by new phraſing of it. But if they underſtand them to be one and the ſame thing, as really and truly they are; then we are only to abhor the treaſon of the poſition of taking

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* GEORGE MORLEY. He was then 78 years old.

taking arms by the king's authority, againſt the king's authority, becauſe it is nonſenſe, and not practicable. And ſo they had done little but confeſs'd, that all the clergy, and many other perſons, have been forced, by former acts of this preſent parliament, to make this declaration in other words, that now are found ſo far from being juſtifiable, that they are directly contrary to *Magna Charta*, our properties, and the eſtabliſh'd law and government of the nation.

The next thing in courſe was, the oath itſelf, againſt which the objection lay ſo plain, and ſo ſtrong at the firſt entrance, viz. That there was no care taken of the doctrine, but only the diſcipline of the church. The papiſts need not ſcruple the taking this oath; for epiſcopacy remains in its greateſt luſtre, though the popiſh religion was introduced; but the king's ſupremacy is juſtled aſide by this oath, and makes better room for an eccleſiaſtical one. Inſomuch, that with this and much more, they were enforced to change their oath, and the next day bring it in as followeth:

"I do ſwear, that I will not endeavour to alter the proteſtant religion, or
"the government either of church or ſtate.

By this they thought they had ſalved all, and now began to call their oath, "A ſecurity for the proteſtant religion, and the only good deſign to prevent "popery," if we ſhould have a popiſh prince. But the country lords wondered at their confidence in this, ſince they had never thought of it before; and had been, but the laſt preceding day of the debate, by pure ſhame compell'd to this addition. For it was not unknown to them; that ſome of the biſhops themſelves had told ſome of the roman catholick lords of the houſe, that "care had been taken that it might be ſuch an oath as might not bear upon "them." But let it be whatever they would have it, yet the country lords thought the addition was unreaſonable, and of as dangerous conſequence as the reſt of the oath. And it was not to be wondered at, if the addition of the beſt things, wanting the authority of an expreſs divine inſtitution, ſhould make an oath not to endeavour to alter, juſt ſo much worſe by the addition. For, as the earl of Shaftsbury very well urged, that it is a far different thing, to believe, or to be fully perſuaded of the truth of the doctrine of our church, and to ſwear never to endeavour to alter; which laſt muſt be utterly unlawful, unleſs you place an infallibility either in the church or yourſelf; you being otherwiſe obliged to alter, whenever a clearer or better light comes to you. And he deſired leave to aſk, where are the boundaries, or where ſhall we find how much is meant by the proteſtant religion?

The lord keeper thinking he had now got an advantage, with his uſual eloquence, deſires, "that it might not be told in Gath, nor publiſhed in the "ſtreets of Aſkalon," that a lord of ſo great parts and eminence, and profeſſing himſelf for the church of England, ſhould not know what is meant by the proteſtant religion! This was ſeconded with great pleaſantneſs by divers of the lords the biſhops. But the biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſome others of them, were pleaſed to condeſcend to inſtruct that lord, that the proteſtant religion was comprehended in XXXIX articles, the liturgy, the catechiſm, the homilies, and the canons.

To this the earl of Shaftsbury replied, that he begg'd ſo much charity of them to believe, that he knew the proteſtant religion ſo well, and was ſo confirmed in it, that he hoped he ſhould burn for the witneſs of it, if providence ſhould call him to it. But he might perhaps think ſome things not neceſſary, that they accounted eſſential; nay, he might think ſome things not true, or agreeable to the ſcripture, that they might call doctrines of the church. Beſides, when he was to ſwear "never to endeavour to alter," it was certainly neceſſary to know "how far the juſt extent of this oath was." But ſince they had told him that the proteſtant religion was in thoſe five tracts; he had ſtill to aſk, whether they meant thoſe whole tracts were the proteſtant religion; or only that the proteſtant religion was contained in all thoſe, but that every part of theſe was not the proteſtant religion?

If they meant the former of theſe, then he was extreamly in the dark, to find the doctrine of predeſtination, in the 18th and 17th articles, to be owned by ſo few great doctors of the church, and to find the 19th article to define the church directly as the independents do. Beſides, the 20th article, ſtating the authority of the church, is very dark; and either contradicts itſelf, or ſays nothing, or what is contrary to the known laws of the land. Beſides ſeveral other things in the XXXIX articles, have been preached and writ againſt, by men of great favour, power and preferment in the church.

He humbly conceived the liturgy was not ſo ſacred, being made by men the other day, and thought to be more differing from the diſſenting proteſtants, and leſs eaſy to be complied with, upon the advantage of a pretence well known unto us all, of making alterations as might the better unite us; inſtead whereof, there is ſcarce one alteration but widens the breach. And no ordination allow'd by it here, (as it now ſtands laſt reformed in the act of uniformity) but what is epiſcopal; inſomuch that a popiſh prieſt is capable, when converted, of any church-preferment, without re-ordination; but no proteſtant miniſter not epiſcopally ordain'd, but is required to be re-ordain'd; as much as in us lies un-churching all the foreign proteſtants that have not biſhops; though the contrary was both allowed and practiſed from the beginning of the reformation, till the time of that act, and ſeveral biſhops made of ſuch as were never ordain'd prieſts by biſhops. Moreover, the uncharitableneſs of it was ſo much againſt the intereſt of the crown and church of England, (caſting off the dependency of the whole proteſtant party abroad) that it would have been bought by the pope and the French king at a vaſt ſum of money; and it is difficult to conceive ſo great an advantage fell to them merely by chance, and without their help. So that he thought, to endeavour to alter, and reſtore the liturgy to what it was in queen ELIZABETH's days, might conſiſt with his being a very good proteſtant.

As to the catechiſm, he really thought it might be mended; and durſt declare to them, it was not well that there was not a better made.

For the homilies, he thought there might be a better book made; and the third homily, of "repairing and keeping clean of churches," might be omitted.

What is yet ſtranger than all this, the canons of our church are directly the old popiſh canons, which are ſtill in force, and no other; which will appear, if you turn to the ſtat. 25 HEN. VIII. cap. 19. confirmed and received by 1 ELIZ. where all thoſe canons are eſtabliſh'd, until an alteration ſhould be made by the king, in purſuance of that act; which thing was attempted by EDWARD VI, but not perfected, and let alone ever ſince; for what reaſons the lords the biſhops could beſt tell. And it was very hard to be obliged by oath "not to endeavour to alter either the Engliſh Common-Prayer-Book, or the "canon of the maſs."

But if they meant the latter, that the proteſtant religion is contain'd in all thoſe, but that every part of thoſe is not the proteſtant religion; then he apprehended it might be in the biſhops power to declare, *ex poſt facto*, what is the proteſtant religion or not, or elſe they muſt leave it to every man to judge for himſelf, what parts of thoſe books are or are not; and then their oath had been much better let alone.

Much of this nature was ſaid by that lord and others; and the great officers and biſhops were ſo hard put to it, that they ſeemed willing, and convinced to admit of an expedient.

The lord WHARTON, an old and expert parliament-man, of eminent piety and abilities, beſides a great friend to the proteſtant religion and intereſt of England, offer'd, as a cure to the whole oath, and what might make it paſs in all the three parts of it, without any farther debate; the addition of theſe words, at the latter end of the oath, viz. "as the ſame is, or ſhall be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament." But this was not endured at all; when the lord GREY of ROLSTON, a worthy and true Engliſh lord, offered another expedient; which was the addition of theſe words, "by force or fraud," to the

the beginning of the oath; and then it would run thus, "I do ſwear not to "endeavour by force or fraud to alter." This was alſo a cure that would have paſſed the whole oath, and ſeemed as if it would have carried the whole houſe; the duke of York, and biſhop of Rochester both ſeconding it; but the lord treaſurer, who had privately before conſented to it, ſpeaking againſt it, gave the word and ſign to that party; and it being put to the queſtion, the major vote anſwered all arguments, and the lord Grey's propoſition was laid aſide.

Having thus carried the queſtion, relying upon their ſtrength of votes, taking advantage that thoſe expedients that had been offered, extended to the whole oath, tho' but one of the three clauſes in the oath had been debated, the other two not mentioned at all; they attempted ſtrongly, at nine of the clock at night, to have the whole oath put to the queſtion; and tho' it was reſolutely oppoſed by the lord Mohun, a lord of great courage and reſolution in the publick intereſt, and one whoſe own perſonal merits, as well as his father's, gave him a juſt title to the beſt favours of the court; yet they were not diverted, but by as great a diſorder as ever was ſeen in that houſe, proceeding from the rage thoſe unreaſonable proceedings had cauſed in the country lords; they ſtanding up together, and cried out with ſo loud a continued voice, adjourn, that when ſilence was obtain'd, fear did what reaſon could not do, cauſe the queſtion to be put only upon the firſt clauſe, concerning proteſtant religion, to which the biſhops deſired might be added, "as it is now eſtabliſhed." And one of the eminenteſt of thoſe who were for the bill, added the words, "by law." So that, as it was paſſed, it ran, "I A. B, do ſwear, "that I will not endeavour to alter the proteſtant religion, now by law eſtabliſhed in the church of England."

And here obſerve, the words, "by law," do directly take in the canons, though the biſhops had never mentioned them.

And now comes the conſideration of the latter part of the oath, which comprehends theſe two clauſes, viz. "nor the government either in church or "ſtate," wherein the church came firſt to be conſidered. And it was objected by the lords againſt the bill, that it was not agreeable to the king's crown and dignity, to have his ſubjects ſworn to the government of the church equally as to himſelf; that for the kings of England to ſwear to maintain the church, was a different thing from enjoining all his officers, and both his houſes of parliament to ſwear to them; it ſhould be well underſtood, before the bill paſſed, what the "government of the church" (we are to ſwear to) is, and what the boundaries of it; whether it derives no power nor authority, nor the exerciſe of any power, authority, or function, but from the king, as head of the church, and from God, as through him, as all his other officers do.

For no church or religion can juſtify itſelf to the government, but the ſtate religion, that owns an entire dependancy on, and is but a branch of it; or the independant congregations, whilſt they claim no other power, but the excluſion of their own members from their particular communion; and endeavour not to ſet up a kingdom of Christ to their own uſe in this world, whilſt our Saviour hath told us, that "his kingdom is not of it." For otherwiſe there ſhould be "imperium in imperio," and two diſtinct ſupream powers inconſiſtent with each other, in the ſame place, and over the ſame perſons. The biſhops alledged, that prieſthood, and the power thereof, and the authorities belonging thereunto, were derived immediately from Christ; but that the licenſe of exerciſing that authority and power in any country is derived from the civil magiſtrate. To which was reply'd, that it was a dangerous thing, to ſecure by oath and act of parliament thoſe in the exerciſe of an authority and power in the king's country, and over his ſubjects, which being received from Christ himſelf, cannot be altered, or limited by the king's laws; and that this was directly to ſet the mitre above the crown. And it was farther offered, that this oath was the greateſt attempt that had been made againſt the king's ſupremacy ſince the reformation; for the king in parliament may alter, diminiſh, enlarge, or take away any biſhoprick; he may take any part of a dioceſs, or a whole dioceſs, and put them under deans, or other perſons. For if this be not lawful, but that epiſcopacy ſhould be "jure divino," the maintaining the government, as it is now, is unlawful; ſince the deans of Hereford and Saliſbury have very large tracts under their juriſdiction, and ſeveral parſons of pariſhes have epiſcopal juriſdiction; ſo that at beſt, that government wants alteration, that is ſo imperfectly ſettled. The biſhop of WINCHESTER affirmed in this debate ſeveral times, that there was no chriſtian church before CALVIN that had not biſhops; to which he was anſwered, that the Albigenſes, a very numerous people, and the only viſible known church of true believers of ſome ages, had no biſhops. It is very true, what the biſhop of WINCHESTER reply'd, that they had ſome amongſt them, who alone had power to ordain; but that was only to commit that power to the wiſeſt and graveſt men amongſt them, and to ſecure ill and unfit men from being admitted into the miniſtry; but they exerciſed no juriſdiction over the others.

AND it was ſaid by divers of the lords, that they thought epiſcopal government beſt for the church, and moſt ſuitable for the monarchy; but they muſt ſay, with the lord of SOUTHAMPTON, upon the occaſion of this oath in the parliament of Oxford, "I will not be ſworn not to take away epiſcopacy;" there being nothing, that is not of divine precept, but ſuch circumſtances may come in human affairs, as may render it not eligible by the beſt of men. And it was alſo ſaid, that if epiſcopacy be to be received as by divine precept, the king's ſupremacy is overthrown; and ſo is alſo the opinion of the parliaments both in EDWARD the VIth, and Queen ELIZABETH's time; and the conſtitution of our church ought to be altered, as hath been ſhew'd. But the church of Rome itſelf hath contradicted that opinion, when ſhe hath made ſuch vaſt tracts of ground, and great numbers of men exempt from epiſcopal juriſdiction.

THE lord WHARTON, upon the biſhop's claim to a divine right, aſked a very hard queſtion, viz. "whether they then did not claim withal a power of excommunicating their prince?" which they evading to anſwer, and being preſs'd by ſome other lords, ſaid, "they never had done it." Upon which the lord HALLIFAX told them, that that might well be; for ſince the reformation they had hitherto had too great a dependance on the crown to venture on that, or any other offence to it.

AND ſo the debate paſſed on to the third clauſe, which had the ſame exceptions againſt it with the two former, of being unbounded, how far any man might meddle and how far not; and is of that extent, that it overthrew all parliaments, and left them capable of nothing but giving money. For what is the buſineſs of parliaments, but the alteration, either by adding or taking away ſome part of the government either in church or ſtate? and every new act of parliament is an alteration; and what kind of government in church and ſtate muſt that be, which I muſt ſwear, upon no alteration of time, emergency of affairs, nor variation of human things, never to endeavour to alter? Would it not be requiſite that ſuch a government ſhould be given by God himſelf; and that, with all the ceremony of thunder and lightning, and viſible appearance to the whole people, which God vouchſafed to the children of Iſrael at mount Sinai? And yet you ſhall no where read that they were ſworn to it by any oath like this; nay, on the contrary, the princes and the rulers, even thoſe recorded for the beſt of them, did make ſeveral variations.

THE lord STAFFORD, a nobleman of great honour and candour, but who had been all along for the bill, yet was ſo far convinced with the debate, that he freely declared, there ought to be an addition to the oath, for preſerving the freedom of debates in parliament. This was ſtrongly urged by the never to be forgotten earl of BRIDGEWATER, who gave reputation and ſtrength to this cauſe of England; as did alſo thoſe worthy earls, DENBIGH, CLARENDON, and AILSBURY, men of great worth and honour. To ſalve all that was ſaid by theſe and the other lords, the lord keeper and the biſhops urged, that there was a proviſo, which fully preſerved the privileges of parliament; and upon farther enquiry, there appearing no ſuch, but only a previous vote, as is before-mention'd, they allow'd that that previous vote ſhould be drawn into a proviſo, and added to the bill; and then in their opinion the exception to the oath for this cauſe was perfectly removed. But on the other ſide it was offer'd, that a poſitive abſolute oath being taken, a proviſo in the act could not diſpenſe with it, without ſome reference in the body of the oath unto that proviſo. But this alſo was utterly deny'd, until the next day, the debate going on upon other matters; the lord treaſurer, whoſe authority eaſily obtained with the major vote, re-aſſumed what was mentioned in the debates of the preceding days, and allow'd a reference to the proviſo; ſo that it then paſs'd in theſe words:

> " I A. B. do ſwear, that I will not endeavour to alter the proteſtant religion
> " now by law eſtabliſh'd in the church of England; nor the government
> " of this kingdom in church or ſtate, as it is now by law eſtabliſh'd; and
> " I do take this oath according to the meaning of this act, and the proviſo
> " contained in the ſame. So help me God."

There was a paſſage of the greateſt obſervation in the whole debate, and which with moſt clearneſs ſhewed what the great men and biſhops aimed at; and ſhould in order have come in before, but that it deſerved ſo particular a conſideration, that I thought beſt to place it here by itſelf; which was, that upon paſſing of the proviſo for preſerving the rights and privileges of parliaments, made out of the previous votes, it was excellently obſerved by the earl of Bullinbrook, a man of great ability and learning in the laws of the land, and perfectly ſtedfaſt in all good Engliſh principles; that though that proviſo did preſerve the freedom of debates and votes in parliaments, yet the oath remain'd, notwithſtanding that proviſo, upon all men, that ſhall take it as a prohibition, either by ſpeech or writing, or addreſs, to "endeavour any alteration in religion, church, or ſtate:" nay, alſo upon the members of both houſes otherwiſe than as they ſpeak and vote in open parliaments or committees. For this oath takes away all private converſe upon any ſuch affairs even one with another. This was ſeconded by the lord De La Mer, whoſe name is well known, as alſo his worth, piety, and learning; I ſhould mention his merits too, but I know not whether that be lawful, they lying yet unrewarded.

The lord Shaftsbury preſently drew up ſome words for preſerving the ſame rights, privileges, and freedoms, which men now enjoy by the laws eſtabliſhed; ſo that by a ſide-wind we might not be deprived of the great liberty we enjoy as Engliſhmen; and deſired thoſe words might be inſerted in that proviſo before it paſs'd. This was ſeconded by many of the fore-mentioned lords; and preſs'd upon thoſe terms, that they deſired not to countenance, or make in the leaſt degree any thing lawful, that was not already ſo; but that they might not be deprived, by this dark way of proceeding, of that liberty, which was neceſſary to them as men, and without which parliaments would be rendered uſeleſs.

Upon this all the great officers ſhewed themſelves; nay, the duke of Lauderdale himſelf, though under the load of two addreſſes, * open'd his mouth, and together with the lord keeper, and the lord treaſurer, told the committee in plain terms; that they intended, and deſign'd to prevent caballing, and conſpiracies againſt the government; that they knew no reaſon why any of the king's officers ſhould conſult with parliament-men about parliament-buſineſs; and particularly mention'd thoſe of the army, treaſury, and navy. And when it was objected to them, that the greateſt part of the moſt knowing Gentry were either juſtices of the peace, or of the militia; and that this took away all converſe, or diſcourſe of any alteration, which was in truth of any buſineſs in parliament; and that the officers of the navy and treaſury might be beſt able to adviſe what ſhould be fit in many caſes; and that withal none of their lordſhips did offer any thing to ſalve the inconvenience of parliament-men being deprived of diſcourſing one with another, upon the matters that were before them; beſides it muſt be again remembered, that nothing was herein deſired

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* The houſe of commons addreſs'd the king to remove the duke of Lauderdale from his employments, and from his majeſty's preſence and councils, for ever; as a man of arbitrary principles, and a perſon obnoxious and dangerous to the government.

to be countenanced, or made lawful, but to preſerve that, which is already law, and avowedly juſtified by it; for, without this addition to the proviſo, the oath rendered parliaments but a ſnare, not a ſecurity, to the people; yet to all this was anſwered, ſometimes with paſſion and high words, ſometimes with jeſts and raillery, (the beſt they had), and at the laſt the major vote anſwered all objections, and laid aſide the addition tendered.

THERE was another thing before the finiſhing of the oath, which I ſhall here alſo mention, which was an additional oath, tendered by the marquis of WINCHESTER; who ought to have been mention'd in the firſt and chiefeſt place, for his conduct and ſupport in the whole debate, being an expert parliament man, and one, whoſe quality, parts, and fortune, and owning of good principles, concur to give him one of the greateſt places in the eſteem of good men. The additional oath tendered, was as followeth:

"I do ſwear that I will never by threats, injunctions, promiſes, advantages, "or invitation, by or from any perſon whatſoever, nor from the hopes or "proſpect of any gift, place, office, or benefit whatſoever; give my vote "other than according to my opinion and conſcience, as I ſhall be truly "and really perſuaded upon the debate of any buſineſs in parliament. So "help me God."

THIS oath was offer'd upon the occaſion of ſwearing members of parliament; and upon this ſcore only, that if any new oath was thought fit (which that noble lord declared his own judgment perfectly againſt), this certainly was (all conſiderations and circumſtances taken in) moſt neceſſary to be a part; and the nature of it was not ſo ſtrange, if they conſidered the judges oath, which was not much different from this. To this the lord keeper ſeemed very averſe, and declared in a very fine ſpeech, that it was an uſeleſs oath; for all gifts, places, and offices, were likelieſt to come from the king; and no member of parliament in either houſe could do too much for the king, or be too much of his ſide; and that men might lawfully, and worthily have in their proſpect ſuch offices or benefits from him. With this the lords againſt the bill were in no terms ſatisfied, but plainly ſpoke out, that men had been, might and were likely to be, in either houſe, too much for the king, as they call'd it; and that whoever did endeavour to give more power to the king than the law and conſtitution of the government had given, eſpecially if it tended to the introducing an abſolute and arbitrary government, might juſtly be ſaid to do too much for the king, and to be corrupted in his judgment by the proſpect of advantages and rewards; though, when it is conſidered that every deviation of the crown towards abſolute power, leſſens the king in the love and affection of his people, making him become leſs in their intereſt, a wiſe prince will not think it a ſervice done him.

AND now remains only the laſt part of the bill, which is the penalty, different according to the qualifications of the perſons; "all that are, or ſhall be privy-"councellors, juſtices of the peace, or poſſeſſors of any beneficial office, eccleſi-"aſtical, civil or military; are to take the oath when ſummoned, upon pain of "500*l.* and being made uncapable of bearing office; the members of both houſes "are not made uncapable, but liable to the penalty of 500*l.* if they take it not." Upon all which, the conſiderations of the debate were, that thoſe officers, and members of both houſes, are, of all the nation, the moſt dangerous to be ſworn into a miſtake, or change of the government; and that, as to the members of both houſes, the penalty of 500*l.* was directly againſt the latter of the two previous votes; and although they had not applied the penalty of incapacity unto the members of both houſes, becauſe of the firſt previous vote in the caſe of the lords; neither durſt they admit of a propoſition made by ſome of themſelves, that thoſe that did not come up, and ſit as members, ſhould be liable to the taking the oath, or penalty, until they did ſo; yet their ends were not to be compaſſed without invading the latter previous vote, and contrary to the rights and privileges of parliament, enforce them to ſwear, or pay 500*l.* every parliament. And this they carried through with ſo ſtrong a reſolution, that having experienced their misfortunes in replies for ſeveral hours, not one of the party could be provoked to ſpeak one word.

THOUGH, beſides the former arguments, it was ſtrongly urged, that this oath ought not to be put upon officers with a heavier penalty than the teſt was in the act of the immediate preceding ſeſſion againſt the papiſts; by which any man might ſit down with the loſs of his office, without being in the danger of the penalty of 500*l.* And alſo that this act had a direct retroſpect, which ought never to be in penal laws; for this act puniſhes men for having an office without taking this oath; which office, before this law paſs, they may lawfully enjoy without it. Yet notwithſtanding, it provides not a power, in many caſes, for them to part with it, before this oath overtake them. For the clauſe, “whoever is in office the 1ſt of September,” will not relieve a juſtice of the peace, who, being once ſworn, is not in his own power to be left out of commiſſion. And ſo might be inſtanced in ſeveral other caſes. As alſo the members of the houſe of commons were not in their own power to be unchoſen; and as to the lords, they were ſubjected by it to the meaneſt condition of mankind, if they could not enjoy their birthright, without playing tricks ſuitable to the humour of every age, and be enforced to ſwear to every fancy of the preſent times. Three years ago it was all liberty and indulgence, and now it is ſtrict and rigid conformity; and what it may be, in ſome ſhort time hereafter, without the ſpirit of propheſying, might be ſhrewdly gueſs'd by a conſidering man.

THIS being anſwered with ſilence, the duke of BUCKINGHAM, whoſe quality, admirable wit, and unuſual pains that he took all along in the debate againſt this bill, makes me mention him in this place, as general of the party, and coming laſt out of the field; made a ſpeech late at night of eloquent and well-placed nonſenſe; ſhewing how excellently well he could do both ways, and hoping that might do, when ſenſe (which he often before uſed with the higheſt advantage of wit and reaſon) would not. But the earl of WINCHELSEA readily apprehending the dialect, in a ſhort reply put an end to the debate; and the major vote, “ultima ratio ſenatuum & conciliorum,” carried the queſtion as the court and biſhops would have it *.

THIS was the laſt act of this tragi-comedy, which had taken up ſixteen or ſeventeen whole days debate; the houſe ſitting many times till eight or nine of the clock at night, and ſometimes till midnight; but the buſineſs of privilege between the two houſes † gave ſuch an interruption, that this bill was never reported from the committee to the houſe.

I HAVE mentioned to you divers lords, that were ſpeakers, as it fell in the debate; but I have not diſtributed the arguments of the debate to every particular lord. Now you know the ſpeakers, your curioſity may be ſatisfied, and the lords I am ſure will not quarrel about the diviſion. I muſt not forget to mention thoſe great lords, BEDFORD, DEVONSHIRE, and BURLINGTON, for the countenance and ſupport they gave to the Engliſh intereſt. The earl of BEDFORD was ſo brave in it, that he joined in three of the proteſts; ſo alſo did the earl of DORSET; and the earl of STAMFORD, a young nobleman of great hopes; the lord EURE, the lord viſcount SAY AND SEAL, and the lord PAGITT in two; the lord AUDLEY, and the lord FITZWALTER in the third; and

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[*] Mr. Echard in his hiſtory of England (Vol. III. ad an. 1675, pag. 383.) hath tranſcribed ſeveral paragraphs out of this letter, tho' he never cites it; and ends his account of the debate thus; “The debate, ſays he, laſted ſixteen or ſeventeen whole days, the houſe often ſitting till nine at night, and ſometimes till midnight; in the concluſion of which, the duke of Buckingham, as general of the party, and laſt in the field, made a famous ſpeech conſiſting of eloquent, regular, and well-placed non-ſenſe, hoping that that might prevail when nothing elſe would; and ſo brought confuſion into the houſe;” where, beſides the unaccuracy of bringing into his narrative and making his own the expreſſions, which the author of the letter hath uſed, by way of compliment or encomium, and thereby miſrepreſenting the matter; he affirms, that the debate was put to an end, by the confuſion, which the duke of BUCKINGHAM's ſpeech brought into the houſe; whereas it appears by the letter itſelf, that no confuſion was brought into the houſe by that ſpeech; but, on the contrary, that, after a ſhort reply of the earl of WINCHELSEA, the queſtion was put regularly to the vote, and carried as the court and biſhops would have it.

[†] Dr. SHIRLEY having brought an appeal in the houſe of lords, from a decree in chancery, againſt Sir JOHN FAGG, a member of the houſe of commons; the commons look'd upon it as an infringement of their privileges; and this occaſioned a conteſt between the two houſes, which ran ſo high, that the king thought fit to put a ſtop to it, by proroguing the parliament, on the 9th of June 1675; after they had ſate near two months.

and the lord Peter, a nobleman of great eſtate, and always true to the maintenance of liberty and property, in the firſt. And I ſhould not have omitted the earl of Dorset, lord Audley, and the lord Peter, amongſt the ſpeakers; for I will aſſure you, they did their parts excellently well. The lord viſcount Hereford was a ſteady man among the country lords; ſo alſo was the lord Townsend, a man juſtly of great eſteem and power in his own country, and amongſt all thoſe that well know him. The earl of Carnarvon ought not to be mention'd in the laſt place; for he came out of the country on purpoſe to oppoſe the bill, ſtuck very faſt to the country party, and ſpoke many excellent things againſt it. I dare not mention the roman catholick lords, and ſome others, for fear I hurt them; but thus much I ſhall ſay of the roman catholick peers, that if they were ſafe in their eſtates, and yet kept out of office, their votes in that houſe would not be the moſt unſafe to England of any ſort of men in it. As for the abſent lords, the earl of Rutland, lord Sandys, lord Herbert of Cherbury, lord North, and lord Crew, ought to be mentioned with honour; having taken care their votes ſhould maintain their own intereſt and opinions. But the earls of Exeter, and Chesterfield, that gave no proxies this ſeſſion; the lord Montague of Boughton, that gave his to the treaſurer; and the lord Roberts his to the earl of Northampton, are not eaſily to be underſtood. If you aſk after the earl of Carlisle, the lord viſcount Falconberg, and the lord Berkley of Berkley-Caſtle, becauſe you find them not mentioned amongſt their old friends; all I have to ſay is, that the earl of Carlisle ſtepp'd aſide to receive his penſion; the lord Berkley to dine with the lord treaſurer; but the lord viſcount Falconberg, like the nobleman in the goſpel, went away ſorrowful, for he had a great office at court. But I deſpair not of giving you a better account of them next ſeſſion; for it is not poſſible, when they conſider, that Cromwell's major general, ſon-in-law, and friend, ſhould think to find their accounts amongſt men that ſet up on ſuch a bottom.

Thus, ſir, you ſee the ſtandard of the new party is not yet ſet up; but muſt be the work of another ſeſſion; though it be admirable to me, how the king can be induced to venture his affairs upon ſuch weak counſels, and of ſo fatal conſequences. For I believe it is the firſt time in the world, that ever it was thought adviſeable, after fifteen years of the higheſt peace, quiet, and obedience, that ever was in any country; that there ſhould be a pretence taken up, and a reviving of former miſcarriages, eſpecially after ſo many promiſes and declarations, as well as acts of oblivion, and ſo much merit of the offending party, in being the inſtruments of the king's happy return; beſides the putting ſo vaſt a number of the king's ſubjects in utter deſpair of having their crimes ever forgotten. And it muſt be a great miſtake in counſels, or worſe, that there ſhould be ſo much pains taken by the court to debaſe and bring low the houſe of peers; if a military government be not intended by ſome. For the power of peerage, and a ſtanding army, are like two buckets, the proportion that one goes down, the other exactly goes up. And I refer you to the conſideration of all the hiſtories of ours, or any of our neighbour northern monarchies; whether ſtanding forces, military and arbitrary government, came not plainly in by the ſame ſteps, that the nobility were leſſened; and whether whenever they were in power and greatneſs, they permitted the leaſt ſhadow of any of them. Our own country is a clear inſtance of it; for though the white roſe and the red changed fortunes often, to the ruin, ſlaughter, and beheading of the great men of the other ſide; yet nothing could enforce them to ſecure themſelves by a ſtanding force. But I cannot believe that the king himſelf will ever deſign any ſuch thing; for he is not of a temper robuſt and laborious enough to deal with ſuch a ſort of men, or reap the advantages, if there be any, of ſuch a government. And I think, he can hardly have forgot the treatment his father received from the officers of his army, both at Oxford and Newark; 'twas an hard, but almoſt an even choice, to be the parliament's priſoner, or their ſlave; but I am ſure the greateſt proſperity of his arms could have brought him to no happier condition, than our king his ſon hath before him whenever he pleaſes. However, this may be ſaid for the honour of this ſeſſion, that there is no prince in Chriſtendom hath, at a greater expence of money, maintained for two months ſpace a nobler, or more uſeful diſpute of the politicks, myſtery, and ſecrets of government, both in church and ſtate, than this hath been; of which noble deſign no part is owing to any of the country lords, for ſeveral of them begg'd, at the firſt entrance into the debate, that they might not be engaged in ſuch diſputes, as would unavoidably produce divers things to be ſaid, which they were willing to let alone. But I muſt bear them witneſs, and ſo will you, having read this; that they did their parts in it, when it came to it, and ſpoke plain, like old Engliſh lords.

I SHALL conclude with what, upon the whole matter, is moſt worthy your conſideration; that the deſign is "to declare us firſt into another government "more abſolute and arbitrary than the oath of allegiance, or old law knew;" and then "make us ſwear unto it," as it is ſo eſtabliſhed. And leſs than this the biſhops could not offer in requital to the crown for parting with its Supremacy, and ſuffering them to be ſworn to equal with itſelf. Archbiſhop LAUD was the firſt founder of this device. In his canons of 1640, you ſhall find an oath very like this, and a declaratory canon preceding, "that "monarchy is of divine right [*];" which was alſo affirmed in this debate by our reverend prelates, and is owned in print by no leſs men than archbiſhop USHER, and biſhop SANDERSON [†]; and I am afraid it is the avowed opinion

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[*] In the conſtitutions and canons eccleſiaſtical; treated upon by the archbiſhops of Canterbury, and YORK, &c, in the year 1640, and publiſhed for the due obſervation of them, by his majeſty's authority, under the great ſeal of England; the I. canon contains an explanation of the regal power, ordain'd and decreed to be read by every parſon, vicar, curate or preacher, upon ſome one Sunday in every quarter of the year at morning prayer; wherein it is ſaid; "the moſt high and ſacred order of kings is of divine right, being the "ordinance of God himſelf, founded in the prime laws of nature, and clearly eſtabliſhed by expreſs texts both "of the old and new Teſtament . . . . . .

"For any perſon or perſons to ſet up, maintain, or avow in any (king's) realms or territories reſpectively, "under any pretence whatſoever, any independent co-active power, either papal or popular (whether directly or indirectly) is to undermine the great royal office, and cunningly to overthrow that moſt ſacred ordinance, which God himſelf hath eſtabliſhed: And ſo is treaſonable againſt God, as well as againſt "the king."

"For ſubjects to bear arms againſt their kings, offenſive or defenſive, upon any pretence whatſoever, is at "the leaſt to reſiſt the powers, which are ordained of God: And though they do not invade, but only reſiſt, "St. Paul tells them plainly, they ſhall receive to themſelves damnation."

And by the VI. canon, an oath againſt all innovation of doctrine or diſcipline, is decreed and ordain'd to be taken, not only by all archbiſhops, and biſhops, and all other prieſts and deacons; upon pain, if they refuſe to take it, of being deprived of all their eccleſiaſtical promotions whatſoever, and execution of their functions, which they hold in the church of England; but likewiſe by all maſters of arts, bachelors and doctors in divinity, law or phyſick; all ſchool-maſters, &c. which hath theſe words: "I A. B. do ſwear, that I do "approve the doctrine and diſcipline or government eſtabliſhed in the church of England, as containing all "things neceſſary to ſalvation. . . . . . Nor will I ever give my conſent to alter the government of this "church by arch-biſhops, biſhops, deans, and arch-deacons, &c. as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as by "right it ought to ſtand," &c.

Theſe canons were no ſooner publiſhed, but there was a general outcry made againſt them. How they were treated by the puritans, may be ſeen in a pamphlet printed in 1640, with this title: "England's complaint to Jeſus Chriſt, againſt the biſhops canons, of the late ſinful ſynod, a ſeditious conventicle, a packe "of hypocrites, a ſworne confederacy, a traiterous conſpiracy againſt the true religion of Chriſt, and the "weale publicke of the land, and conſequently againſt the kingdome and crowne. In this complaint are "ſpecified thoſe impieties and inſolencies, which are moſt notorious, ſcattered through the canons and conſtitutions of the ſaid ſinfull ſynod. And confuted by arguments annexed hereunto," in 4to. Several petitions being at the ſame time preſented to the king againſt the new canons, and particularly againſt the oath before mention'd: his majeſty was pleaſed to ſuſpend their execution; which however could not prevent their falling under the cenſure of the houſe of commons; for on the 16th of December 1640, they declared that thoſe canons did contain many matters contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and ſtatutes of this realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the ſubject, and matters tending to ſedition, and of dangerous conſequence. "Theſe publick cenſures of the canons, ſays a learned and ingenious hiſtorian, "however grounded on prejudice and faction, have made them ever ſince reputed null and void, &c," See the compleat hiſtory of England, &c. Vol. III. ad an. 1640, pag. 113. Lond. 1719. in fol.

[†] Archbiſhop USHER did, by order of king Charles I. write a treatiſe, entitled, The power communicated by God to the prince, and the obedience required of the ſubject, &c. which was publiſhed in the year 1660, by Dr. Sanderſon, biſhop of Lincoln; and in that treatiſe, after having obſerved, that the commands of princes are, either of ſuch things as may and ought to be done; or of ſuch as cannot or ought not to be done, he puts this queſtion: But how are ſubjects to carry themſelves, when ſuch things are enjoyned as cannot or ought not to be done? To which he anſwers, "Surely not to accuſe the commander, but humbly to avoid "the command . . . . . . And, when nothing elſe will ſerve the turn, as in things that may be done, we "are to expreſs our ſubmiſſion by active, ſo in things that cannot be done, we are to declare the ſame by "paſſive obedience, without reſiſtance and repugnancy; ſuch a kind of ſuffering being as ſure a ſign of "ſubjection as any thing elſe whatſoever." And ſome pages lower, he propoſes an objection, and anſwers it.

"But,

nion of much the greater part of our dignified clergy. If ſo, I am ſure they are the moſt dangerous ſort of men alive, to our Engliſh government; and it is the firſt thing ought to be look'd into, and ſtrictly examined by our parliaments. 'Tis the leaven that corrupts the whole lump. For if that be true, I am ſure monarchy is not to be bounded by human laws; and the 8th chapter of 1 SAMUEL will prove (as many of our divines would have it) the great charter of the royal prerogative; and our "Magna Charta," that ſays, "our kings may not take our fields, our vineyards, our corn, and our "ſheep," is not in force, but void and null; becauſe againſt divine inſtitution. And you have the riddle out, why the clergy are ſo ready to take themſelves, and to impoſe upon others, ſuch kind of oaths as theſe. They have placed themſelves and their poſſeſſions upon a better, and a ſurer bottom (as they think) than "Magna Charta;" and ſo have no more need of, or concern for it. Nay, what is worſe, they have trucked away the rights and liberties of the people, in this and all other countries, wherever they have had opportunity; that they might be owned by the prince to be "jure divino," and maintained in that pretenſion by that abſolute power and force they have contributed ſo much to put into his hands; and that prieſt and prince may, like CASTOR and POLLUX, ba worſhipp'd together as divine, in the ſame temple, by us poor lay-ſubjects; and that ſenſe and reaſon, law, properties, rights, and liberties, ſhall be underſtood, as the Oracles of thoſe deities ſhall interpret or give ſignification to them; and never be made uſe of in the world to oppoſe the abſolute and free will of either of them.

SIR, I have no more to ſay, but beg your pardon for this tedious trouble, and that you will be very careful to whom you communicate any of this.

"But, ſays he, if mens hands be thus tied, will ſome ſay, no man's ſtate can be ſecure; nay the whole frame " of the commonwealth would be in danger to be ſubverted and utterly ruined by the unbridled luſt of a diſ- " tempered governor.

"I anſwer, God's word is clear in the point, (Rom xiii. 2, 5.) Whoſoever reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the " ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation; and thereby a neceſſity is im- " poſed upon us of being ſubject even for conſcience-ſake; which may not be avoided by the pretext of any " enſuing miſchief whatſoever. For by this means we ſhould have liberty given unto us to (James iv. 11.) " ſpeak evil of the law, and to judge the law. But if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, " but a judge, ſaith St. James. It becomes us in obedience to perform our part; and leave the ordering " of events to God, whoſe part only that is," The power communicated by God to the prince, &c. pag. 147, 149, 154, 157. London 1683, in 8vo.

DR. SANDERSON was of the ſame opinion, as it appears by his long preface to Archbiſhop USHER's treatiſe juſt mentioned; wherein, among other things, he ſays, that a mixt monarchy is an arrant bull, a contradiction in adjecto, and deſtroyeth it ſelf; but more particularly by that famous paſſage in a ſermon of his preach'd at Hampton-Court in the year 1640: "No conjuncture of circumſtances whatſoever, can make that " expedient to be done at any time, that is of it ſelf, and in the kind (Οὐ γὰρ ὦ μὴ καλὸν, ὅποτ᾽ ἴφυ καλόν. Eurip. " Phœniſſ. Act. 3.) unlawful. For a man to blaſpheme the holy name of God, to ſacrifice to Idols, to give " wrong ſentence in judgment, by his power to oppreſs thoſe that are not able to withſtand him, by ſubtility to " over-reach others in bargaining, to take up arms, (offenſive or defenſive) againſt a lawful ſovereign; none " of theſe and ſundry other things of like nature, being all of them ſimply and de toto genere unlawful, may be " done by any man, at any time, in any caſe, upon any colour or pretenſion whatſoever; the expreſs command " of God himſelf only excepted, as in the caſe of Abraham for ſacrificing his ſon, (Gen. xxii.) Not for the " avoiding of ſcandal, nor at the inſtance of any friend, or command of any power upon earth, nor for the " maintenance of the lives or liberties either of our ſelves or others; not for the defence of religion; nor for " the preſervation of a church or ſtate; no nor yet, if that could be imagined poſſible, for the ſalvation of a " ſoul, no not for the redemption of the whole world. Sermon XII. ad Aulam, preached at Hampton-Court, " July 26, 1640. on 1 Cor. x. 23. But all things are not expedient . . . . . But all things edifie not." See XXXIV Sermons, &c. by Robert Sanderſon, &c. pag. 522. of the 8th Edit. Lond. 1686, in fol.

REMARKS

Upon ſome of

Mr. NORRIS's BOOKS,

Wherein he aſſerts F. MALEBRANCHE's opinion of *our ſeeing all things in God.*

THERE are ſome, who think they have given an account of the nature of ideas, by telling us, "we ſee them in God" (1), as if we underſtood, what ideas in the underſtanding of God are, better than when they are in our own underſtandings; or their nature were better known, when it is ſaid, that "the immediate object of our underſtandings are the divine ideas, the omniform eſſence of God, partially repreſented "or exhibited" (2.) So that, this now has made the matter clear, there can be no difficulty left, when we are told, that our ideas are the divine ideas; and the "divine ideas the omniform eſſence of God." For what the divine ideas are, we know as plainly, as we know what 1, 2, and 3, is; and it is a ſatisfactory explication of what our ideas are to tell us, they are no other than the divine ideas; and the divine eſſence is more familiar, and level to our knowledge than any thing we think of. Beſides, there can be no difficulty in underſtanding how the "divine ideas are God's eſſence."

2. I AM complained of for not having "given an account of, or defined the "nature of our ideas" (3). By "giving an account of the nature of ideas," is not meant, that I ſhould make known to men their ideas; for I think no body can imagine that any articulate ſounds of mine, or any body elſe, can make known to another what his ideas, that is, what his perceptions are; better than what he himſelf knows and perceives them to be; which is enough for affirmations or negations about them. By the "nature of ideas, therefore, is meant here their cauſes and manner of production in the mind, i. e. in what alteration of the mind this perception conſiſts; and as to that, I anſwer, no man can tell; for which I not only appeal to experience, which were enough, bnt ſhall add this reaſon, viz. becauſe no man can give any account of any alteration made in any ſimple ſubſtance whatſoever; all the alteration we can conceive, being only of the alteration of compounded ſubſtances; and that only by a tranſpoſition of parts. Our ideas, ſay theſe men, are the "divine "ideas, or the omniform eſſence of God," which the mind ſometimes ſees, and ſometimes not. Now I aſk theſe men, what alteration is made in the mind upon ſeeing? for there lies the difficulty, which occaſions the enquiry.

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(1) See curſory reflections upon a book called, "an eſſay concerning human underſtanding." Written by JOHN NORRIS, M. A. rector of Newton St. Loe in Somerſetſhire, and late fellow of All-ſouls college, in a letter to a friend; printed at the end of his "chriſtian bleſſedneſs, or diſcourſes upon the beatitudes of our Lord "and Saviour JESUS CHRIST;" pag. 30. Lond. 1690. in 8vo.

(2) Ibid. pag. 31.

(3) Ibid. pag. 3.

For what difference a man finds in himſelf, when he ſees a marygold, and ſees not a marygold, has no difficulty, and needs not be enquired after; he has the idea now, which he had not before. The difficulty is, what alteration is made in his mind; what changes that has in itſelf, when it ſees what it did not ſee before, either the divine idea in the underſtanding of God, or as the ignorant think, the marygold in the garden. Either ſuppoſition, as to this matter, is all one; for they are both things extrinſical to the mind, till it has that perception; and when it has it, I deſire them to explain to me, what the alteration in the mind is, beſides ſaying, as we vulgar do, it is having a perception, which it had not the moment before; which is only the difference between perceiving and not perceiving; a difference in matter of fact agreed on all hands; which wherein it conſiſts, is, for aught I ſee, unknown to one ſide as well as the other; only the one, have the ingenuity to confeſs their ignorance; and the other pretend to be knowing.

3. P. Malebranche ſays, "God does all things by the ſimpleſt and ſhorteſt "ways," i. e. as it is interpreted in Mr. Norris's reaſon and religion, "God "never does any thing in vain" (4). This will eaſily be granted them; but how will they reconcile to this principle of theirs, on which their whole ſyſtem is built, the curious ſtructure of the eye and ear; not to mention the other parts of the body. For if the perception of colours and ſounds depended on nothing but the preſence of the object affording an occaſional cauſe to God almighty to exhibit to the mind the ideas of figures, colours and ſounds; all that nice and curious ſtructure of thoſe organs is wholly in vain: ſince the ſun by day, and the ſtars by night, and the viſible objects that ſurround us, and the beating of a drum, the talk of people, and the change made in the air by thunder; are as much preſent to the blind and deaf man, as to thoſe, who have their eyes and ears in the greateſt perfection. He, that underſtands opticks ever ſo little, muſt needs admire the wonderful make of the eye, not only for the variety and neatneſs of the parts; but as ſuited to the nature of refraction, ſo as to paint the image of the object in the retina; which theſe men muſt confeſs to be all loſt labour, if it contributes nothing at all, in the ordinary way of cauſes and effects, to the producing that idea in the mind. But that only the preſence of the object gave occaſion to God to ſhew to the mind that idea in himſelf, which certainly is as preſent to one that has a gutta ſerena, as to the quickſightedſt man living. But we do not know how by any natural operation this can produce an idea in the mind; and therefore (a good concluſion!) God the author of nature cannot this way produce it. As if it were impoſſible for the Almighty to produce any thing, but by ways we muſt conceive, and are able to comprehend; when he that is beſt ſatisfied of his omniſcient underſtanding, and knows ſo well how God perceives and man thinks, cannot explain the coheſion of parts in the loweſt degree of created beings, unorganiſed bodies.

4. The perception of univerſals, alſo proves that all beings are preſent to our minds; and that can only be by the preſence of God, becauſe all "created "things are individuals" (5). Are not all things that exiſt individuals? If ſo, then ſay not, all created, but all exiſting things are individuals; and if ſo, then the having any general idea, proves not that we have all objects preſent to our minds. But this is for want of conſidering wherein univerſality conſiſts; which is only in repreſentation abſtracting from particulars. An idea of a circle of an inch diameter, will repreſent, where or whenſoever exiſting, all the circles of an inch diameter; and that by abſtracting from time and place. And it will alſo repreſent all circles of any bigneſs, by abſtracting alſo from that particular bigneſs, and by retaining only the relation of equidiſtance of the circumference from the center, in all the parts of it.

(4) "Reaſon and religion; or, the grounds and meaſures of devotion, conſidered from the nature of God, "and the nature of man. In ſeveral contemplations. With exerciſes of devotion applied to every contemplation." By John Norris, M. A. and fellow of All-ſouls college in Oxford. Part II. Contemplation II. §. 17. pag. 195. Lond. 1689. in 8vo.

(5) "Reaſon and religion," &c. Ibid. §. 19. p. 197.

5. We have a "diſtinct idea of God" (6), whereby we clearly enough diſtinguiſh him from the creatures; but I fear it would be preſumption for us to ſay, we have a clear idea of him, as he is in himſelf.

6. The argument, that "we have the idea of infinite, before the idea of "finite, becauſe we conceive infinite being, barely by conceiving being, with-"out conſidering, whether it be finite or infinite" (7); I ſhall leave to be conſidered, whether it is not a miſtake, of priority of nature, for priority of conception.

7. "God made all things for himſelf" (8); therefore, we "ſee all things "in him." This is called demonſtration. As if all things were not as well made for God, and mankind had not as much reaſon to magnify him, if their perception of things were any other way than ſuch an one of ſeeing them in him; as ſhews not God more than the other, and wherein not one of a million takes more notice of him, than thoſe who think they perceive things, where they are, by their ſenſes.

8. If God ſhould create a mind, and give it the ſun, ſuppoſe, for its idea, "or immediate object of knowledge, God would then make that mind for "the ſun, and not for himſelf" (9). This ſuppoſes, that thoſe that ſee things in God, ſee at the ſame time God alſo, and thereby ſhew that their minds are made for God, having him for the "immediate object of their knowledge." But for this, I muſt appeal to common experience, whether every one, as often as he ſees any thing elſe, ſees and perceives God in the caſe; or whether it be not true of men, who ſee other things every moment, that God is not in all their thoughts? Yet, ſays he, "when the mind ſees his works, it ſees him "in ſome manner" (10). This ſome manner, is no manner at all to the purpoſe of being made only for God, for his idea, or for his immmediate object of knowledge. A man bred up in the obſcurity of a dungeon, where by a dim and almoſt no light, he perceives the objects about him; it is true he owes this idea to the light of the ſun; but having never heard nor thought of the ſun, can one ſay, that the idea of the ſun is "his immediate object of knowledge," or that therefore "his mind was made for the ſun?" This is the caſe of a great part of mankind; and how many can we imagine of thoſe, who have got ſome notion of a God, either from tradition or reaſon; have an idea of him preſent in their minds as often as they think of any thing elſe?

9. But if our being made for God neceſſarily demonſtrates that we ſhould "ſee all things in him;" this at laſt will demonſtrate, that we are not half made for him, ſince it is confeſs'd by our author, that we ſee no other ideas in God, but thoſe of number, extenſion, and eſſences; which are not half the ideas that take up men's minds.

10. "The ſimple eſſences of things are nothing elſe but the divine eſſence "it ſelf conſidered with his connotation, as variouſly repreſentative or exhibi-"tive of things, and as variouſly imitable or participable by them" (11); and this he tells us are ideas (12). The meaning, I take it, of all this put into plain intelligible words, is this; God has always a power to produce any thing that involves not a contradiction. He alſo knows what he can do. But what is all this to ideas in him, as real beings viſible by us? God knew from eternity, he could produce a peble, a muſhroom, and a man. Were theſe, which are diſtinct ideas, part of his ſimple eſſence? It ſeems then, we know very well the eſſence of God, and uſe the word ſimple, which comprehends all ſorts of variety in a very proper way. But God knew he could produce ſuch creatures; therefore where ſhall we place thoſe ideas he ſaw of them, but in his own eſſence? There theſe ideas exiſted "eminenter;" and ſo they are the eſſence of God. There the things themſelves exiſted too "eminenter," and therefore all the creatures as they really exiſt are the eſſence of God. For if finite real beings of one kind, as ideas are ſaid to be, are the eſſence of the infinite God; other finite beings, as the creatures, may be alſo the eſſence of

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(6) Ibid. §. 20. p. 198. (7) Ibid. §. 21. p. 198. (8) Ibid. §. 22. p. 199.

(9) Ibid. (10) Ibid. §. 23. p. 200. (11) Reaſon and religion, &c. Part I. Contemplation V. §. 19 p. 82. (12) Ibid. §. 20.

God. But after this rate we muſt talk, when we will allow ourſelves to be ignorant of nothing; but will know, even the knowledge of God, and the way of his underſtanding!

11. THE "eſſences of things, or ideas exiſting in God" (13). There are many of them that exiſt in God; and ſo the ſimple eſſence of God has actually exiſting in it, as great a variety of ideas as there are of creatures; all of them real beings, and diſtinct one from another. If it be ſaid, this means, God can, and knows he can produce them; what doth this ſay more than every one ſays? If it doth ſay more, and ſhews us not this infinite number of real diſtinct beings in God, ſo as to be his very eſſence; what is this better than what thoſe ſay, who make God to be nothing but the univerſe; tho' it be covered under unintelligible expreſſions of ſimplicity and variety at the ſame time, in the eſſence of God. But thoſe who would not be thought ignorant of any thing, to attain it, make God like themſelves; or elſe they could not talk as they do, of "the mind of God, and the ideas in the mind of God, exhibitive of all the whole poſſibility of being" (14).

12. 'TIS "in the divine nature that theſe univerſal natures, which are the "proper object of ſcience, are to be found. And conſequently 'tis in God that "we know all the truth, which we know" (15). Doth any univerſal nature therefore exiſt? Or can any thing that exiſts any where, or any how, be any other than ſingular? I think it cannot be deny'd that God having a power to produce ideas in us, can give that power to another; or, to expreſs it otherwiſe, make any idea the effect of any operation on our bodies. This has no contradiction in it, and therefore is poſſible. But you will ſay, you conceive not the way how this is done. If you ſtand to that rule, that it cannot be done becauſe you conceive not the manner how it is brought to paſs; you muſt deny, that God can do this; becauſe you cannot conceive the manner how he produces any idea in us. If viſible objects are ſeen only by God's exhibiting their ideas to our minds, on occaſion of the preſence of thoſe objects; what hinders the Almighty from exhibiting their ideas to a blind man, to whom being ſet before his face, and as near his eyes, and in as good a light as to one not blind, they are according to this ſuppoſition as much the occaſional cauſe to one as to the other? But yet under this equality of occaſional cauſes one has the idea, and the other not; and this, conſtantly; which would give one reaſon to ſuſpect ſomething more than a preſential occaſional cauſe in the object.

13. FARTHER, if light ſtriking upon the eyes be but the occaſional cauſe of ſeeing; God in making the eyes of ſo curious a ſtructure, operates not by the ſimpleſt ways; for God could have produced viſible ideas, upon the occaſion of light ſtriking upon the eye-lids or forehead.

14. OUTWARD objects are not, when preſent, always occaſional cauſes. He that has long continued in a room perfumed with ſweet odours, ceaſes to ſmell tho' the room be filled with thoſe flowers; tho' as often as after a little abſence he returns again, he ſmells them afreſh. He that comes out of bright ſunſhine into a room where the curtains are drawn, at firſt ſees nothing in the room; tho' thoſe who have been there ſome time, ſee him and every thing plainly. 'Tis hard to account for either of theſe phænomena, by God's producing theſe ideas upon the account of occaſional cauſes. But by the production of ideas in the mind, by the operation of the object on the organs of ſenſe; this difference is eaſy to be explained.

15. WHETHER the ideas of light and colours come in by the eyes, or no; 'tis all one as if they did; for thoſe who have no eyes, never have them. And whether, or no, God has appointed that a certain modified motion of the fibres, or ſpirits in the optick nerve, ſhould excite, or produce, or cauſe them in us; call it what you pleaſe: 'tis all one as if it did; ſince where there is no ſuch motion, there is no ſuch perception or idea. For I hope they will not deny God the privilege to give ſuch a power to motion, if he pleaſes. Yes, ſay they, they be the occaſional, but not the efficient cauſe; for that they cannot

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(13) Ibid. §. 21. p. 83.

(14) Ibid. §. 30. p. 92, 93.

(15) Reaſon and religion, &c. Part II. Contemplation II. §. 30. p. 206.

not be, becauſe that is in effect to ſay, he has given this motion in the optick nerve a power to operate on himſelf; but cannot give it a power to operate on the mind of man; it may by this appointment operate on himſelf, the impaſſable infinite ſpirit, and put him in mind when he is to operate on the mind of man, and exhibit to it the idea which is in himſelf of any colour. The infinite eternal God is certainly the cauſe of all things, the fountain of all being, and power. But becauſe all being was from him, can there be nothing but God himſelf? or becauſe all power was originally in him, can there be nothing of it communicated to his creatures? This is to ſet very narrow bounds to the power of God, and, by pretending to extend it, takes it away. For which (I beſeech you, as we can comprehend) is the perfecteſt power; to make a machine, a watch, for example, that when the watch-maker has withdrawn his hands, ſhall go and ſtrike by the fit contrivance of the parts; or elſe requires that whenever the hand by pointing to the hour, minds him of it; he ſhould ſtrike twelve upon the bell? No machine of God's making can go of itſelf. Why? becauſe the creatures have no power; can neither move themſelves, nor any thing elſe. How then comes about all that we ſee? Do they do nothing? Yes, they are the occaſional cauſes to God, why he ſhould produce certain thoughts and motions in them. The creatures cannot produce any idea, any thought in man. How then comes he to perceive, or think; God upon the occaſion of ſome motion in the optick nerve, exhibits the colour of a marygold or a roſe to his mind. How came that motion in his optick nerve? On occaſion of the motion of ſome particles of light ſtriking on the retina, God producing it, and ſo on. And ſo whatever a man thinks, God produces the thought; let it be infidelity, murmuring, or blaſphemy. The mind doth nothing; his mind is only the mirror that receives the ideas that God exhibits to it, and juſt as God exhibits them; the man is altogether paſſive in the whole buſineſs of thinking.

16. A MAN cannot move his arm or his tongue; he has no power; only upon occaſion the man willing it, God moves it. The man wills, he doth ſomething; or elſe God upon the occaſion of ſomething, which he himſelf did before, produced this will, and this action in him. This is the hypotheſis that clears doubts, and brings us at laſt to the religion of HOBBES and SPINOZA; by reſolving all, even the thoughts and will of men, into an irreſiſtible fatal neceſſity. For, whether the original of it be from the continued motion of eternal all-doing matter; or from an omnipotent immaterial being which having began matter and motion, continues it by the direction of occaſions which he himſelf has alſo made; as to religion and morality it is juſt the ſame thing. But we muſt know how every thing is brought to paſs, and thus we have it reſolved without leaving any difficulty to perplex us. But perhaps it would better become us to acknowledge our ignorance, than to talk ſuch things boldly of the Holy One of Iſrael; and condemn others for not daring to be as unmannerly as our ſelves.

17. IDEAS may be real beings, tho' not ſubſtances; as motion is a real being, tho' not a ſubſtance; and it ſeems probable that in us, ideas depend on, and are ſome way or other, the effect of motion; ſince they are ſo fleeting, it being, as I have elſewhere obſerved, ſo hard and almoſt impoſſible to keep in our minds the ſame unvaried idea long together, unleſs when the object that produces it, is preſent to the ſenſes; from which the ſame motion that firſt produc'd it, being continued, the idea itſelf may continue.

18. THIS therefore may be a ſufficient excuſe of the ignorance I have own'd of what our ideas are, any farther than as they are perceptions we experiment in our ſelves; and the dull un-philoſophical way I have taken, of examining their production, only ſo far as experience and obſervation lead me, wherein my dim ſight went not beyond ſenſation and reflection.

19. TRUTH (16) lies only in propoſitions. The foundation of this truth is the relation that is between our ideas. The knowledge of truth is that perception of the relation between our ideas to be as it is expreſs'd.

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(16) See reaſon and religion, &c. Part II. Contempl. II. §. 29. p. 204.

20. The immutability of eſſences lies in the ſame ſounds, ſuppos'd to ſtand for the ſame ideas. Theſe things conſider'd, would have ſaved this learned diſcourſe.

21. Whatever exiſts, whether in God, or out of God, is ſingular (17).

22. If no propoſitions ſhould be made, there would be no truth nor falſhood; tho' the ſame relations ſtill between the ſame ideas, is a foundation of the immutability of truth (18) in the ſame propoſitions, whenever made.

23. What wonder is it that the ſame idea (19) ſhould always be the ſame idea? For if the word triangle be ſuppos'd to have the ſame ſignification always, that is all this amounts to.

24. "I desire to know (20) what things they are that God has prepared for "them that love him?" Therefore I have ſome knowledge of them already, tho' they be ſuch as "eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into "the heart of man to conceive."

25. If I "have all things actually preſent to my mind;" why do I not know all things diſtinctly?

26. He that conſiders (21) the force of ſuch ways of ſpeaking as theſe, "I deſire it, pray give it me, ſhe was afraid of the ſnake and ran away "trembling;" will eaſily conceive how the meaning of the words deſire and fear, and ſo all thoſe which ſtand for intellectual notions, may be taught by word of ſenſible ſignifications.

27. This, however otherwiſe in experience, ſhould be ſo on this hypotheſis; v. g. the uniformity of the ideas, that different men have when they uſe ſuch words as theſe, "glory, worſhip, religion, are clear proofs that God "exhibited to their minds that part of the ideal world, as is ſignified by that "ſign."

28. Strange! that truth, being in any queſtion, but one; the more we diſcover of it, the more uniform our judgments ſhould be about it (22).

29. This argues that the ground of it is the always immutable relations of the ſame ideas. Several ideas that we have once got acquainted with, we can revive; and ſo they are preſent to us when we pleaſe. But the knowledge of their relations, ſo as to know what we may affirm or deny of them; is not always preſent to our minds, but we often miſs truth, even after ſtudy. But in many, and poſſibly not the feweſt, we have neither the ideas, nor the truth, conſtantly, or ſo much as at all, preſent to our minds.

And I think I may, without any diſparagement to the author, doubt whether he ever had, or with all his application ever would have, the ideas of truths preſent to the mind, that Mr. Newton had in writing his book.

30. This ſection (23) ſuppoſes we are better acquainted with God's underſtanding, than our own. But this pretty argument would perhaps look as ſmilingly thus: we are like God in our underſtandings; he ſees what he ſees, by ideas in his own mind; therefore, we ſee what we ſee, by ideas that are in our own minds.

31. These texts (24) do not prove that we ſhall "hereafter ſee all things "in God." There will be objects in a future ſtate, and we ſhall have bodies and ſenſes.

32. Is he, whilſt we ſee thro' the veil of our mortal fleſh here, intimately preſent to our minds?

33. To think of any thing (25) is to contemplate that preciſe idea. The idea of being in general, is the idea of being abſtracted from whatever may limit or determine it to any inferior ſpecies; ſo that he that thinks always of being in general, thinks never of any particular ſpecies of being; unleſs he can think of it with and without preciſion at the ſame time. But if he means, that he thinks of being in general, whenever he thinks of this or that particular being, or ſort of being; then it is certain he may always

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(17) See Ibid. §. 30. p. 206.

(18) Ibid. §. 32. p. 207.

(19) Ibid. §. 33. p. 208, 209.

(20) Ibid. §. 34. p. 210.

(21) Ibid. §. 35. p. 211, 212, 213.

(22) Ibid. §. 36. p. 214.

(23) Ibid. §. 37. p. 215.

(24) Ibid. §. 38. p. 216, 217.

(25) Ibid. §. 39. p. 217, 218.

ways think of being in general, till he can find out a way of thinking on nothing.

34. Being in general, is being (26) abſtracted from wiſdom, goodneſs, power, and any particular ſort of duration; and I have as true an idea of being, when theſe are excluded out of it, as when extenſion, place, ſolidity, and mobility, are excluded out of my idea. And therefore, if being in general, and God, be the ſame; I have a true idea of God, when I exclude out of it power, goodneſs, wiſdom and eternity.

35. As if there was no difference (27) between "man's being his own light," and "not ſeeing things in God." Man may be enlighten'd by God, tho' it be not by "ſeeing all things in God."

The finiſhing of theſe haſty thoughts, muſt be defer'd to another ſeaſon.

Oates, 1693.

John Locke.

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(26) Ibid. §. 40. p. 219.

(27) Ibid. §. 43. p. 223.

ELEMENTS

ELEMENTS
OF
NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

CHAP. I.

Of Matter and Motion.

MATTER is an extended ſolid ſubſtance; which being comprehended under diſtinct ſurfaces, makes ſo many particular diſtinct bodies.

Motion is ſo well known by the ſight and touch, that to uſe words to give a clearer idea of it, would be in vain.

Matter, or body, is indifferent to motion, or reſt.

There is as much force required to put a body, which is in motion, at reſt; as there is to ſet a body, which is at reſt, into motion.

No parcel of matter can give itſelf either motion or reſt, and therefore a body at reſt will remain ſo eternally, except ſome external cauſe puts it in motion; and a body in motion will move eternally unleſs ſome external cauſe ſtops it.

A body in motion will always move on in a ſtrait line, unleſs it be turn'd out of it by ſome external cauſe; becauſe a body can no more alter the determination of its motion, than it can begin it, alter or ſtop its motion itſelf.

The ſwiftneſs of motion, is meaſured by diſtance of place, and length of time wherein it is performed. For inſtance, if A and B, bodies of equal or different bigneſs, move each of them an inch in the ſame time; their motions are equally ſwift; but if A moves two inches, in the time whilſt B is moving one inch; the motion of A is twice as ſwift as that of B.

The quantity of motion, is meaſured by the ſwiftneſs of the motion, and the quantity of the matter moved, taken together. For inſtance, if A, a body equal to B, moves as ſwift as B; then it hath an equal quantity of motion. If A hath twice as much matter as B, and moves equally as ſwift, it hath double the quantity of motion; and ſo in proportion.

It appears, as far as human obſervation reaches, to be a ſettled law of Nature, that "all bodies have a tendency, attraction, or gravitation towards "one another."

The ſame force applied to two different bodies, produces always the ſame quantity of motion in each of them. For inſtance, let a boat which with its lading is one tun, be tied at a diſtance to another veſſel, which with its lading is twenty ſix tuns; if the rope that ties them together be pulled, either in the leſs or bigger of theſe veſſels, the leſs of the two, in their approach one to another, will move twenty-ſix foot, while the other moves but one foot.

Wherefore the quantity of matter in the earth being twenty-ſix times more, than in the moon; the motion in the moon towards the earth, by the common force of attraction, by which they are impell'd towards one another, will be twenty-ſix times as faſt as in the earth; that is, the moon will move twenty ſix miles towards the earth, for every mile the earth moves towards the moon.

HENCE it is, that in this natural tendency of bodies towards one another, that in the leſſer is conſider'd as gravitation; and that in the bigger as attraction; becauſe the motion of the leſſer body (by reaſon of its much greater ſwiftneſs) is alone taken notice of.

THIS attraction is the ſtrongeſt, the nearer the attracting bodies are to each other; and in different diſtances of the ſame bodies, is reciprocally in the duplicate proportion of thoſe diſtances. For inſtance, if two bodies, at a given diſtance, attract each other with a certain force, at half the diſtance, they will attract each other with four times that force; at one third of the diſtance, with nine times that force; and ſo on.

TWO bodies, at a diſtance, will put one another into motion by the force of attraction; which is unexplicable by us, tho' made evident to us by experience, and ſo to be taken as a principle in natural philoſophy.

SUPPOSING then the earth the ſole body in the univerſe, and at reſt; if God ſhould create the moon, at the ſame diſtance that it is now from the earth; the earth, and the moon would preſently begin to move one towards another in a ſtrait line by this motion of attraction or gravitation.

IF a body, that by the attraction of another would move in a ſtrait line towards it, receives a new motion any ways oblique to the firſt; it will no longer move in a ſtrait line, according to either of thoſe directions; but in a curve, that will partake of both. And this curve will differ, according to the nature and quantity of the forces that concurr'd to produce it; as, for inſtance, in many caſes it will be ſuch a curve as ends where it begun, or recurs into it ſelf; that is, makes up a circle, or an ellipſis or oval very little differing from a circle.

CHAP. II.

Of the Univerſe.

TO any one, who looks about him in the world, there are obvious ſeveral diſtinct maſſes of matter, ſeparate from one another; ſome whereof have diſcernable motions. Theſe are the ſun, the fixt ſtars, the comets, and the planets, amongſt which this earth, which we inhabit, is one. All theſe are viſible to our naked eyes.

BESIDES theſe, teleſcopes have diſcovered ſeveral fixt ſtars, inviſible to the naked eye; and ſeveral other bodies moving about ſome of the planets; all which were inviſible and unknown, before the uſe of proſpective glaſſes were found.

THE vaſt diſtances between theſe great bodies, are call'd intermundane ſpaces; in which tho' there may be ſome fluid matter, yet it is ſo thin and ſubtle; and there is ſo little of that in reſpect of the great maſſes that move in thoſe ſpaces, that it is as much as nothing.

THESE maſſes of matter are, either luminous, or opake or dark.

LUMINOUS bodies, are ſuch as give light of themſelves; and ſuch are the ſun, and the fixt ſtars.

DARK or opake bodies, are ſuch as emit no light of themſelves, though they are capable of reflecting of it, when it is caſt upon them from other bodies; and ſuch are the planets.

THERE are ſome opake bodies, as for inſtance the comets, which beſides the light, that they may have from the ſun, ſeem to ſhine with a light that is nothing elſe but an accenſion, which they receive from the ſun, in their near approaches to it, in their reſpective revolutions.

THE fixt ſtars are called fixt, becauſe they always keep the ſame diſtance one from another.

THE ſun, at the ſame diſtance from us that the fixt ſtars are, would have the appearance of one of the fixt ſtars.

CHAP. III.

Of our Solar Syſtem.

OUR ſolar ſyſtem conſiſts of the ſun; and the planets, and comets moving about it.

THE planets are bodies, which appear to us like ſtars; not that they are luminous bodies, that is, have light in themſelves; but they ſhine by reflecting the light of the ſun.

THEY are called planets from a Greek word, which ſignifies wandering; becauſe they change their places, and do not always keep the ſame diſtance with one another, nor with the fixt ſtars, as the fixt ſtars do.

THE planets are either primary, or ſecondary.

THERE are ſix primary planets, viz. Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

ALL theſe move round the ſun, which is, as it were, the center of their motions.

THE ſecondary planets move round about other planets. Beſides the moon, which moves about the earth; four moons move about Jupiter, and five about Saturn, which are called their ſatellites.

THE middle diſtances of the primary planets from the ſun, are as follows;

Mercury	Is diſtant from the ſun's center about	32,000,000	Statute miles, each 5280 Engliſh and 4943 French feet.
Venus		59,000,000	
The Earth		81,000,000	
Mars		123,000,000	
Jupiter		424,000,000	
Saturn		777,000,000	

THE orbits of the planets, and their reſpective diſtances from the ſun, and from one another, together with the orbit of a comet, may be ſeen in the figure of the ſolar ſyſtem hereunto annexed.

THE periodical times of each planet's revolution about the ſun, are as follows;

		Y.	D.	H.	M.
Mercury	Revolves about the Sun in the ſpace of	0	88	0	0
Venus		0	225	0	0
The Earth		0	365	5	49
Mars		1	322	0	0
Jupiter		11	319	0	0
Saturn		29	138	0	0

THE planets move round about the ſun from weſt to eaſt in the zodiac; or, to ſpeak plainer, are always found amongſt ſome of the ſtars of thoſe conſtellations, which make the twelve ſigns of the zodiac.

THE motion of the planets about the ſun, is not perfectly circular, but rather elliptical.

THE reaſon of their motions in curve lines, is the attraction of the ſun, or their gravitations towards the ſun (call it which you pleaſe); and an oblique or ſide-long impulſe or motion.

THESE two motions or tendencies, the one always endeavouring to carry them in a ſtrait line from the circle they move in, and the other endeavouring to draw them in a ſtrait line to the ſun, makes that curve line they revolve in.

THE motion of the comets about the ſun, is in a very long ſlender oval; whereof one of the focus's is the center of the ſun, and the other very much beyond the ſphere of Saturn.

The moon moves about the earth, as the earth doth about the ſun. So that it hath the center of its motion in the earth; as the earth hath the center of its revolution in the ſun, about which it moves.

The moon makes its ſynodical motion about the earth, in 29 days, 12 hours, and about 44 minutes.

It is full moon, when the earth being between the ſun and the moon, we ſee all the enlightened part of the moon; new moon, when the moon being between us and the ſun, its enlightened part is turned from us; and half moon, when the moon being in the quadratures, as the aſtronomers call it, we ſee but half the enlighten'd part.

An eclipſe of the moon is, when, the earth, being between the ſun and the moon, hinders the light of the ſun from falling upon and being reflected by the moon. If the light of the ſun is kept off from the whole body of the moon, it is a total eclipſe; if from a part only, it is a partial one.

An eclipſe of the ſun is, when the moon, being between the ſun and the earth, hinders the light of the ſun from coming to us. If the moon hides from us the whole body of the ſun, it is a total eclipſe; if not, a partial one.

Our ſolar ſyſtem is diſtant from the fixt ſtars 20,000.000.000 ſemi-diameters of the earth; or, as Mr. Huygens expreſſes this diſtance, in his coſmotheoros (1); the fixt ſtars are ſo remote from the earth, that, if a canon bullet ſhould come from one of the fixt ſtars with as ſwift a motion as it hath when it is ſhot out of the mouth of a cannon, it would be 700,000 years in coming to the earth.

This vaſt diſtance ſo much abates the attraction of thoſe remote bodies, that its operation upon thoſe of our ſyſtem is not at all ſenſible, nor would draw away or hinder the return of any of our ſolar comets; tho' ſome of them ſhould go ſo far from the ſun, as not to make the revolution about it in leſs than 1000 years.

It is more ſuitable to the wiſdom, power, and greatneſs of God, to think that the fixt ſtars are all of them ſuns, with ſyſtems of inhabitable planets moving about them, to whoſe inhabitants he diſplays the marks of his goodneſs as well as to us; rather than to imagine that thoſe very remote bodies ſo little uſeful to us, were made only for our ſake.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Earth, conſidered as a Planet.

THE earth, by its revolution about the ſun in 365 days, 5 hours, 49 minutes, makes that ſpace of time we call a year.

The line, which the center of the earth deſcribes in its annual revolution about the ſun, is called the ecliptick.

The annual motion of the earth about the ſun, is in the order of the ſigns of the zodiack; that is, ſpeaking vulgarly, from weſt to eaſt.

Beſides this annual revolution of the earth about the ſun, in the ecliptick; the earth turns round upon its own axis in 24 hours.

The turning of the earth upon its own axis every 24 hours, whilſt it moves round the ſun in a year, we may conceive by the running of a bowl on a bowling green; in which not only the center of the bowl hath a progreſſive motion on the green; but the bowl in its going forward, from one part of the green to another, turns round about its own axis.

The turning of the earth on its own axis, makes the difference of day and night; it being day in thoſe parts of the earth, which are turned towards the ſun; and night in thoſe parts, which are in the ſhade, or turned from the ſun.

The annual revolution of the earth in the ecliptick, is the cauſe of the different ſeaſons, and of the ſeveral lengths of days and nights, in every part of the world, in the courſe of the year.

THE

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(1) Chriſtiani Hugenii ΚΟΣΜΟΘΕΩΡΟΣ, ſive de terris cœleſtibus earumque ornatu, conjecturæ, &c. p. m. 137.

The reaſon of it, is the earth's going round its own axis in the eclipt**ic**k, but at the ſame time keeping every where its axis equally inclined to the plane of the ecliptick, and parallel to itſelf. For the plane of the ecliptick inclining to the plane of the equator, 23 degrees and an half, makes that the earth, moving round in the ecliptick, hath ſometimes one of its poles, and ſometimes the other, nearer the ſun.

If the diameter of the ſun be to the diameter of the earth as 48 to 1; as by ſome it is accounted; then the diſk of the ſun, ſpeaking "numero rotundo," is above 2000 times bigger than the diſk of the earth; and the globe of the ſun above 100,000 times bigger than the globe of the earth.

The diſtance of the earth's orbit from the ſun, is above 20,000 ſemi-diameters of the earth.

If a cannon bullet ſhould come from the ſun, with the ſame velocity it hath, when it is ſhot out of the mouth of a cannon, it would be 25 years in coming to the earth.

CHAP. V.

Of the Air and Atmoſphere.

We have already conſidered the earth as a planet, or one of the great maſſes of matter moving about the ſun; we ſhall now conſider it as it is made up of its ſeveral parts, abſtracting from its diurnal and annual motions.

The exterior part of this our habitable world is the air or atmoſphere; a light, thin fluid, or ſpringy body, that incompaſſes the ſolid earth on all ſides.

The height of the atmoſphere, above the ſurface of the ſolid earth, is not certainly known; but that it doth reach but to a very ſmall part of the diſtance betwixt the earth and the moon, may be concluded from the refraction of the rays coming from the ſun, moon, and other luminous bodies.

Though conſidering that the air we are in, being near 1000 times lighter than water; and that the higher it is, the leſs it is compreſſed by the ſuperior incumbent air, and ſo conſequently being a ſpringy body the thinner it is; and conſidering alſo that a pillar of air of any diameter is equal in weight to a pillar of quickſilver of the ſame diameter of between 29 and 30 inches height we may infer that the top of the atmoſphere is not very near the ſurface of the ſolid earth.

It may be concluded, that the utmoſt extent of the atmoſphere reaches upwards from the ſurface of the ſolid earth that we walk on, to a good diſtance above us; firſt, if we conſider that a column of air of any given diameter is equiponderant to a column of quickſilver of between 29 and 30 inches height. Now quickſilver being near 14 times heavier than water, if air was as heavy as water, the atmoſphere would be about 14 times higher than the column of quickſilver, i. e. about 34 foot.

Secondly, if we conſider, that air is 1000 times lighter than water, then a pillar of air equal in weight to a pillar of quickſilver of 30 inches high will be 6800 foot; whereby we come to know that the air or atmoſphere is 6800 foot, i. e. near ſeven miles high.

Thirdly, if we conſider that the air is a ſpringy body, and that that, which is neareſt the earth, is compreſſed by the weight of all the atmoſphere that is above it, and reſts perpendicularly upon it; we ſhall find that the air here, near the ſurface of the earth, is much denſer and thicker than it is in the upper parts. For example, if upon a fleece of wool you lay another; the under one will be a little compreſs'd by the weight of that, which lies upon it; and ſo both of them by a third, and ſo on; ſo that if 10000 were piled one upon another, the under one would by the weight of all the reſt be very much compreſs'd, and all the parts of it be brought abundantly cloſer together, than when there was no other upon it; and the next to that a little leſs compreſſed, the third a little leſs than the ſecond, and ſo on till it came to the uppermoſt, which would be in its full expanſion, and not compreſſed at all. Juſt ſo it is in the air; the higher you go in it, the leſs it is compreſſed, and conſequently the leſs denſe it is; and ſo the upper part being exceedingly thinner than the lower part, which we breathe in; (which is that that is 1000 times lighter than water); the top of the atmoſphere is probably much higher than the diſtance above aſſign'd.

THAT the air near the ſurface of the earth will mightily expand itſelf when the preſſure of the incumbent atmoſphere is taken off, may be abundantly ſeen in the experiments made by Mr. Boyle in his pneumatick engine. In his "phyſico-mechanical experiments," concerning the air, he declares (1) it probable that the atmoſphere may be ſeveral hundred miles high; which is eaſy to be admitted, when we conſider what he proves in another part of the ſame treatiſe, viz. that the air here about the ſurface of the earth, when the preſſure is taken from it, will dilate it ſelf above 152 times.

THE atmoſphere is the ſcene of the meteors; and therein is collected the matter of rain, hail, ſnow, thunder, and lightning; and a great many other things obſervable in the air.

CHAP. VI.

Of Meteors in general.

BESIDES the ſpringy particles of pure air, the atmoſphere is made up of ſeveral ſteams or minute particles of ſeveral ſorts, riſing from the earth and the waters, and floating in the air, which is a fluid body, and though much finer and thinner, may be conſider'd in reſpect of its fluidity to be like water, and ſo capable, like other liquors, of having heterogeneous particles floating in it.

THE moſt remarkable of them are firſt, the particles of water raiſed in the atmoſphere, chiefly by the heat of the ſun, out of the ſea and other waters, and the ſurface of the earth; from whence it falls in dew, rain, hail and ſnow.

OUT of the vapours riſing from moiſture, the clouds are principally made.

CLOUDS do not conſiſt wholly of watry parts; for beſides the aqueous vapours that are raiſed into the air, there are alſo ſulphureous and ſaline particles, that are raiſed up, and in the clouds mixed with the aqueous particles, the effects whereof are ſometimes very ſenſible; as particularly in lightning, and thunder, when the ſulphureous and nitrous particles firing, break out with that violence of light and noiſe, which is obſervable in thunder, and very much reſembles gun-powder.

THAT there are nitrous particles raiſed into the air, is evident from the nouriſhment which rain gives to vegetables more than any other water; and alſo by the collection of nitre or ſalt-petre in heaps of earth, out of which it has been extracted, if they be expoſed to the air, ſo as to be kept from rain; not to mention other efforts, wherein the nitrous ſpirit in the air ſhews itſelf.

CLOUDS are the greateſt and moſt conſiderable of all the meteors, as furniſhing matter and plenty to the earth. They conſiſt of very ſmall drops of water; and are elevated a good diſtance above the ſurface of the earth; for a cloud is nothing but a miſt flying high in the air, as a miſt is nothing but a cloud here below.

HOW vapours are raiſed into the air in inviſible ſteams by the heat of the ſun out of the ſea, and moiſt parts of the earth, is eaſily underſtood; and there is a viſible inſtance of it in ordinary diſtillations. But how theſe ſteams are collected into drops, which bring back the water again, is not ſo eaſy to determine.

TO thoſe, that will carefully obſerve, perhaps it will appear probable, that it is by that, which the chymiſts call precipitation; to which it anſwers in all its parts.

THE

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(1) New experiments phyſico-mechanical, touching the ſpring of the air, and its effects; (made for the moſt part in a new pneumatical engine) written .... by the honourable ROBERT BOYLE, Eſq; experiment xxxvi. p. 155. Oxford, 1662, in 4to.

The air may be look'd on as a clear and pellucid menſtruum, in which the inſenſible particles of diſſolved matter float up and down, without being diſcerned, or troubling the pellucidity of the air; when on a ſudden, as if it were by a precipitation, they gather into the very ſmall, but viſible miſty drops that make clouds.

This may be obſerved ſometimes in a very clear ſky; when, there not appearing any cloud, or any thing opake, in the whole horizon, one may ſee on a ſudden clouds gather, and all the hemiſphere overcaſt; which cannot be from the riſing of new aqueous vapours at that time; but from the precipitation of the moiſture that in inviſible particles floated in the air, into very ſmall, but very viſible drops, which by a like cauſe being united into greater drops, they become too heavy to be ſuſtained in the air; and ſo fall down in rain.

Hail, ſeems to be the drops of rain frozen in their falling.

Snow, is the ſmall particles of water frozen before they unite into drops.

The regular figures, which branch out in flakes of ſnow, ſeem to ſhew that there are ſome particles of ſalt mixed with the water, which makes them unite in certain angles.

The rain-bow, is reckon'd one of the moſt remarkable meteors, though really it be no meteor at all; but the reflection of the ſun-beams from the ſmalleſt drops of a cloud or miſt, which are placed in a certain angle made by the concurrence of two lines, the one drawn from the ſun, and the other from the eye to theſe little drops in the cloud, which reflect the ſun-beams; ſo that two people looking upon a rainbow at the ſame time, do not ſee exactly the ſame rainbow.

CHAP. VII.

Of Springs, Rivers, and the Sea.

PART of the water, that falls down from the clouds, runs away upon the ſurface of the earth into channels, which convey it to the ſea; and part of it is imbibed in the ſpungy ſhell of the earth, from whence ſinking lower by degrees, it falls down into ſubterranean channels, and ſo under ground paſſes into the ſea; or elſe meeting with beds of rock or clay, it is hindered from ſinking lower, and ſo breaks out in ſprings, which are moſt commonly in the ſides, or at the bottom of hilly ground.

Springs make little rivulets; thoſe uniting make brooks; and thoſe coming together make rivers, which empty themſelves into the ſea.

The ſea is a great collection of waters in the deep valleys of the earth. If the earth were all plain, and had not thoſe deep hollows, the earth would be all cover'd with water; becauſe the water, being lighter than the earth, would be above the earth, as the air is above the water.

The moſt remarkable thing in the ſea, is that motion of the water called tides. It is a riſing and falling of the water of the ſea. The cauſe of this is the attraction of the moon, whereby the part of the water in the great ocean, which is neareſt the moon, being moſt ſtrongly attracted, is raiſed higher than the reſt; and the part oppoſite to it on the contrary ſide, being leaſt attracted, is alſo higher than the reſt. And theſe two oppoſite riſes of the ſurface of the water in the great ocean, following the motion of the moon from eaſt to weſt, and ſtriking againſt the large coaſts of the continents that lie in its way; from thence rebounds back again, and ſo makes floods and ebbs in narrow ſeas, and rivers remote from the great ocean. Herein we alſo ſee the reaſon of the times of the tides, and why they ſo conſtantly follow the courſe of the moon.

CHAP. VIII.

Of ſeveral ſorts of Earth, Stones, Metals, Minerals, and other Foſſils.

THIS ſolid globe we live upon is called the earth, tho' it contains in it a great variety of bodies, ſeveral whereof are not properly earth; which word, taken in a more limited ſenſe, ſignifies ſuch parts of this globe, as are capable, being expoſed to the air, to give rooting and nouriſhment to plants, ſo that they may ſtand and grow in it. With ſuch earth as this, the greateſt part of the ſurface of this globe is covered; and it is as it were the ſtore-houſe, from whence all the living creatures of our world have originally their proviſions; for from thence all the plants have their ſuſtenance, and ſome few animals, and from theſe all the other animals.

OF earth, taken in this ſenſe, there are ſeveral ſorts, v. g. common mould, or garden earth, clay of ſeveral kinds, ſandy ſoils.

BESIDES theſe there is medicinal earth; as that, which is called terra lemnia, bolus armena, and divers others.

AFTER the ſeveral earths, we may conſider the parts of the ſurface of this globe, which is barren; and ſuch for the moſt are ſand, gravel, chalk, and rocks, which produce nothing, where they have no earth mixt among them. Barren ſands are of divers kinds; and conſiſt of ſeveral little irregular ſtones without any earth, and of ſuch there are great deſarts to be ſeen in ſeveral parts of the world.

BESIDES theſe, which are moſt remarkable on the ſurface of the earth, there are found deeper in this globe many other bodies, which, becauſe we diſcover by digging into the bowels of the earth, are called by one common name foſſils; under which are comprehended metals, minerals or half metals, ſtones of divers kinds, and ſundry bodies that have the texture between earth and ſtone.

TO begin with thoſe foſſils which come neareſt the earth; under this head we may reckon the ſeveral ſorts of oker, chalk, that which they call black-lead, and other bodies of this kind, which are harder than earth, but have not the conſiſtency and hardneſs of perfect ſtone.

NEXT to theſe may be conſidered ſtones of all ſorts; whereof there is almoſt an infinite variety. Some of the moſt remarkable, either for beauty or uſe, are theſe; marble of all kinds, porphyry, granit, free-ſtone, &c. flints, agats, cornelians, pebbles, under which kind come the precious ſtones, which are but pebble of an exceſſive hardneſs, and when they are cut and poliſhed, they have an extraordinary luſtre. The moſt noted and eſteemed are, diamonds, rubies, amethyſts, emeralds, topazes, opats.

BESIDES theſe, we muſt not omit thoſe, which, tho' of not ſo much beauty, yet are of greater uſe, viz. loadſtones, whetſtones of all kinds, limeſtones, calamint or lapis calaminaris; and abundance of others.

BESIDES theſe, there are found in the earth ſeveral ſorts of ſalts, as eating or common ſalt, vitriol, ſal gemma, and others.

THE minerals, or ſemi-metals, that are dug out of the bowels of the earth, are antimony, cinnabar, zink, &c. to which may be added brimſtone.

BUT the bodies of moſt uſe, that are ſought for out of the depths of the earth, are the metals; which are diſtinguiſhed from other bodies by their weight, fuſibility, and malleableneſs; of which there are theſe ſorts, gold, ſilver, copper, tin, lead, and, the moſt valuable of them all, iron; to which one may join that anomalous body quickſilver or mercury.

HE, that deſires to be more particularly informed concerning the qualities and properties of theſe ſubterraneous bodies, may conſult natural hiſtorians and chymiſts.

What lies deeper towards the center of the earth we know not, but a very little beneath the ſurface of this globe; and whatever we fetch from under ground is only what is lodg'd in the ſhell of the earth.

All ſtones, metals, and minerals, are real vegetables; that is, grow organically from proper ſeeds, as well as plants.

CHAP. IX.

Of Vegetables or Plants.

NEXT to the earth it ſelf, we may conſider thoſe that are maintained on its ſurface; which tho' they are faſtened to it, yet are very diſtinct from it; and thoſe are the whole tribe of vegetables or plants. Theſe may be divided into three ſorts, herbs, ſhrubs, and trees.

Herbs are thoſe plants, whoſe ſtalks are ſoft, and have nothing woody in them, as graſs, ſowthiſtle, and hemlock. Shrubs and trees have all wood in them; but with this difference, that ſhrubs grow not to the heighth of trees, and uſually ſpread into branches near the ſurface of the earth; whereas trees generally ſhoot up in one great ſtem or body, and then at a good diſtance from the earth ſpread into branches; thus, gooſeberries, and currants, are ſhrubs; oaks, and cherries, are trees.

In plants the moſt conſiderable parts are theſe, the root, the ſtalk, the leaves, the flower, and the ſeed. There are very few of them that have not all theſe parts, tho' ſome few there are that have no ſtalk; others that have no leaves; and others, that have no flowers. But without ſeed or root, I think there are none.

In vegetables, there are two things chiefly to be conſidered, their nouriſhment, and propagation.

Their nouriſhment is thus; the ſmall and tender fibres of the roots, being ſpread under ground, imbibe from the moiſt earth juice fit for their nouriſhment; this is conveyed by the ſtalk up into the branches, and leaves, through little, and in ſome plants, imperceptible tubes, and from thence by the bark returns again to the root; ſo that there is in vegetables, as well as in animals, a circulation of the vital liquor. By what impulſe it is moved, is ſomewhat hard to diſcover. It ſeems to be from the difference of day and night, and other changes in the heat of the air; for the heat dilating, and the cold contracting thoſe little tubes, ſuppoſing there be valves in them, it is eaſy to be conceived how the circulation is performed in plants, where it is not required to be ſo rapid and quick as in animals.

Nature has provided for the propagation of the ſpecies of plants ſeveral ways. The firſt and general is by ſeed. Beſides this, ſome plants are raiſed from any part of the root ſet in the ground; others by new roots, that are propagated from the old ones, as in tulips; others by off-ſets, and in others, the branches ſet in the ground will take root and grow; and laſt of all, grafting and inoculation, in certain ſorts, are known ways of propagation. All theſe ways of increaſing plants, make one good part of the ſkill of gardening; and from the books of gardeners may be beſt learnt.

CHAP. X.

Of Animals.

THERE is another ſort of creatures belonging to this our earth, rather as inhabitants than parts of it. They differ in this from plants, that they are not fixed to any one place, but have a freedom of motion up and down, and beſides have ſenſe to guide them in their motions.

Man and brute, divide all the animals of this our globe.

Brutes, may be conſidered as either aerial, terreſtrial, aquatick, or amphibious. I call thoſe aerial, which have wings, wherewith they can ſupport them-

themſelves in the air. Terreſtrial, are thoſe, whoſe only place of reſt is upon the earth. Aquatick, are thoſe, whoſe conſtant abode is upon the water. Thoſe are called amphibious, which live freely in the air upon the earth; and yet are obſerved to live long upon water, as if they were natural inhabitants of that element; tho' it be worth the examination to know, whether any of thoſe creatures that live at their eaſe, and by choice, a good while or at any time upon the earth, can live a long time together perfectly under water.

AERIAL animals, may be ſubdivided into birds, and flies.

FISHES, which are the chief part of aquatick animals, may be divided into ſhell-fiſhes, ſcaly-fiſhes, and thoſe that have neither apparent ſcales nor ſhells.

AND the terreſtrial animals, may be divided into quadrupeds or beaſts, reptiles, which have many feet, and ſerpents, which have no feet at all.

INSECTS, which in their ſeveral changes belong to ſeveral of the beforementioned diviſions, may be conſidered together as one great tribe of animals. They are called inſects, from a ſeparation in the middle of their bodies, whereby they are, as it were, cut into two parts, which are joined together by a ſmall ligature; as we ſee in waſps, common-flies, and the like.

BESIDES all theſe, there are ſome animals that are not perfectly of theſe kinds, but placed, as it were, in the middle betwixt two of them, by ſomething of both; as bats, which have ſomething of beaſts, and birds in them.

SOME reptiles of the earth, and ſome of aquaticks, want one or more of the ſenſes, which are in perfecter animals; as worms, oyſters, cockles, &c.

ANIMALS are nouriſhed by food, taken in at the mouth, digeſted in the ſtomach, and thence by fit veſſels diſtributed over the whole body, as is deſcribed in books of anatomy.

THE greateſt part of animals have five ſenſes, viz. ſeeing, hearing, ſmelling, taſting, and feeling. Theſe, and the way of nouriſhment of animals, we ſhall more particularly conſider; becauſe they are common to man with beaſts.

THE way of nouriſhment of animals, particularly of man, is by food taken in at the mouth, which being chew'd there, is broken and mixed with the ſaliva, and thereby prepared for an eaſier and better digeſtion in the ſtomach.

WHEN the ſtomach has performed its office upon the food, it protrudes it into the guts, by whoſe periſtaltick motion it is gently conveyed along thro' the guts, and as it paſſes, the chyle, which is the nutritive part, is ſeparated from the excrementitious by the lacteal veins; and from thence conveyed into the blood, with which it circulates till itſelf be concocted into blood. The blood, being by the vena cava brought into the right ventricle of the heart, by the contraction of that muſcle, is driven thro' the arteria pulmonaris into the lungs; where the conſtantly inſpired air mixing with it, enlivens it; and from thence being conveyed by the vena pulmonaris into the left ventricle of the heart, the contraction of the heart forces it out, and by the arteries diſtributes it into all parts of the body; from whence it returns by the veins into the right ventricle of the heart to take the ſame courſe again. This is called the circulation of the blood; by which life and heat are communicated to every part of the body.

IN the circulation of the blood, a good part of it goes up into the head; and by the brains are ſeparated from it, or made out of it, the animal ſpirits; which, by the nerves, impart ſenſe and motion to all parts of the body.

THE inſtruments of motion are the muſcles; the fibres whereof contracting themſelves, move the ſeveral parts of the body.

THIS contraction of the muſcles is in ſome of them by the direction of the mind, and in ſome of them without it; which is the difference between voluntary, and involuntary motions, in the body.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Five Senſes.

OF SEEING.

THE organ of ſeeing is the eye; conſiſting of variety of parts wonderfully contrived, for the admitting and refracting the rays of light; ſo that thoſe that come from the ſame point of the object, and fall upon different parts of the pupil, are brought to meet again at the bottom of the eye, whereby the whole object is painted on the retina that is ſpread there.

THAT, which immediately affects the ſight, and produces in us that ſenſation, which we call ſeeing, is light.

LIGHT, may be conſidered either, firſt, as it radiates from luminous bodies directly to our eyes; and thus we ſee luminous bodies themſelves, as the ſun, or a flame, &c; or, ſecondly, as it is reflected from other bodies; and thus we ſee a man, or a picture by the rays of light reflected from them to our eyes.

BODIES, in reſpect of light, may be divided into three ſorts; firſt, thoſe that emit rays of light, as the ſun and fixt ſtars; ſecondly, thoſe that tranſmit the rays of light, as the air; thirdly, thoſe that reflect the rays of light, as iron, earth, &c. The firſt are called luminous; the ſecond pellucid; and the third opake.

THE rays of light themſelves are not ſeen; but by them, the bodies, from which they originally come; as the ſun, or a fixt ſtar; or the bodies, from which they are reflected; as a horſe, or a tulip. When the moon ſhines, we do not ſee the rays, which come from the ſun to the moon, but by them we ſee the moon, from whence they are reflected.

IF the eye be placed in the medium, through which the rays paſs to it, the medium is not ſeen at all; for inſtance, we do not ſee the air, through which the rays come to our eyes. But if a pellucid body, through which the light comes, be at a diſtance from our eye, we ſee that body, as well as the bodies, from whence the rays come, that paſs through them to come to our eyes. For inſtance, we do not only ſee bodies through a pair of ſpectacles, but we ſee the glaſs itſelf. The reaſon whereof is, that pellucid bodies, being bodies, the ſurfaces of which reflect ſome rays of light from their ſolid parts; theſe ſurfaces placed at a convenient diſtance from the eye, may be ſeen by thoſe reflected rays; as, at the ſame time, other bodies beyond thoſe pellucid ones may be ſeen by the tranſmitted rays.

OPAKE bodies are of two ſorts, ſpecular, or not ſpecular. Specular bodies or mirrors, are ſuch opake bodies, whoſe ſurfaces are poliſhed; whereby they reflecting the rays in the ſame order as they come from other bodies, ſhew us their images.

THE rays, that are reflected from opake bodies, always bring with them to the eye the idea of colour; and this colour is nothing elſe in the bodies, but a diſpoſition to reflect to the eye more copiouſly one ſort of rays than another. For particular rays are originally endowed with particular colours; ſome are red, others blue, others yellow, and others green, &c.

EVERY ray of light, as it comes from the ſun, ſeems a bundle of all theſe ſeveral ſorts of rays; and as ſome of them are more refrangible than others; that is, are more turned out of their courſe, in paſſing from one medium to another; it follows that after ſuch refraction they will be ſeparated, and their diſtinct colour obſerved. Of theſe, the moſt refrangible are violet, and the leaſt red; and the intermediate ones, in order, are indigo, blue, green, yellow, and orange. This ſeparation is very entertaining, and will be obſerved with pleaſure in holding a priſm in the beams of the ſun.

As all theſe rays differ in refrangibility, ſo they do in reflexibility, that is, in the property of being more eaſily reflected from certain bodies, than from others; and hence ariſe, as hath been ſaid, all the colours of bodies; which are in a manner infinite, as an infinite number of compoſitions, and proportions of the original colours, may be imagined.

The whiteneſs of the ſun's light, is compounded of all the original colours mixed in a due proportion.

Whiteness, in bodies, is but a diſpoſition to reflect all colours of light, nearly in the proportion they are mixt in the original rays; as, on the contrary, blackneſs, is only a diſpoſition to abſorb or ſtifle, without reflection, moſt of the rays of every ſort, that fall on the bodies.

Light is ſucceſſively propagated, with an almoſt inconceivable ſwiftneſs; for it comes from the ſun to this our earth in about ſeven or eight minutes of time, which diſtance is about 70,000,000 Engliſh miles.

Besides colour, we are ſuppoſed to ſee figure; but in truth, that which we perceive when we ſee figure, as perceivable by ſight, is nothing but the termination of colour.

OF HEARING.

NEXT to ſeeing, hearing is the moſt extenſive of our ſenſes. The ear is the organ of hearing, whoſe curious ſtructure is to be learnt from anatomy.

That, which is conveyed into the brain by the ear, is call'd ſound; tho' in truth, till it come to reach and affect the perceptive part, it be nothing but motion.

The motion, which produces in us the perception of ſound, is a vibration of the air, cauſed by an exceeding ſhort, but quick, tremulous motion of the body, from which it is propagated; and therefore we conſider and denominate them as bodies ſounding.

That ſound is the effect of ſuch a ſhort, briſk, vibrating motion of bodies, from which it is propagated, may be known from what is obſerved and felt in the ſtrings of inſtruments, and the trembling of bells, as long as we perceive any ſound come from them; for as ſoon as that vibration is ſtopt, or ceaſes in them, the perception ceaſes alſo.

The propagation of ſound is very quick, but not approaching that of light. Sounds move about 1140 Engliſh feet, in a ſecond minute of time; and in ſeven or eight minutes of time, they move about one hundred Engliſh miles.

OF SMELLING.

SMELLING, is another ſenſe, that ſeems to be wrought on by bodies at a diſtance; tho' that, which immediately affects the organ, and produces in us the ſenſation of any ſmell, are effluvia's, or inviſible particles, that, coming from bodies at a diſtance, immediately affect the olfactory nerves.

Smelling bodies ſeem perpetually to ſend forth effluvia's or ſteams, without ſenſibly waſting at all. Thus a grain of muſk will ſend forth odoriferous particles for ſcores of years together, without its being ſpent; whereby one would conclude that theſe particles are very ſmall; and yet it is plain, that they are much groſſer than the rays of light, which have a free paſſage thro' glaſs; and groſſer alſo than the magnetick effluvia's, which paſs freely thro' all bodies, when thoſe that produce ſmell will not paſs the thin membranes of a bladder, and many of them ſcarce ordinary white paper.

There is a great variety of ſmells, tho' we have but a few names for them; ſweet, ſtinking, ſour, rank, and muſty, are almoſt all the denominations we have for odours; tho' the ſmell of a violet, and of muſk, both call'd ſweet, are as diſtinct as any two ſmells whatſoever.

OF TASTE.

TASTE, is the next ſenſe to be conſidered.

The organ of taſte, is the tongue and palate.

Bodies that emit light, ſounds, and ſmells, are ſeen, heard, and ſmelt at a diſtance; but bodies are not taſted, but by immediate application to the organ; for till our meat touch our tongues or palates, we taſte it not how near ſoever it be.

It may be obſerved of taſtes, that though there be a great variety of them, yet, as in ſmells, they have only ſome few general names; as ſweet, bitter, ſour, harſh, rank, and ſome few others.

OF TOUCH.

THE fifth and laſt of our ſenſes is touch; a ſenſe ſpread over the whole body, though it be moſt eminently placed in the ends of the fingers.

By this ſenſe the tangible qualities of bodies are diſcerned; as hard, ſoft, ſmooth, rough, dry, wet, clammy, and the like.

But the moſt conſiderable of the qualities, that are perceived by this ſenſe, are heat and cold.

The due temperament of theſe two oppoſite qualities, is the great inſtrument of nature, that ſhe makes uſe of, in moſt, if not all, her productions.

Heat, is a very briſk agitation of the inſenſible parts of the object, which produces in us that ſenſation, from whence we denominate the object hot; ſo what in our ſenſation is heat, in the object is nothing but motion. This appears by the way, whereby heat is produced; for we ſee that the rubbing of a braſs-nail upon a board, will make it very hot; and the axle-trees of carts and coaches are often hot, and ſometimes to a degree, that it ſets them on fire, by the rubbing of the nave of the wheel upon it.

On the other ſide, the utmoſt degree of cold is the ceſſation of that motion of the inſenſible particles, which to our touch is heat.

Bodies are denominated hot and cold in proportion to the preſent temperament of that part of our body, to which they are applied; ſo, that feels hot to one, which ſeems cold to another; nay, the ſame body felt by the two hands of the ſame man, may at the ſame time appear hot to the one, and cold to the other; becauſe the motion of the inſenſible particles of it may be more briſk than that of the particles of the other.

Besides the objects before-mentioned, which are peculiar to each of our ſenſes, as light, and colour of the ſight; ſound of hearing; odours of ſmelling; ſavours of taſting; and tangible qualities of the touch; there are two others that are common to all the ſenſes; and thoſe are pleaſure and pain, which they may receive by and with their peculiar objects. Thus, too much light offends the eye; ſome ſounds delight, and others grate the ear; heat in a certain degree is very pleaſant, which may be augmented to the greateſt torment; and ſo the reſt.

These five ſenſes are common to beaſts with men; nay in ſome of them, ſome brutes exceed mankind. But men are endowed with other faculties, which far excel any thing, that is to be found in the other animals, in this our globe.

Memory alſo, brutes may be ſuppoſed to have, as well as men.

CHAP. XII.

Of the underſtanding of Man.

THE underſtanding of man does ſo ſurpaſs that of brutes, that ſome are of an opinion, brutes are mere machines, without any manner of perception at all. But letting this opinion alone, as ill-grounded, we will proceed

proceed to the conſideration of human underſtanding, and the diſtinct operations thereof.

THE loweſt degree of it conſiſts in perception, which we have before in part taken notice of, in our diſcourſe of the ſenſes. Concerning which it may be convenient farther to obſerve, that to conceive a right notion of perception, we muſt conſider the diſtinct objects of it, which are ſimple ideas; v. g. ſuch as are thoſe ſignify'd by theſe words, ſcarlet, blue, ſweet, bitter, heat, cold, &c. from the other objects of our ſenſes; to which we may add the internal operations of our own minds, as the objects of our own reflection, ſuch as are thinking, willing, &c.

OUT of theſe ſimple ideas are made, by putting them together, ſeveral compounded, or complex ideas; as thoſe ſignified by the word pebble, marygold, horſe.

THE next thing the underſtanding doth in its progreſs to knowledge, is to abſtract its ideas, by which abſtraction they are made general.

A GENERAL idea, is an idea in the mind, conſidered there as ſeparated from time and place; and ſo capable to repreſent any particular being, that is conformable to it. Knowledge, which is the higheſt degree of the ſpeculative faculties, conſiſts in the perception of the truth of affirmative, or negative propoſitions.

THIS perception is either immediate, or mediate. Immediate perception of the agreement or diſagreement of two ideas, is when by comparing them together in our minds, we ſee, or as it were behold, their agreement or diſagreement. This therefore is call'd intuitive knowledge. Thus we ſee that red is not green; that the whole is bigger than a part; that two and two are equal to four.

THE truth of theſe and the like propoſitions we know by a bare ſimple intuition of the ideas themſelves, without any more ado; and ſuch propoſitions are call'd ſelf-evident.

THE mediate perception of the agreement or diſagreement of two ideas, is when, by the intervention of one or more other ideas, their agreement or diſagreement is ſhewn. This is call'd demonſtration, or rational knowledge. For inſtance. The in-equality of the breadth of two windows, or two rivers, or any two bodies that cannot be put together, may be known by the intervention of the ſame meaſure, applied to them both; and ſo it is in our general ideas, whoſe agreement or diſagreement may be often ſhewn by the intervention of ſome other ideas, ſo as to produce demonſtrative knowledge; where the ideas in queſtion cannot be brought together, and immediately compared, ſo as to produce intuitive knowledge.

THE underſtanding doth not know only certain truth; but alſo judges of probability, which conſiſts in the likely agreement or diſagreement of ideas.

THE aſſenting to any propoſition as probable, is called opinion, or belief.

WE have hitherto conſider'd the great and viſible parts of the univerſe, and thoſe great maſſes of matter, the ſtars, planets, and particularly this our earth, together with the inanimate parts, and animate inhabitants of it; it may be now fit to conſider what theſe ſenſible bodies are made of, and that is, of unconceivable ſmall bodies, or atoms, out of whoſe various combinations bigger molleculæ are made: and ſo by a greater and greater compoſition bigger bodies; and out of theſe the whole material world is conſtituted.

BY the figure, bulk, texture, and motion, of theſe ſmall and inſenſible corpuſcles, all the phænomena of bodies may be explained.

SOME

SOME THOUGHTS
CONCERNING
READING AND STUDY
FOR A
GENTLEMAN.

READING is for the improvement of the underſtanding.

The improvement of the underſtanding, is for two ends; firſt, for our own increaſe of knowledge; ſecondly, to enable us to deliver and make out that knowledge to others.

The latter of theſe, if it be not the chief end of ſtudy in a gentleman; yet it is at leaſt equal to the other, ſince the greateſt part of his buſineſs and uſefulneſs in the world is by the influence of what he ſays, or writes to others.

The extent of our knowledge, cannot exceed the extent of our ideas. Therefore he, who would be univerſally knowing, muſt acquaint himſelf with the objects of all ſciences. But this is not neceſſary to a gentleman, whoſe proper calling is the ſervice of his country; and ſo is moſt properly concerned in moral and political knowledge; and thus the ſtudies, which more immediately belong to his calling, are thoſe, which treat of virtues and vices, of civil ſociety, and the arts of government; and will take in alſo law and hiſtory.

It is enough for a gentleman to be furniſh'd with the ideas belonging to his calling, which he will find in the books that treat of the matters above mentioned.

But the next ſtep towards the improvement of his underſtanding, muſt be, to obſerve the connection of theſe ideas in the propoſitions, which thoſe books hold forth, and pretend to teach as truths; which till a man can judge, whether they be truths or no, his underſtanding is but little improved; and he doth but think and talk after the books that he hath read, without having any knowledge thereby. And thus, men of much reading, are greatly learned; but may be little knowing.

The third and laſt ſtep therefore, in improving the underſtanding, is to find out upon what foundation any propoſition, advanced, bottoms; and to obſerve the connection of the intermediate ideas, by which it is joined to that foundation, upon which it is erected, or that principle, from which it is derived. This, in ſhort, is right reaſoning; and by this way alone true knowledge is to be got by reading, and ſtudying.

When a man, by uſe, hath got this faculty of obſerving and judging of the reaſoning and coherence of what he reads, and how it proves what it pretends to teach; he is then, and not till then, in the right way of improving his underſtanding, and enlarging his knowledge by reading.

But that, as I have ſaid, being not all that a gentleman ſhould aim at in reading, he ſhould farther take care, to improve himſelf in the art alſo of ſpeaking, that ſo he may be able to make the beſt uſe of what he knows.

THE art of ſpeaking well, conſiſts chiefly in two things, viz. perſpecuity, and right reaſoning.

PERSPICUITY, conſiſts in the uſing of proper terms for the ideas or thoughts, which he would have paſs from his own mind into that of another man's. It is this, that gives them an eaſy entrance; and it is with delight, that men hearken, to thoſe, whom they eaſily underſtand; whereas, what is obſcurely ſaid, dying as it is ſpoken, is uſually not only loſt, but creates a prejudice in the hearer, as if he that ſpoke knew not what he ſaid, or was afraid to have it underſtood.

THE way to obtain this, is to read ſuch books as are allowed to be writ with the greateſt clearneſs and propriety, in the language that a man uſes. An author excellent in this faculty, as well as ſeveral others, is Dr. TILLOTSON, late archbiſhop of Canterbury, in all that is publiſhed of his. I have choſe rather to propoſe this pattern, for the attainment of the art of ſpeaking clearly, than thoſe, who give rules about it; ſince we are more apt to learn by example, than by direction. But if any one hath a mind to conſult the maſters in the art of ſpeaking and writing, he may find in TULLY de Oratore, and another treatiſe of his called, Orator; and in QUINTILIAN's Inſtitutions; and BOILEAU's Traite du ſublime (1); inſtructions concerning this, and the other parts of ſpeaking well.

BESIDES perſpicuity, there muſt be alſo right reaſoning; without which perſpicuity ſerves but to expoſe the ſpeaker. And for the attaining of this, I ſhould propoſe the conſtant reading of CHILLINGWORTH, who by his example will teach both perſpicuity, and the way of right reaſoning, better than any book that I know; and therefore will deſerve to be read upon that account over and over again; not to ſay any thing of his argument.

BESIDES theſe books in Engliſh, Tully, Terence, Virgil, Livy, and CÆSAR's commentaries, may be read to form one's mind to a reliſh of a right way of ſpeaking, and writing.

THE books I have hitherto mentioned have been in order only to writing, and ſpeaking well; not but that they will deſerve to be read upon other accounts.

THE Study of morality, I have above mentioned as that, that becomes a gentleman; not barely as a man, but in order to his buſineſs as a gentleman. Of this there are books enough writ both by antient and modern philoſophers; but the morality of the Goſpel doth ſo exceed them all, that to give a man a full knowledge of true morality, I ſhould ſend him to no other book, but the New Teſtament. But if he hath a mind to ſee how far the heathen world carried that ſcience, and whereon they bottomed their ethics, he will be delightfully and profitably entertained in TULLY's treatiſes de Officiis.

POLITICKS, contains two parts, very different the one from the other. The one, containing the original of ſocieties, and the riſe and extent of political power; the other, the art of governing men in ſociety.

The firſt of theſe hath been ſo bandied amongſt us, for theſe ſixty years backward, that one can hardly miſs books of this kind. Thoſe, which I think are moſt talked of in Engliſh, are the firſt book of Mr. HOOKER's "eccleſiaſtical "polity," and Mr. ALGERNON SYDNEY's "diſcourſes concerning government." The latter of theſe I never read. Let me here add, "two treatiſes of government," printed in 1690 (2); and a treatiſe of "civil polity," printed this year (3). To theſe one may add, PUFFENDORF "de officio hominis & civis;" and "de jure naturali & gentium;" which laſt is the beſt book of that kind.

As to the other part of politicks, which concerns the art of government; that I think, is beſt to be learned by experience and hiſtory, eſpecially that of a man's own country. And therefore, I think an Engliſh gentleman ſhould be well verſed in the hiſtory of England, taking his riſe as far back as there are any records of it; joining with it the laws that were made in the ſeveral ages, as he goes along in his hiſtory; that he may obſerve from thence the ſeveral

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(1) That treatiſe is a tranſlation from LONGINUS.

(2) Theſe two treatiſes are written by Mr. LOCKE himſelf.

(3) Civil polity. "A treatiſe concerning the nature of government," &c. London 1730, in 8vo. Written by PETER PAXTON, M. D.

ſeveral turns of ſtate, and how they have been produced. In Mr. TYRREL's hiſtory of England, he will find all along thoſe ſeveral authors, which have treated of our affairs, and which he may have recourſe to, concerning any point, which either his curioſity or judgment ſhall lead him to enquire into.

WITH the hiſtory, he may alſo do well to read the antient lawyers; ſuch as BRACTON, "Fleta," HENNINGHAM, "mirror of juſtice," my lord COKE's "ſecond inſtitutes," and the "modus tenendi parliamentum;" and others of that kind, which he may find quoted in the late controverſies between Mr. PETIT, Mr. TYRREL, Mr. ATWOOD, &c. with Dr. BRADY; as alſo, I ſuppoſe, in SEDLER's treatiſe of "rights of the kingdom, and cuſtoms of our anceſtors," whereof the firſt edition is the beſt; wherein he will find the antient conſtitution of the government of England.

THERE are two volumes of "ſtate tracts" printed ſince the revolution, in which there are many things relating to the government of England (4).

As for general hiſtory, Sir WALTER RALEIGH, and Dr. HOWEL, are books to be had. He, who hath a mind to launch farther into that ocean, may conſult WHEAR's "methodus legendi hiſtorias," of the laſt edition; which will direct him to the authors he is to read, and the method wherein he is to read them.

TO the reading of hiſtory; chronology, and geography, are abſolutely neceſſary.

IN geography, we have two general ones in Engliſh, HEYLIN and MOLL; which is the beſt of them, I know not; having not been much converſant in either of them. But the laſt, I ſhould think to be of moſt uſe; becauſe of the new diſcoveries that are made every day, tending to the perfection of that ſcience. Though, I believe, that the countries, which HEYLIN mentions, are better treated of by him, bating what new diſcoveries ſince his time have added.

THESE two books contain geography in general, but whether an Engliſh gentleman would think it worth his time to beſtow much pains upon that; tho' without it he cannot well underſtand a Gazette; it is certain he cannot well be without CAMBDEN's "Britannia," which is much enlarged in the laſt Engliſh edition. A good collection of maps is alſo neceſſary.

TO geography, books of travels may be added. In that kind, the collections made by our Countrymen HACKLUYT, and PURCHAS, are very good. There is alſo a very good collection made by THEVENOT in folio, in French; and by RAMUZIO, in Italian; whether tranſlated into Engliſh or no, I know not. There are alſo ſeveral good books of travels of Engliſh-men publiſhed, as SANDYS, ROE, BROWN, GAGE, and DAMPIER.

THERE are alſo ſeveral voyages in French, which are very good, as PYRARD (5), BERGERON (6), SAGARD (7), BERNIER (8), &c; whether all of them are tranſlated into Engliſh, I know not.

THERE is at preſent a very good "collection of voyages and travels," never before in Engliſh, and ſuch as are out of print; now printing by Mr. CHURCHILL (9).

THERE are beſides theſe, a vaſt number of other travels; a ſort of books that have a very good mixture of delight and uſefulneſs. To ſet them down all, would take up too much time and room. Thoſe I have mentioned are enough to begin with.

As

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(4) We have now two collections of ſtate tracts; one, in two volumes in folio, printed in 1689 and 1692, contains "ſeveral treatiſes relating to the government from the year 1660 to 1689;" and the other, in three volumes in folio, printed in 1705, 1706, and 1707, is a "collection of tracts, publiſh'd on occaſion of the "late revolution in 1688, and during the reign of K. WILLIAM III." Theſe collections might have been made more compleat and more convenient; eſpecially the firſt, which is extremely defective and uncorrect.

(5) Voyage de Francois Pyrard de Laval. Contenant ſa navigation aux Indes Orientales, Maldives, Moluques, Breſil. Paris 1619, 8vo. 3d edit.

(6) Relation des voyages en Tartarie, &c. Le tout recueilli per Pierre Bergeron, Paris 1634, 8vo.

(7) Le grand voyage des Hurons, ſitues en l'Amerique, &c. Par F. Gab. Segard Theodat. Paris 1632, 8vo.

(8) Memoires de l'empire du Grand Mogol, &c. par FRANCOIS BERNIER. Paris 1670, & 1671, 3 Vol. in 12mo.

(9) That collection of voyages and travels was publiſh'd an. 1704, in 4 Vol. in folio.

~~As to chronology, I think Helvicus the beſt for common uſe; which is not a book to be read, but to lye by, and be conſulted upon occaſion.~~ He, that hath a mind to look farther into chronology, may get Tallent's “tables,” and Strauchius's “breviarium temporum;” and may to thoſe add Scaliger “de emendatione temporum,” and Petavius, if he hath a mind to engage deeper in that ſtudy.

Those, who are accounted to have writ beſt particular parts of our Engliſh hiſtory, are Bacon, of Henry VII; and Herbert, of Henry VIII. Daniel alſo is commended; and Burnet's “hiſtory of the reformation.”

Mariana's “hiſtory of Spain,” and Thuanus his “hiſtory of his own time,” and Philip de Comines; are of great and deſerved reputation.

There are alſo ſeveral French and Engliſh memoirs and collections, ſuch as La Rochefoucault, Melvil, Rushworth, &c; which give a great light to thoſe, who have a mind to look into what hath paſt in Europe this laſt age.

To fit a gentleman for the conduct of himſelf, whether as a private man, or as intereſted in the government of his country, nothing can be more neceſſary than the knowledge of men; which, tho' it be to be had chiefly from experience, and next to that, from a judicious reading of hiſtory; yet there are books that of purpoſe treat of human nature, which help to give an inſight into it. Such are thoſe treating of the paſſions, and how they are moved; whereof Aristotle in his ſecond book of rhetorick hath admirably diſcourſed, and that in a little compaſs. I think this rhetorick is tranſlated into Engliſh; if not, it may be had in Greek and Latin together.

La Bruyere's “characters” are alſo an admirable piece of painting; I think it is alſo tranſlated out of French into Engliſh.

Satyrical writings alſo, ſuch as Juvenal, and Persius, and above all Horace; tho' they paint the deformities of men, yet thereby they teach us to know them.

There is another uſe of reading, which is for diverſion, and delight. Such are poetical writings, eſpecially dramatick, if they be free from prophaneneſs, obſcenity, and what corrupts good manners; for ſuch pitch ſhould not be handled.

Of all the books of fiction, I know none that equals Cervantes's “hiſtory of Don Quixot” in uſefulneſs, pleaſantry, and a conſtant decorum. And indeed no writings can be pleaſant, which have not nature at the bottom, and are not drawn after her copy.

There is another ſort of books, which I had almoſt forgot, with which a gentleman's ſtudy ought to be well furniſhed, viz. dictionaries of all kinds. For the Latin tongue, Littleton, Cooper, Calepin, and Robert Stephen's “theſaurus linguæ latinæ,” and Vossii “etymologicum linguæ latinæ.” Skinner's “lexicon etymologicum” is an excellent one of that kind, for the Engliſh tongue. Cowel's “interpreter” is uſeful for the law terms. Spelman's “gloſſary” is a very uſeful and learned book. And Selden's titles of honour,” a gentleman ſhould not be without. Baudrand hath a very good “geographical dictionary.” And there are ſeveral hiſtorical ones, which are of uſe; as Lloyd's, Hoffman's, Moreri's. And Bayle's incomparable dictionary, is ſomething of the ſame kind. He that hath occaſion to look into books written in Latin ſince the decay of the Roman empire, and the purity of the Latin tongue, cannot be well without Du Cange's “gloſſarium mediæ & infimæ Latinitatis.”

Among the books above ſet down, I mentioned Vossius's “etymologicum linguæ latinæ;” all his works are lately printed in Holland in ſix tomes. They are very fit books for a gentleman's library, as containing very learned diſcourſes concerning all the ſciences.

SEVERAL
LETTERS
TO
ANTH. COLLINS, Eſq;
AND
OTHER PERSONS.

A LETTER from Mr. LOCKE, to Mr. OLDENBURG; concerning a poiſonous Fiſh about the BAHAMA Iſlands.

SIR,

I HEREWITH ſend you an account I lately received from New Providence, one of the Bahama iſlands, concerning a fiſh there; which is as followeth:

“ I HAVE not met with any rarities here, worth your acceptance, tho'
“ I have been diligent in enquiring after them. Of thoſe, which I have heard
“ of, this ſeems moſt remarkable to me. The fiſh, which are here, are many
“ of them poiſonous, bringing a great pain on their joints, who eat them, and
“ continue for ſome ſhort time; and at laſt. with two or three days itching,
“ the pain is rubbed off. Thoſe of the ſame ſpecies, ſize, ſhape, colour, taſte,
“ are, one of them, poiſon; the other, not in the leaſt hurtful; and thoſe
“ that are, only to ſome of the company. The diſtemper to men never proves
“ mortal. Dogs, and cats ſometimes eat their laſt. Men, who have once
“ had that diſeaſe, upon the firſt eating of fiſh, tho' it be thoſe which are
“ wholeſome, the poiſonous ferment in their body is revived thereby, and their
“ pain increaſed.”

THUS far the ingenious perſon, from whom I had this relation, who having been but a very little while upon the iſland, when he writ this, could not ſend ſo perfect an account of this odd obſervation, as ode could wiſh, or as I expect to receive from him, in anſwer to ſome queries I lately ſent him by a ſhip bound thither. When his anſwer comes to my hand, if there be any thing in it, which may gratify your curioſity, I ſhall be glad of that or any other occaſion to aſſure that I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

A LETTER to Anthony Collins, Eſq;

Oates, 4 May 1703.

SIR,

NONE of your concerns are of indifference to me. You may from thence conclude I take part in your late great loſs. But I conſider you as a philoſopher, and a chriſtian; and ſo ſpare you the trouble of reading from me, what your own thoughts will much better ſuggeſt to you.

You have exceedingly obliged me, in the books of yours that you have ſent me, and thoſe of mine you have been at ſo much trouble about. I received but juſt now the packet, wherein they and your obliging letter were; that muſt be my excuſe for ſo tardy a return of my thanks.

I am overjoyed with an intimation I have received alſo, that gives me hopes of ſeeing you here the next week. You are a charitable good friend, and are reſolved to make the decays and dregs of my life the pleaſanteſt part of it. For I know nothing calls me ſo much back to a pleaſant ſenſe of enjoyment, and makes my days ſo gay and lively, as your good company. Come then, and multiply happy minutes upon, and rejoice here in the good you do me. For I am with a perfect eſteem and reſpect.

SIR,

Your moſt humble,

And moſt obedient ſervant,

John Locke.

TO THE SAME.

SIR, Oates, 3 June 1703.

IT is not enough to have heard from couſin King * that you got ſafe to town, or from others that you were ſince well there. I am too much concerned in it, not to enquire of yourſelf, how you do. Beſides, that I owe you my thanks, for the greateſt favour I can receive, the confirmation of your friendſhip, by the viſit I lately received from you. If you knew what ſatisfaction I feel ſpread over my mind by it, you would take this acknowledgment as coming from ſomething beyond civility; my heart goes with it, and that you may be ſure of; and ſo uſeleſs a thing as I am, have nothing elſe to offer you.

As a mark that I think we are paſt ceremony, I here ſend you a new book † in quires, with a deſire you will get it bound by your binder. In the parts of good binding beſides folding, beating, and ſowing, will I count ſtrong paſteboards, and as large margents as the paper will poſſibly afford; and for lettering, I deſire it ſhould be upon the ſame leather black'd, and barely the name of the author, as in this caſe, Vossius.

Pardon this liberty, and believe me with perfect ſincerity and reſpect, &c.

TO THE SAME.

SIR, Oates, 18 June 1703.

IT would be ſtrange, if after all thoſe marks of friendſhip and eſteem I have received from you, in the little time I have had the honour of your acquaintance, I ſhould quarrel with you; and ſhould repay the continuance of

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* Sir Peter King.

† G.J. Vossii "etymologicum linguæ latinæ." Amſtelodami 1695.

of your good offices, employ'd even in things beneath you, with grumbling at you; and yet this I can hardly forbear to do. Do not, I beſeech you, take this to be altogether ill nature, but a due eſtimate of what I enjoy in you. And ſince upon juſt meaſures, I count it the great treaſure of my life; I cannot with patience here you talk of condeſcenſion in me, when I ſtick not to waſte your time in looking after the binding of my books. If you pleaſe, let us live upon fairer terms; and when you oblige me, give me leave to be ſenſible of it. And pray remember, that there is one Mr. COLLINS, with whom, if I deſire to live upon equal terms, it is not that I forget how much he is ſuperior to me, in many things wherein he will always have the precedency. But I aſſume it upon the account of that friendſhip that is between us; friendſhip levelling all inequalities between thoſe, whom it joins, that it may leave nothing that may keep them at a diſtance, and hinder a perfect union and enjoyment.

THIS is what I would be at with you; and were I not in earneſt in it, out of a ſincere love of you, I would not be ſo fooliſh to rob myſelf of the only way wherein I might pretend to enter the liſt with you. I am old and uſeleſs, and out of the way; all the real ſervices are then like to be on your ſide. In words, expreſſions, and acknowledgments, there might have been perhaps ſome room to have made ſome offers of holding up to you. But I deſire that nothing of the court-guiſe may mix in our converſation. Put not, I beſeech you, any thing into your letters to make me forget how much I am obliged to you by the liberty you allow me to tell you, that I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 24 June 1703.

SIR,

MR. BOLD *, who leaves us to day, intends to ſee you; and I cannot forbear going, as far as I can, to make the third in the company. Would my health ſecond my deſires, not only my name, and a few words of friendſhip, ſhould go with him to you; but I myſelf would get to horſe; and had I nothing elſe to do in town, I ſhould think it worth a longer journey than it is thither, to ſee and enjoy you. But I muſt ſubmit to the reſtraints of old age, and expect that happineſs from your charity.

'TIS but ſix days ſince, that I writ to you; and ſee here another letter. You are like to be troubled with me. If it be ſo, why do you make your ſelf beloved? Why do you make yourſelf ſo neceſſary to me? I thought my ſelf pretty looſe from the world, but I feel you begin to faſten me to it again. For you make my life, ſince I have had your friendſhip, much more valuable to me than it was before.

YOU thanked me in your laſt, for the employment I gave you; I wiſh I do not make you repent it; for you are likely to have my cuſtom. I deſire you would do me the favour to get me Dr. BARROW's Engliſh works, bound as VOSSIUS's etymologicum was. I am in no manner of haſte for them, and therefore you may get them from your bookſeller in quires, when you go to his ſhop upon any other occaſion; and put them to your binder at leiſure. I have them for my own uſe already; theſe are to give away to a young lady here in the country. When they are bound, I deſire your binder would pack them up carefully, and cover them with paper enough to keep their corners and edges from being hurt in the carriage. For carriers are a ſort of brutes, and declared enemies to books. I am, &c.

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* Rector of Steeple Dorſet, author of ſeveral books, and among others, ſome in defence of Mr. LOCKE's "eſſay concerning human underſtanding"; and his "reaſonableneſs of chriſtianity."

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 9 July 1703.

SIR,

YOURS, of the 30th of June, I received juſt now, and cannot forbear a moment to tell you, that if there were any thing in my laſt letter, that gave you an occaſion, after having mentioned diſguiſe; to ſay, you "have "made uſe of no way to ſhew your eſteem of me, but ſtill your heart went "with it," I am very ſorry for it. For, however, I might think the expreſſions in your letter above what I could deſerve; yet my blaming your exceſs of civility to me tended not to any doubt of the ſincerity of your affection. Had I not been ſecure of that, I could not have talked to you with the ſame freedom I did, nor have endeavour'd to perſuade you, that you were lodged ſo near my heart as you are. Tho' my friendſhip be of very little value, or uſe; yet being the beſt thing I have to give, I ſhall not forwardly beſtow it, where I do not think there is worth and ſincerity; and therefore, pray, pardon me the forwardneſs wherewith I throw my arms about your neck; and holding you ſo, tell you, you muſt not hope, by any thing that looks like compliment, to keep me at a civiler, and more faſhionable diſtance.

YOU comply with me, I ſee, by the reſt of your letter; and you bear with my treating you with the familiarity of an eſtabliſhed friendſhip. You pretend you have got the advantage by it. I wiſh it may be ſo; for I ſhould be very glad there were any thing, wherein I could be uſeful to you. Find it out, I beſeech you; and tell me of it, with as little ceremony and ſcruple, as you ſee, I uſe with you.

THE New Teſtament, you mention *, I ſhall be glad to ſee, ſince Mr. BOLD has told you how deſirous I was to ſee it. I have expected one of them from Holland ever ſince they have been out; and ſo I hope to reſtore it to you again in a few days.

THE other book, you mentioned †, I have ſeen; and am ſo well ſatisfied, by his 5th ſection, what a doughty ſquire he is like to prove in the reſt, that I think not to trouble my ſelf to look farther into him. He has there argued very weakly againſt his adverſary, but very ſtrongly againſt himſelf.

BUT this will be better entertainment for you when we meet, than matter for a letter, wherein I make it my buſineſs to aſſure you, that I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 10 September 1703.

SIR,

YOURS of the 7th, which I juſt now received, is the only letter I have a long time wiſhed for, and the welcomeſt that could come; for I longed to hear that you were well, that you were returned, and that I might have the opportunity to return you my thanks for the books you ſent me, which came ſafe; and to acknowledge my great obligations to you for one of the moſt villainous books, that I think, ever was printed ‡. It is a preſent that I highly value. I had heard ſomething of it, when a young man in the univerſity; but poſſibly ſhould never have ſeen this quinteſcence of railing, but for your kindneſs. It ought to be kept as the pattern and ſtandard of that ſort of writing, as the man he ſpends it upon, for that of good temper, and clear, and ſtrong arguing. I am, &c.

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* Mr. Le Clerc's French tranſlation of the New Teſtament.

† "Pſychologia; or an account of the nature of the rational ſoul, &c." By JOHN BROUGHTON, M. A. chaplain to his grace the duke of Marlborough. Lond. 1703, in 8vo.

‡ "Chillingworthi noviſſima. Or the ſickneſs, hereſy, death, and burial of WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH." (In his own phraſe) clerk of Oxford, "and in the conceit of his fellow ſoldiers, the queen's arch engineer, "and grand-intelligencer." . . . By FRANCIS CHEYNELL, late fellow of Merton college. Lond. 1644, in 4to. See the article of Mr. CHILLINGWORTH, in my "attempt towards an hiſtorical and critical Engliſh "dictionary."

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 1 October 1703.

SIR,

YOU are a good man, and one may depend upon your promiſe. This makes me paſs my days in comfortable hopes, when I remember you are not far off. I have your word for it, and that is better than city ſecurity. But for fear villainous buſineſs ſhould impertinently ſtep in again, between you and your kind purpoſes to us here; give me leave to beg the favour of you, that if you write again, before I have the happineſs to ſee you, you will do me the favour to ſend me a note of what you have laid out for me, that I may pay you that part of the debt I am able, of what I owe you, and may not have ſo much to interrupt the advantages I am to reap from your converſation, when you honour me with your company, as an apology to be made, if I am not out of your debt before we meet.

DOTH Mr. LE CLERC's New Teſtament make any noiſe amongſt the men of letters or divinity in your town? The divines of Brandenburg or Cleve have got the king of Pruſſia to prohibit it in his dominions; and the Walloon divines in Holland are ſoliciting the ſame at the Hague, but 'tis thought will not prevail *. I have not yet heard what are the exceptions made in particular, either by the one, or the other. If there be need of authentick interpreters of the word of God, what is the way to find them out? That is worth your thinking of, unleſs you would have every one interpret for himſelf; and what work would that make? Betwixt theſe two, find ſomething if you can; for the world is in want of peace, which is much better than everlaſting billingſgate.

I THOUGHT not to have troubled you with hard queſtions, or any thing that ſhould have required a ſerious thought, any farther than what day you ſhould pitch on to come hither. But everlaſting wrangling, and calling of names, is ſo odious a thing, that you will pardon me, if it puts me out of temper a little. But I think of you, and ſome few ſuch as you in the world, and that reconciles me to it; or elſe it would not be worth ſtaying in an hour. I am, &c.

A LETTER to the Lady CALVERLEY in Yorkſhire.

MADAM,

WHATEVER reaſon you have to look on me, as one of the ſlow men of London, you have this time given me an excuſe for being ſo; for you cannot expect a quick anſwer to a letter, which took me up a good deal of time to get to the beginning of it. I turned it, and turned it, on every ſide; looked it again, and again, at the top of every page; but could not get into the ſenſe and ſecret of it, till I applied my ſelf to the middle.

YOU, Madam, who are acquainted with all the ſkill and methods of the antients, have not, I ſuppoſe, taken up with this hieroglyphical way of writing, for nothing; and ſince you were going to put into your letter things that might be the reward of the higheſt merit, you would by this myſtical intimation put me into the way of virtue, to deſerve them.

BUT whatever your ladyſhip intended, this is certain, that in the beſt words in the world, you gave me the greateſt humiliation imaginable. Had I as much vanity as a pert citizen, that ſets up for a wit in his pariſh, you have ſaid enough in your letter to content me; and if I could be ſwoln that way, you have taken a great deal of pains to blow me up, and make me the fineſt gaudy bubble in the world, as I am painted by your colours. I know the

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* See Mr. BAYLE's "Entretiens de Maxime & de Themiſte; ou Reſponſe a ce que Mr. le Clerc a ecrit dans "ſon X. Tome de la Bibliotheque Choiſie contre Mr. Bayle." A Rotterdam 1707, in 8vo. pag. 70, & ſuiv.

the emperors of the eaſt ſuffer not ſtrangers to appear before them, till they are dreſſed up out of their own wardrobes; it is ſo too in the empire of wit? and muſt you cover me with your own embroidery, that I may be a fit object for your thoughts and converſation? This, Madam, may ſuit your greatneſs, but doth not at all ſatiſfy my ambition. He, who has once flattered himſelf with the hopes of your friendſhip, knows not the true value of things, if he can content himſelf with theſe ſplendid ornaments.

As ſoon as I had read your letter, I looked in my glaſs, felt my pulſe, and ſighed; for I found, in neither of thoſe, the promiſes of thirty years to come. For at the rate I have hitherto advanced, and at the diſtance, I ſee by this complimental way of treatment, I ſtill am; I ſhall not have time enough in this world to get to you. I do not mean to the place, where you now ſee the pole elevated, as you ſay, 64 degrees. A poſt-horſe, or a coach, would quickly carry me thither. But when ſhall we be acquainted at this rate? Is that happineſs reſerved to be compleated by the goſſipping bowl, at your grand-daughter's lying in?

If I were ſure, that when you leave this dirty place I ſhould meet you in the ſame ſtar, where you are to ſhine next, and that you would then admit me to your converſation; I might perhaps have a little more patience. But, methinks, it is much better to be ſure of ſomething, than to be put off to expectations of ſo much uncertainty. If there be different elevations of the pole here, that keep you at ſo great a diſtance from thoſe, who languiſh in your abſence; who knows but in the other world there are different elevations of perſons? And you, perhaps, will be out of ſight among the ſeraphims; while we are left behind, in ſome dull planet. This, the high flights of your elevated genius give us juſt augury of, whilſt you are here. But yet, pray take not your place there before your time; nor keep us poor mortals at a greater diſtance than you need. When you have granted me all the nearneſs, that acquaintance and friendſhip can give; you have other advantages enough ſtill, to make me ſee how much I am beneath you. This will be only an enlargement of your goodneſs, without leſſening the adoration due to your other excellencies.

You ſeem to have ſome thoughts of the town again. If the parliament, or the term, which draw ſome by the name and appearance of buſineſs; or if company, and muſick-meetings, and other ſuch entertainments, which have the attractions of pleaſure and delight, were of any conſideration with you; you would not have much to ſay for Yorkſhire, at this time of the year. But theſe are no arguments to you, who carry your own ſatiſfaction, and I know not how many worlds always about you. I would be glad you would think of putting theſe all up in a coach, and bringing them this way. For though you ſhould be never the better; yet there be a great many here that would, and amongſt them,

The humbleſt of

Your ladyſhip's ſervants,

John Locke.

A LETTER to Anthony Collins, Eſq;

Oates, 29 October 1703.

SIR,

YOU, in yours of the 21ſt, ſay a great many very kind things; and I believe all that you ſay; and yet I am not very well ſatisfied with you. And how then is it poſſible to pleaſe you? will you be ready to ſay. Think that I am as much pleaſed with your company, as much obliged by your converſation,

verſation, as you are by by mine; and you ſet me at reſt, and I am the moſt ſatisfied man in the world. You complain of a great many defects; and that very complaint is the higheſt recommendation I could deſire, to make me love and eſteem you, and deſire your friendſhip. And if I were now ſetting out in the world, I ſhould think it my great happineſs to have ſuch a companion as you, who had a true reliſh of truth, would in earneſt ſeek it with me, from whom I might receive it undiſguiſed, and to whom I might communicate what I thought true, freely.

Believe it, my good friend, to love truth for truth's ſake, is the principal part of human perfection in this world, and the ſeed-plot of all other virtues; and, if I miſtake not, you have as much of it, as ever I met with in any body. What then is there wanting to make you equal to the beſt; a friend for any one to be proud of? Would you have me take upon me, becauſe I have the ſtart of you in the number of years, and be ſupercilious, conceited, for having in a long ramble travelled ſome countries, which a young voyager has not yet had time to ſee, and from whence one may be ſure he will bring larger collections of ſolid knowledge?

In good earneſt, Sir, when I conſider how much of my life has been trifled away in beaten tracts, where I vamped on with others, only to ſollow thoſe that went before us; I cannot but think I have juſt as much reaſon to be proud, as if I had travelled all England, and (if you will) France too, only to acquaint myſelf with the roads, and be able to tell how the high-ways lye, wherein thoſe of equipage, and even the herd too, travel.

Now, methinks, (and theſe are often old men's dreams) I ſee openings to truth, and direct paths leading to it; wherein a little induſtry and application would ſettle one's mind with ſatisfaction, even in thoſe matters, which you mention, and leave no darkneſs or doubt, even with the moſt ſcrupulous. But this is at the end of my day, when my ſun is ſetting. And tho' the proſpect it has given me be what I would not for any thing be without; there is ſo much irriſiſtible truth, beauty, and conſiſtency in it; yet it is for one of your age, I think I ought to ſay for you your ſelf, to ſet about it, as a work you would put into order, and oblige the world with.

You ſee whither my juſt thoughts of you have led me; and that I ſhall have no quarrel with you, if you will ceaſe to ſet me, as you do, on the higher ground, and to think that I have not as much pleaſure and ſatisfaction from your company, as you have from mine. If I were able to live in your neighbourhood in town, I ſhould quickly convince you of that; and you eſcape being haunted by me only by being out of my reach. A little better acquaintance will let you ſee that in the communication of truth, between thoſe, who receive it in the love of it, he that anſwers is no leſs obliged, than he that aſks the queſtion; and therefore you owe me not thoſe mighty thanks you ſend me, for having the good luck to ſay ſomething that pleaſed you. If it were good ſeed, I am ſure it was ſown in good ground, and may expect a great increaſe.

I think you have a familiar, ready to diſpatch what you undertake for your friends. How is it poſſible elſe, you ſhould ſo ſoon procure for me Kircher's concordance? "Shew me the man, and I will ſhew you his cauſe;" will hold now-adays almoſt in all other caſes as well as that of πρσκυνεῖν *, and yet they muſt all be thought lovers, and promoters of truth, But my letter is too long already to enter into ſo copious a ſubject. I am, &c.

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* Mr. Locke had been informed that one of the objections of the Walloon divines againſt Mr. le Clerc's New Teſtament was his tranſlating προσκυνεῖν in St. Matthew (Chap. II. ver. 2.) ſo as to ſignify the civil but not religious worſhip of the wiſe men.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 16 November 1703.

SIR,

If I aſk you, how you do; it is becauſe I am concerned for your health. If I aſk you, whether you have ſent me any books ſince you went to town; it is not that I am in haſte for them, but to know how the carrier uſes me. And if I aſk, whether you are of Lincoln's-Inn; it is to know of what place you write yourſelf, which I deſire you to tell me in your next, and what good new books there are. I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 17 November 1703.

SIR,

The books I received from you to-night, with the kind letter accompanying them, far more valuable than the books, give matter of enlarging myſelf this evening. The common offices of friendſhip, that I conſtantly receive from you, in a very obliging manner, give me ſcope enough, and afford me large matter of acknowledgment. But when I think of you, I feel ſomething of nearer concernment that touches me; and that noble principle of the love of truth, which poſſeſſes you, makes me almoſt forget thoſe other obligations, which I ſhould be very thankful for to another.

In good earneſt, Sir, you cannot think what a comfort it is to me, to have found out ſuch a man; and not only ſo, but I have the ſatisfaction that he is my friend. This gives a guſto to all the good things you ſay to me, in your letter. For though I cannot attribute them to myſelf, (for I know my own defects too well) yet I am ready to perſuade myſelf you mean as you ſay; and to confeſs the truth to you, I am almoſt loth to undeceive you, ſo much do I value your good opinion.

But to ſet it upon the right ground, you muſt know that I am a poor ignorant man, and if I have any thing to boaſt of it is that I ſincerely love and ſeek truth, with indifferency whom it pleaſes or diſpleaſes. I take you to be of the ſame ſchool, and ſo imbrace you. And if it pleaſe God to afford me ſo much life as to ſee you again, I ſhall communicate to you ſome of my thoughts tending that way.

You need not make any apology for any book that is not yet come. I thank you for thoſe you have ſent me; they are more I think, than I ſhall uſe, for the indiſpoſition of my health has beaten me almoſt quite out of the uſe of books; and the growing uneaſineſs of my diſtemper † makes me good for nothing. I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 24 January 1703-4.

SIR,

Till your confidence in my friendſhip, and freedom with me, can preſerve you from thinking you have need to make apologies for your ſilence, whenever you omit a poſt or two, when in your kind way of reckoning you judge a letter to be due; you know me not ſo well, as I could wiſh; nor am I ſo little burdenſome to you, as I deſire. I could be pleaſed to hear from you every day; becauſe the very thoughts of you, every day afford me pleaſure and ſatiſfaction. But I beſeech you to believe, that I meaſure not your kindneſs by your opportunities of writing; nor do ſuſpect that

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† An Aſthma.

your friendſhip flatters, whenever your pen lyes a little ſtill. The ſincerity you profeſs, and I am convinced of, has charms in it, againſt all the little phantoms of ceremony. If it be not ſo, that true friendſhip ſets one free from a ſcrupulous obſervance of all thoſe little circumſtances, I ſhall be able to give but a very ill account of my ſelf to my friends; to whom, when I have given poſſeſſion of my heart, I am leſs punctual in making of legs, and kiſſing my hand, than to other people, to whom that out-ſide civility is all that belongs.

I RECEIVED the three books you ſent me, That, which the author ſent me *, deſerves my acknowledgment more ways than one; and I muſt beg you to return it. His demonſtrations are ſo plain, that if this were an age that followed reaſon, I ſhould not doubt but his would prevail. But to be rational is ſo glorious a thing, that two-legged creatures generally content themſelves with the title; but will not debaſe ſo excellent a faculty, about the conduct of ſo trivial a thing, as they make themſelves.

THERE never was a man better ſuited to your wiſhes than I am. You take a pleaſure in being troubled with my commiſſions; and I have no other way of commerce with you, but by ſuch importunities. I can only ſay, that were the tables changed, I ſhould, being in your place, have the ſame ſatisfaction; and therefore confidently make uſe of your kind offer. I therefore beg the favour of you to get me Mr. LE CLERC's "harmony of the evangeliſts" in Engliſh, bound very finely in calf, gilt, and letter'd on the back, and gilt on the leaves. So alſo I would have MOLIERE's works (of the beſt edition you can get them) bound. Theſe books are for ladies; and therefore I would have them fine, and the leaves gilt, as well as the back. MOLIERE of the Paris edition, I think, is the beſt, if it can be got in London in quires. You ſee the liberty I take. I ſhould be glad you could find out ſomething for me to do for you here. I am perfectly, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 7 February 1703-4.

SIR,

IT is with regret I conſider you ſo long in Eſſex, without enjoying you any part of the time. Eſſex methinks, (pardon the extravagancy, extraordinary paſſions and caſes excuſe it) when you are to go into it ſhould all be Oates; and your journey be no whither, but thither. But lands and tenements ſay other things, whilſt we have carcaſſes that muſt be cloathed and fed; and books you know, the fodder of our underſtandings, cannot be had without them. What think you? are not thoſe ſpirits in a fine ſtate, that need none of all this luggage, that live without plowing and ſowing; travel as eaſy as we wiſh; and inform themſelves, not by a tireſome rummageing in the miſtakes and jargon of pretenders to knowledge, but by looking, into things themſelves.

SIR, I forgot you had an eſtate in the country, a library in town, friends every where, amongſt which you are to while away, as pleaſantly I hope, as any one of this our planet, a large number of years (if my wiſhes may prevail) yet to come; and am got, I know not how, into remote viſions, that help us not in our preſent ſtate, tho' they ſhew us ſomething of a better. To return therefore to my ſelf and you, I conclude by this time, you are got to town again, and then, in a little time, I ſhall hear from you. I am, &c.

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* "Reaſons againſt reſtraining the preſs." Lond. 1704, in 4to.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 21 February 1703-4.

SIR,

I MUST acknowledge it as an effect of your zeal to ſerve me, that you have ſent me LE CLERC's "harmony," and MOLIERE's works, by the Biſhop-Stratford coach; and I return you my thanks, as much as if it exactly anſwered my purpoſe. I ought not to think it ſtrange, that you in town, amidſt a hurry of buſineſs, ſhould not keep preciſely in mind my little affairs; when I here, where I have nothing to diſturb my thoughts, do ſo often forget. When I writ to you to do me the favour to get theſe books for me carefully bound, I think I made it my requeſt to you; I'm ſure I intended it; to write word when they were done, and then I would acquaint you how they were to be diſpoſed of; for the truth is, they were to be diſpoſed of in town. But whether I only meant this, and ſaid nothing; or you forgot it, the matter is not much. I expect to receive the books to-morrow, and ſhall do well enough with them.

I SHOULD not have taken notice of this to you at all, did I not intend it for an excuſe for an ill-mannered thing very neceſſary in buſineſs, which perhaps you will find me uſe with you for the future; which is, to repeat the little circumſtances of buſineſs, which are apt to be forgotten, in every letter, till the danger be over. This if you obſerve to do, will prevent many croſs accidents in your affairs; I aſſure you it upon experience.

I DESIRE you to ſtop your hand a little, and forbear putting to the preſs the two diſcourſes you mention *. They are very touchy ſubjects at this time; and that good man, who is the author, may, for aught I know, be crippled by thoſe, who will be ſure to be offended at him, right or wrong. Remember what you ſay a little lower in your letter, in the caſe of another friend of yours, that "in the way of reaſon they are not to be dealt with."

IT will be a kindneſs to get a particular account of thoſe proceedings †; but therein muſt be contained the day, the names of thoſe preſent, and the very words of the order or reſolution; and to learn, if you can, from whence it had its riſe. When theſe particulars are obtained, it will be fit to conſider what uſe to make of them. In the mean time, I take what has been done, as a recommendation of that book to the world, as you do; and I conclude when you and I meet next, we ſhall be merry upon the ſubject. For this is certain, that becauſe ſome men wink, or turn away their heads and will not ſee, others will not conſent to have their eyes put out. I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 24 February 1703-4.

SIR,

YOU know me not yet as you ought, if you do not think I live with you, with the ſame confidence I do with myſelf, and with the ſame ſincerity of affection too. This makes me to talk to you with the ſame freedom I think; which, tho' it has not all the ceremony of good breeding, yet it makes amends with ſomething more ſubſtantial, and is of better reliſh in the ſtomach. Believe it, therefore, that you need not trouble yourſelf with apologies for having ſent the books hither. You have obliged me as much by it, as you could by any thing of that nature, which I had deſired; neither need

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* "A diſcourſe concerning the reſurrection of the ſame body, with two letters concerning the neceſſary "Immateriality of a created thinking Subſtance." Theſe pieces, written by Mr. BOLD, were printed at London 1705, in 8vo.

† It was propoſed at a meeting of the heads of the houſes of the univerſity of Oxford, to cenſure and diſcourage the reading of Mr. LOCKE's "eſſay concerning human underſtanding;" and, after various debates among themſelves, it was concluded, that each head of a houſe ſhould endeavour to prevent its being read in his college, without coming to any publick cenſure.

need you be concerned for the future. 'Tis convenient to make it a rule not to let one's friend forget little circumſtances, whereby ſuch croſs purpoſes ſometimes happen; but when they do happen between friends, they are to be made matter of mirth.

The gentleman that writ you the letter, which you ſent to me, is an extraordinary man, and the fitteſt in the world to go on with that enquiry. Pray, let him, at any rate, get the preciſe time, the perſons preſent, and the minutes of the regiſter taken of their proceedings; and this without noiſe, or ſeeming concerned to have them, as much as may be; and I would beg you not to talk of this matter, till we have got the whole matter of fact, which will be a pleaſant ſtory, and of good uſe.

I wish the books, you mentioned *, were not gone to the preſs, and that they might not be printed; for when they are printed, I am ſure they will get abroad; and then it will be too late to wiſh it had not been ſo. However, if the fates will have it ſo, and their printing cannot be avoided; yet, at leaſt, let care be taken to conceal his name. I doubt not of his reaſoning right, and making good his points; but what will that boot, if he, and his family ſhould be diſturbed, or diſeaſed?

I shall, as you deſire, ſend Moliere, and Le Clerc back to you, by the firſt opportunity. I am with perfect ſincerity and reſpect, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 28 February 1703-4.

SIR,

I SAW the packet was exactly well made up, and I knew the books in it were well bound; whereupon I let it alone, and was likely to have ſent it back to you unopened; but my good genius would not ſuffer me to loſe a letter of yours in it, which I value more than all the books it accompanied. Since my laſt therefore to you, I opened the packet, and therein found yours of the 16th inſtant, which makes me love and value you, if it were poſſible, more than I did before; you having therein, in ſhort, ſo well deſcribed, wherein the happineſs of a rational creature in this world conſiſts; tho' there are very few that make any other uſe of their half employed and undervalued reaſon, but to bandy againſt it. 'Tis well, as you obſerve, that they agree as ill with one another, as they do with common ſenſe. For when, by the influence of ſome prevailing head, they all lean one way; truth is ſure to be borne down, and there is nothing ſo dangerous, as to make any enquiry after her; and to own her, for her own ſake, is a moſt unpardonable crime.

You aſk me, how I like the binding of Moliere, and Le Clerc. You will wonder to hear me ſay, not at all; but you muſt take the other part of my anſwer, which is; nor do I diſlike it. 'Tis probable, that this yet doth not ſatisfy you, after you have taken ſuch eſpecial care with your binder, that they ſhould be exactly well done. Know then, that upon moving the firſt book, having luckily eſpied your letter, I only juſt looked into it to ſee the Paris print of Moliere; and without ſo much as taking it out of the paper it was wrapped up in, caſt my eye upon the cover, which looked very fine, and curiouſly done, and ſo put it up again haſting to your letter. This was examining, more than enough, of books whoſe binding you had told me you had taken care of; and more than enough, for a man who had your letter in his hand unopened.

Pray, ſend me word what you think or hear of Dr. Pitt's laſt book †. For as for the firſt of the other author's you mention ‡, by what I have ſeen of him already, I can eaſily think his arguments not worth your reciting. And

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* Mr. Bold's treatiſes mentioned in the foregoing letter.

† "The antidote, or the preſervative of health and life, and the reſtorative of phyſic to its ſincerity and "perfection; &c." By R. Pitt, M. D. fellow and cenſor of the college of phyſicians, &c. Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

‡ "The grand eſſay; or a vindication of reaſon and religion, againſt the impoſture of philoſophy, &c." Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

And as for the other, tho' he has parts, yet that is not all which I require in an author, I am covetous of, and expect to find ſatisfaction in.

PRAY, forget not to write to your friend in Oxford, to the purpoſe I mentioned in my laſt to you. I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 6 March 1703-4.

SIR,

WERE you of Oxford itſelf, bred under thoſe ſharp heads, which were for damning my book, becauſe of its diſcouraging the ſtaple commodity of the place; which in my time was called Hog's ſhearing, (which is, as I hear, given out for the cauſe of their decree); you could not be a more ſubtle diſputant than you are. You do every thing, that I deſire of you, with the utmoſt care and concern; and becauſe I underſtand and accept it ſo, you contend that you are the party obliged. This, I think, requires ſome of the moſt refined Logick to make good; and if you will have me believe it, you muſt forbid me too to read my own book, and oblige me to take to my help more learned and ſcholaſtick notions. But the miſchief is, I am too old to go to ſchool again; and too reſty now, to ſtudy arts, however authorized, or wherever taught, to impoſe upon my own underſtanding. Let me therefore, if you pleaſe, be ſenſible of your kindneſs; and I give you leave to pleaſe your ſelf, with my interpreting them as I ought, as much as you think fit. For it would be hard in me to deny you ſo ſmall a ſatisfaction, where I receive ſo great and real advantage.

To convince you, that you are not like to loſe what you ſo much value, and is all you can expect in our commerce, I put into your hands a freſh opportunity of doing ſomething for me, which I ſhall have reaſon to take well. I have this day ſent back the bundle of books. I have taken what care I can to ſecure them from any harm, that might threaten them in the carriage. For I ſhould be extremely vexed that books, ſo curiouſly finiſhed by your care, ſhould be in the leaſt injured, or loſe any thing of their perfect beauty, till they came to the hands, for whom they are deſigned.

YOU have, you ſee, by your kind offer, drawn upon yourſelf a farther trouble with them, which was deſigned for my couſin KING. But he ſetting out for the circuit to-morrow morning, I muſt beg you, that may be my excuſe for taking this liberty with you. MOLIERE's works are for the counteſs of PETERBOROUGH, which I deſire you to preſent to her from me, with the encloſed for her, and my moſt humble ſervice. I am in truth, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 13 March 1703-4.

SIR,

IF the diſputers of this world were but half ſo good at doing, as you, the mart of Logick and Syllogiſms would no doubt be the only place for the young frye "ad capiendum ingenii cultum;" (pardon, I beſeech you, this ſcrap of Latin, my thoughts were in a place that authorizes it, and one cannot chop Logick half ſo well in unlearned modern vulgar languages). But the traders in ſubtilty have not your way of recommending it, by turning it into ſubſtantial ſolidity, whereby you prevail ſo much on me, that I can ſcarce avoid being perſuaded by you, that when I ſend you of a jaunt beyond Piccadilly, you are the perſon obliged, and I ought to expect thanks of you for it. Excuſe me, I intreat you, if, for decency's ſake, I ſtop a little ſhort of that; and let it ſatisfy you, that I believe, nay ſuch is the power of your Logick, that I cannot help believing, that you ſpare no pains for your friends, and that you take a pleaſure in doing me kindneſs. All that remains for me to aſk of you, is, to do me this right in your turn, to believe I am not inſenſible of your favours, and know how to value ſuch a friend.

THO' you ſaw not my lady, when you delivered MOLIERE, and my letter at her houſe; yet had you no meſſage from her? Or did you not go in, or ſtay, when you heard ſhe was indiſpoſed?

Mr. LE CLERC's, "harmony" is for Mr. Secretary JOHNSTON's lady. The book ſent to his lodgings with a note to inform him, that it is for his lady from me, will do the buſineſs; ſo that, for this errand, I am glad your ſervant is ſufficient without ſending you; for you muſt give me leave ſometimes on ſuch occaſions to be a little ſtingy, and ſparing of my favours.

I PERCEIVE, by the encloſed you did me the favour to ſend me, that thoſe worthy heads are not yet grown up to perfect infallibility. I am ſorry however, that their mighty thoughts wanted utterance. However, I would very gladly know the true matter of fact, and what was really propoſed, reſolved, or done; this, if poſſible, I would be aſſured of, that I might not be miſtaken in what gratitude I ought to have.

YOU baulked my having the biſhop of St. Aſaph's [*] ſermon, by telling my couſin KING, that I care not for ſermons; and, at the ſame time, you ſend my lady plays. This has raiſed a diſpute between her ladyſhip and me, which of us two it is, you think beſt of. Methinks you are of opinion, that my lady is well enough ſatisfied with the unreformed ſtage; but that I ſhould be glad, that ſome things were reformed in the pulpit itſelf. The reſult is, that my lady thinks it neceſſary for you to come, and appeaſe theſe broils you have raiſed in the family. I am &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 21 March 1703-4.

SIR,

GIVE me leave to tell you, Sir, that you are miſtaken in me. I am not a young lady, a beauty, and a fortune. And unleſs you thought me all this, and deſigned your addreſſes to me; how is it poſſible you ſhould be afraid you acquitted not yourſelf well in my commiſſion beyond Piccadilly? Your waiting in the parlour a quarter of an hour was more than any reaſonable man could demand of you; and if either of us ought to be troubled in the caſe, it is I, becauſe you did ſo much; and not you, becauſe you did ſo little. But the reality of your friendſhip has ſo blended our concerns into one, that you will not permit me to obſerve, whether I do, or receive the favour, in what paſſes between us; and I am almoſt perſuaded by you to believe, that ſitting here by the fire I trudge up and down for you in London. Give me leave however to thank you, as if you had delivered Mr. LE CLERC's "harmony" to Mr. Secretary JOHNSTON for me, and ſent me the two bibles, which I received.

As for the rummaging over Mr. NORRIS's late book [*], I will be ſworn, 'tis not I have done that; for however, I may be miſtaken in what paſſes without me, I am infallible in what paſſes in my own mind; and I am ſure, the ideas that are put together in your letter out of him, were never ſo in my thoughts, till I ſaw them there. What did I ſay, "put ideas together?" I aſk your pardon, 'tis, "put words together without ideas;" juſt as I ſhould ſuſpect I did, if I ſhould ſay you diſparaged a very good ſtrait ruler I had, if you told me it would not enable me to write ſenſe, tho' it were very good and uſeful, to ſhew me whether I writ ſtrait or no.

MEN of Mr. NORRIS's way ſeem to me to decree, rather than to argue. They, againſt all evidence of ſenſe and reaſon, decree brutes to be machines, only becauſe their hypotheſis requires it; and then with a like authority, ſuppoſe,

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[*] Dr. GEORGE HOOPER.

[†] "An eſſay towards the theory of the ideal or intelligible world. Being the relative part of it. Wherein "the intelligible world is conſidered, with relation to human underſtanding. Whereof ſome account is here "attempted, and propoſed." Part II. By JOHN NORRIS, rector of Bemerton near Sarum. Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

poſe, as you rightly obſerve, what they ſhould prove; viz. that whatſoever thinks, is immaterial. "Cogitation, ſays Mr. NORRIS, is more excellent than "motion, or vegetation; and therefore muſt belong to another ſubſtance than "that of matter, in the idea whereof, motion and vegetation are contained." This latter part, I think, would be hard for him to prove, viz. that "motion "and vegetation are contained in the idea of the ſubſtance of matter." But to let that paſs at preſent, I aſk, whether, if this way of arguing be good, it will not turn upon him thus; "if the idea of a ſpirit does not comprehend "motion and vegetation; then they muſt belong to another ſubſtance than a "ſpirit; and therefore are more excellent than cogitation, or the affections of "a ſpirit. For if its greater excellency proves any mode or affection to belong "to another ſubſtance; will not its belonging to another ſubſtance, by the ſame "rule, prove it to be more excellent?" But this is only to deal with theſe men of logick and ſubtilty, in their own way, who uſe the term excellent, to prove a material queſtion by, without having, as you remark, a clear and determined idea of what they mean, by more or leſs excellent.

BUT not to waſte your time, in playing with the arguments of men, that examine not ſtrictly the meaning of the words they uſe; I will ſhew you the fallacy whereby they impoſe on themſelves; for ſuch talkers commonly cozen themſelves, as well as others. "Cogitation, ſay they, is not comprehended in "the idea of extenſion and ſolidity;" for that is it which they mean, when they ſay, the "idea of matter;" from whence they conclude right, that "cogitation "belongs not to extenſion or ſolidity; or is not included in either of them, or "both together;" but this is not the conſequence that they draw, but infer a concluſion that is not contained in the premiſes, and is quite beſides them; as Mr. NORRIS, if he would make uſe of ſyllogiſm to its proper purpoſe, might ſee. Extenſion, and ſolidity, we have the ideas of; and ſee, that cogitation has no neceſſary connection with them, nor has any conſequential reſult from them; and therefore is not a proper affection of extenſion, and ſolidity, nor doth naturally belong to them; but how doth it follow from hence, that it may not be made an affection of, or be annexed to that ſubſtance, which is veſted with ſolidity, and extenſion? Of this ſubſtance we have no idea, that excludes cogitation, any more than ſolidity. Their coucluſion, therefore, ſhould be the excluſion of cogitation from the ſubſtance of matter, and not from the other affections of that ſubſtance. But they either overlook this, which is the true ſtate of that argument, or elſe avoid to ſet it in its clear light; leſt it ſhow too plainly, that their great argument, either proves nothing, or, if it doth, it is againſt them.

WHAT you ſay about my "eſſay of human underſtanding," that nothing can be advanced againſt it, but upon the principle of innate ideas, is certainly ſo; and therefore all that do not argue againſt it, from innate ideas, in the ſenſe I ſpeak of innate ideas; though they make a noiſe againſt me, yet at laſt they ſo draw and twiſt their improper ways of ſpeaking, which have the appearance and ſound of contradiction to me, that at laſt they ſtate the queſtion ſo, as to leave no contradiction in it to my eſſay; as you have obſeved in Mr. LEE [*], Mr. LOWDE [†], and Mr. NORRIS in his late treatiſe. It is reward enough for the writing my book, to have the approbation of one ſuch a reader as you are. You have done me, and my book a great honour, in having beſtowed ſo much of your thoughts upon it. You have a comprehenſive knowledge of it, and do not ſtick in the incidents; which I find many people do; which, whether true or falſe, make nothing to the main deſign of the eſſay, that lyes in a little compaſs; and yet, I hope, may be of great uſe to thoſe, who ſee and follow that plain and eaſy method of nature, to carry them the ſhorteſt and cleareſt way to knowledge. Pardon me this vanity; it was with a deſign of enquiring into the nature and powers of the underſtanding, that

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[*] "Anti-Scepticiſm; or notes upon each chapter of Mr. LOCKE's Eſſay concerning human Underſtanding, "with an explanation of all the particulars of which he treats, and in the ſame order." In four books. By HENRY LEE, B. D. formerly fellow of Emanuel college in Cambridge, now rector of Tichmarſh in Northamptonſhire. Lond. 1702, in fol.

[†] In his "diſcourſe concerning the nature of man, &c." and in his "moral eſſays, &c."

I writ it; and nothing but the hope that it might do ſome ſervice to truth, and knowledge, could excuſe the publiſhing of it.

I KNOW not whether I ever ſhewed you an occaſional ſketch of mine, about "ſeeing all things in God." If I did not, if it pleaſe God I live to ſee you here again, I will ſhew it you; and ſome other things. If you will let me know before-hand, when you deſign us that favour; it will be an addition to it. I beg your pardon for holding you ſo long from better employment. I do not, you ſee, willingly quit your converſation. If you were nearer me, you would ſee it more, for I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 3 April 1704.

SIR,

IN good ſooth, Sir, you are an obſtinate lover; there is no help for it, you muſt carry your point. Only give me leave to tell you, that I do not like the puling fit you fall into, at the lower end of the page; where you tell me, "I have given you an argument againſt preſuming ſo far again upon "the liberty I allow you." That is to ſay, you may give me books, you may buy books for me, you may get books bound for me, you may trudge up and down with them on my errand to ladies; but my book you may not preſume to read, uſe your judgement about, and talk to me freely of; tho' I know no body that underſtands it ſo well, nor can give me better light concerning it. Away with this ſqueamiſhneſs, I beſeech you; and be aſſured, that among the many good offices, you daily do for me in London, there is none whereby I ſhall reap ſo much profit and pleaſure, as your ſtudying for me, and let us both, without ſcruple or reſerve, help one another the beſt we can, in the way to truth and knowledge. And whenever you find me preſume, that I know all that belongs to the ſubject of my own book, and diſdain to receive light and inſtruction from another, tho' of much lower form than you; conclude that I am an arrant coxcomb, and know nothing at all.

YOU will ſee by the encloſed, that I can find buſineſs for you at Oxford, as well as at London. I have left it open, that you may read it before you ſeal and deliver it. In it you will ſee what he writ to me, on that affair. He is well acquainted with them in the univerſity; and if he has not, may be prevailed on by you to fiſh out the bottom of that matter, and inform you in all the particulars of it. But you muſt not take his conjectures for matters of fact; but know his authors, for any matter of fact he affirms to you. You will think I intend to engage you in a thouſand diſputes with him; quite the contrary. You may avoid all diſpute with him, if you will but ſay after him; tho' you put him upon things, that ſhew you queſtion all he ſays.

IF Mr. WYNNE of Jeſus-college, who epitomiſed my book *, be in the univerſity; 'tis like you will ſee him, and talk to him of that matter. Pray, give him my ſervice. But be ſure, forget me not, with all manner of reſpect, to Mr. WRIGHT, for whom I have, as I ought, a very peculiar eſteem.

I HOPE you will be pleaſed with me; for you ſee I have cut out work for you; and that is all that is left for me to do, to oblige you. I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 19 May 1704.

DEAR SIR,

NOTHING works ſo ſteadily and effectually as friendſhip. Had I hired a man to have gone to town in my buſineſs, and paid him well, my commiſſions would not have been ſo ſoon, nor ſo well diſpatched, as I find,

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* Mr. WYNNE, afterwards lord biſhop of St. Aſaph, was the author of "an abridgment of Mr. LOCKE's "concerning human underſtanding." Lond. 1696, in 8vo.

find, by yours of the 16th, they have been by you. You ſpeak of my affairs, and act in them with ſuch an air of intereſt and ſatisfaction, that I can hardly avoid thinking, that I oblige you with employing you in them. 'Tis no ſmall advantage to me, to have found ſuch a friend, at the laſt ſcene of my life, when I am good for nothing, and am grown ſo uſeleſs, that I cannot but be ſure that, in every good office you do me, you can propoſe to yourſelf no other advantage, but the pleaſure of doing it.

EVERY one here finds himſelf obliged, by your late good company. As for myſelf, if you had not convinced me by a ſenſible experiment, I could not have believed, I could have had ſo many happy days together. I ſhall always pray that yours may be multiplied. Could, I in the leaſt, contribute any thing thereunto, I ſhould think myſelf happy in this poor decaying ſtate of my health; which, tho' it affords me little in this world to enjoy, yet I find the charms of your company make me not feel the want of ſtrength, or breath, or any thing elſe.

THE biſhop of Glouceſter came hither the day you went from hence, and in no very good ſtate of health. I find two groaning people make but an uncomfortable concert. He returned yeſterday, and went away in ſomewhat a better ſtate. I hope he got well to town.

ENJOY your health, and youth, whilſt you have it, to all the advantages and improvements of an innocent and pleaſant life; remembering that mercileſs old age is in purſuit of you, and when it overtakes you will not fail, ſome way or other, to impair the enjoyments both of body and mind. You know how apt I am to preach. I believe it is one of the diſeaſes of old age. But my friends will forgive me, when I have nothing to perſuade them to, but that they ſhould endeavour to be as happy as it is poſſible for them to be; and to you, I have no more to ſay, but that you go on in the courſe you are in. I reflect often upon it, with a ſecret joy, that you promiſed I ſhould, in a ſhort time, ſee you again. You are very good, and I dare not preſs you. But I cannot but remember how well I paſſed my time, when you were here. I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 25 May 1704.

DEAR SIR,

WHEN you come to my age, you will know that, with us old fellows, convenient always carries it before ornamental. And I would have as much of the free air, when I go abroad in it *, as is poſſible. Only I aſk whether thoſe, which fall back, ſo as to give as free a proſpect behind as before, be as eaſily managed, and brought over you again, in caſe of need, as in a ſhower; as one that falls back, upon two ſtanding corner pillars? And next, whether that which falls back ſo well, doth, when it is drawn up over you, come ſo far over your head, when it is erected, as to ſhelter it from the dew, without ſhutting you up from the free open air? For I think ſometimes in the evening of a warm day to ſit abroad in it, to take the freſco; but would have a canopy over my head, to keep the dew off. If this be ſo, I am plainly, and without ballancing, for that which falls flatteſt. One queſtion more, and I have done. Pray, what place is there for a footman in any of them? Moſt of my time being ſpent in ſitting, I deſire ſpecial care may be taken, in making the ſeat broad enough, and the two cuſhions ſoft, plump, and thick enough.

YOU know I have great liking to be canonical; but I little thought, that you, of all others, was the man to make me ſo. I ſhall love it the better for your ſake; and wiſh that canonical were ready, that you might have the handſelling of it hither ſpeedily. If I did not take you for myſelf, as you have

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* That is, in a chaiſe, which Mr. LOCKE deſired to have made for him.

have taught me to do, I ſhould not be thus free with you. Count me in your turn all yourſelf, except my age and infirmities; thoſe I deſire to keep to myſelf; all the reſt of me is yours.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 26 May 1704.

Dear SIR,

MY letter yeſterday went away without an anſwer to one of your demands; and that was, whether I would have any braſs on the harneſs? To which give me leave to tell you, that in my whole life, I have been conſtantly againſt any thing that makes a ſhew; no maxim being more agreeable to my condition and temper, than "qui bene latuit bene vixit." I like to have things ſubſtantially good of their kind, and uſeful, and handſomely made, and fitly adapted to their uſes; for, if either were neceſſary, I had rather be taken notice of for ſomething that is faſhionably gaudy, than ridiculouſly uncouth, or for its poorneſs and meanneſs remarkable. Therefore, if you pleaſe, let the harneſs, and all the whole accoutrements be of as good materials, and as handſomely made and put together as may be; but for ornaments of braſs, or any ſuch thing, I deſire it may be ſpared.

One queſtion more comes into my mind to aſk you, and that is; whether the back of thoſe, that fall down ſo flat, are ſo made that, when it is up, one may lean and loll againſt it at one's eaſe, as in a coach or a chariot; for I am grown a very lazy fellow, and have now three eaſy chairs to lean and loll in, and would not be without that relief in my chaiſe.

You ſee I am as nice as a young fond girl, that is coming into the world, with a face and a fortune, as ſhe preſumes, to command it. Let not this, however, deter you; for I ſhall not be ſo hard to be pleaſed. For what you do, will be as if I did it myſelf. I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 29 May 1704.

Dear SIR,

HOW ſhould I value the chaiſe, you take ſo much pains about, if I could hope I could have your company with me abroad in it, every two or three days. However, it wears the ſignature of your friendſhip, and ſo will always have ſomthing in it to pleaſe me.

I know not whether it be worth while to clog it with any thing, to make a place for a footman. That muſt, I ſuppoſe, make it bigger and heavier, which I would avoid; and I think, upon the whole matter, there will be no great need of it. But when I hear from you again I ſhall know that. In the mean time, all the reſt, I think, is reſolved; for, I ſuppoſe of courſe, you will chuſe a cloth for the lining of a duſt colour; that is the proper colour for ſuch a prieſt as you mention in your letter.

If poor PSALMANASSAR be really a convert from Paganiſm; (which I would be glad to be aſſured of); he has very ill luck, not to herd any where among the variety of ſorts that are among us. But I think it ſo, that the parties are more for doing one another harm, than for doing any body good. I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 9 June 1704.

DEAR SIR,

I MIGHT number my days, (and it is a pleaſant ſort of Almanack) by the kindneſſes I receive from you. Your packet I received, and have reaſon to thank you for all the particulars in it; however, you thought fit to prepare me for being diſappointed, in the binding my Greek Teſtament. There is nothing in it that offends me, but the running of his paring-knife too deep into the margin; a knaviſh and intolerable fault in all our Engliſh book-binders.

BOOKS ſeem to me to be peſtilent things, and infect all that trade in them; that is, all but one ſort of men, with ſomthing very perverſe and brutal. Printers, binders, ſellers and others that make a trade, and gain out of them, have univerſally ſo odd a turn and corruption of mind, that they have a way of dealing peculiar to themſelves, and not conformed to the good of ſociety, and that general fairneſs that cements mankind.

WHETHER it be, that theſe inſtruments of truth and knowledge will not bear being ſubjected to any thing but thoſe noble ends, without revenging themſelves on thoſe, who meddle with them to any other purpoſe, and proſtitute them to mean and miſbecoming deſigns, I will not enquire. The matter of fact, I think, you will find true; and there we will leave it to thoſe, who ſully themſelves with printer's ink, till they wholly expunge all the candor that nature gives, and become the worſt ſort of black cattle.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 29 June 1704.

DEAR SIR,

IF the chaiſe, you have had ſo much trouble about, gives me as much ſatiſfaction afterwards, as it will in the firſt ſervice I ſhall receive from it; the conquerors of the world will not ride in their triumphant chariots with more pleaſure, than I ſhall in my little tumbrel. It will bring me what I prefer to glory. For, methinks, he underſtands but little of the true ſweetneſs of life, that doth not more reliſh the converſation of a worthy and ingenuous friend in retirement, than the noiſe and rout of the croud in the ſtreets, with all their acclamations and huzza's. I long, therefore, that the machine ſhould be diſpatched; and expect it as greedily as a hungry merchant doth a ſhip from the Eaſt Indies, which is to bring him a rich cargo. I hope the Coach-maker doth not live far from you; for if he be a ſlow man of London, I would have him quickened once a day, that he may make as much haſte, as if the ſatisfaction of two lovers depended on his diſpatch. In the mean time, give me leave to deſire you to beſtow ſome of your ſpare hours on the Epiſtles to the Corinthians, and to try whether you can find them intelligible or no. You will eaſily gueſs the reaſon of this *; and when I have you here, I hope to convince you it will not be loſt labour; only permit me to tell you, you muſt read them with ſomething more than an ordinary application.

THE ſamples you have ſent me †, I muſt conclude, from the abilities of the author, to be very excellent. But what ſhall I be the better for the moſt exact and beſt proportioned picture that ever was drawn, if I have not eyes to ſee the correſpondence of the parts? I confeſs the lines are too ſubtle for me,

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* Mr. LOCKE writ this to Mr. COLLINS, in order to prepare him to read afterwards with him his "paraphraſe and notes on the Epiſtles of St. Paul to the Corinthians;" which have been publiſhed ſince his death.

† That is, out of Dr. SHERLOCK's "digreſſion concerning connate ideas, or inbred knowledge," againſt Mr. LOCKE; inſerted in the 3d ſection of the 2d chapter of his "diſcourſe concerning the happineſs of good men, and the puniſhment of the wicked, in the next world," &c. Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

me, and my dull ſight cannot perceive their connections. I am not envious, and therefore ſhall not be troubled, if others find themſelves inſtructed with ſo extraordinary and ſublime a way of reaſoning. I am content with my own mediocrity. And though I call the thinking faculty in me, mind; yet I cannot, becauſe of that name, equal it in any thing, to that infinite and incomprehenſible being, which, for want of right and diſtinct conceptions, is called mind alſo, or the eternal mind. I endeavour to make the beſt uſe I can of every thing; and therefore, tho' I am in deſpair to be the wiſer for theſe learned inſtructions; yet, I hope, I ſhall be the merrier for them, when you and I take the air in the calaſh together, I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 23 July 1704.

DEAR SIR,

THE gentlemen, you ſpeak of, have a great deal of reaſon to be pleaſed with the diſcourſe* you mention; there being nothing ever writ in their ſtrain and way more perfectly than it is; and it may ſtand for a pattern for thoſe, that have a mind to excel in their admirable uſe of language and method of talking; if, at leaſt, there be any need of a pattern to thoſe, who ſo naturally, and by a peculiar genius of their own, fall into that, which the profane illiterate vulgar, poor wretches, are ſtrangers to, and cannot imitate. But more of this to make us merry when the chaiſe brings us together.

I NOW every moment wiſh the chaiſe done; not out of any impatience, I am in, for the machine, but for the man; the man I ſay, that is to come in it. A man, that has not his fellow; and, to all that, loves me. If I regret my old age, it is you that make me, and call me back to the world juſt as I was leaving of it, and leaving it as a place that had very little valuable in it; but who would not be glad to ſpend ſome years with you? Make haſte, therefore, and let me ingroſs what of you I can. I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 2 Auguſt 1704.

DEAR SIR,

THO' I cannot, by writing, make you a ſurer title to myſelf, than you have already; yet I cannot forbear to acknowledge, under my hand and ſeal, the great ſenſe I have of the late favour, you did me. Whether that, or any thing elſe, will be able to add any duration to my mouldring carcaſs, I cannot ſay; but this I am ſure, your company and kindneſs has added to the length of my life; which, in my way of meaſuring, doth not lie in counting of minutes, but taſting of enjoyments. I wiſh the continuance and increaſe of yours, without ſtint, and am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 11 Auguſt 1704.

DEAR SIR,

KIND, and good natured friends do, like you, beſtow their favours, and thank thoſe that received them. I was never more obliged, nor better entertained, than by your company here; and you heap upon me your acknowledgments, as if I had made a journey to London for your ſake, and there done you I know not how many courteſies. This, however, has the effect you could wiſh upon me. I believe all that you would have me. And ſince one naturally loves, as well thoſe, that one as done good to, as thoſe whom

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* Dr SHERLOCK's "digreſſion concerning connate ideas, &c." mentioned in the foregoing letter.

whom one has received good from; I leave it to you, to manage the account as you pleaſe. So the affection and good will between us doth but increaſe, whoſe hands lay moſt fuel on the fire, that warms us both, I ſhall not be nicely ſolicitous; ſince I am ſure, you cannot impute to me more than I really wiſh, but at the ſame time know that wiſhing in me is all, for I can do juſt nothing. Make no apologies to me, I beſeech you, for what you ſaid to me about the digreſſion*. 'Tis no more, but what I find other people agree with you in; and it would afford as much diverſion as any hunting you could imagine, had I ſtrength and breath enough to purſue the chace.

BUT of this we may, perhaps, have better opportunity to talk, when I ſee you next. For this I tell you beforehand, I muſt not have you be under any reſtraint to ſpeak to me, whatever you think fit for me to do; whether I am of the ſame mind, or no. The uſe of a friend is to perſuade us to the right, not to ſuppoſe always that we are in it. I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 16 Auguſt 1704.

DEAR SIR,

WHICH way ſoever I turn myſelf, I meet on all ſides your friendſhip, in all manner of ſhapes, and upon all ſorts of occaſions, beſetting me. Were I as averſe, as I am pleaſed, with my happineſs in your kindneſs; I muſt however yield to ſo powerful and conſtant attacks †. But it is paſt that time of day. I have long ſince ſurrendered myſelf to you. And I am as certainly in your coach, as count TALLARD in the duke of MARLBOROUGH's, to be diſpoſed as you pleaſe; only with this difference, that he was a priſoner of war againſt his will; I am your captive, by the ſoft, but ſtronger, force of your irreſiſtible obligations, and with the conſent and joy of my own mind.

JUDGE then, whether I am willing my ſhadow ſhould be in poſſeſſion of one, with whom my heart is; and to whom all that I am, had I any thing beſides my heart worth the preſenting, doth belong. Sir GODFREY, I doubt not, will make it very like. If it were poſſible for his pencil to make it a ſpeaking picture, it ſhould tell you every day how much I love and eſteem you; and how pleaſed I am, to be, ſo much as in effigie, near a perſon, with whom I ſhould be glad to ſpend an age to come. I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 11 September 1704.

DEAR SIR,

HE, that has any thing to do with you, muſt own that friendſhip is the natural product of your conſtitution; and your ſoul, a noble ſoil, is enriched with the two moſt valuable qualities of human nature, truth, and friendſhip. What a treaſure have I then in ſuch a friend, with whom I can converſe, and be enlightened about the higheſt ſpeculations! When one hears you upon the principles of knowledge, or the foundations of government, one would hardly imagine your thoughts ever deſcended to a bruſh, or a curry-comb, or other ſuch trumpery of life, and yet if one employ you but to get a pair of ſhoe buckles, you are as ready and dextrous at it, as if the whole buſineſs of your life had been with nothing but ſhoe-buckles.

As to my lady's picture; pray, in the firſt place, see it, and tell me how you like it. In the next place, pray get Sir GODFREY to write upon it, on the backſide,

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* See abve, page 745, 746.

† Mr. COLLINS had deſired Mr. LOCKE to let Sir GODFREY KNELLER come down into the country, to draw Mr. LOCKE's picture; which Sir GODFREY did.

backſide, LADY MASHAM 1704; and on the backſide of mine, JOHN LOCKE 1704. This, he did on Mr. MOLYNEUX's, and mine, the laſt he drew; and this is neceſſary to be done, or elſe the pictures of private perſons are loſt in two or three generations; and ſo the picture loſes of its value, it being not known whom it was made to repreſent.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 1 October 1704.

DEAR SIR,

TO compleat the ſatiſfaction I have lately had here, there has been nothing wanting but your company. The coming of his father-in-law *, joined with the ſtraitneſs of the lodging in this houſe, hindred me from having my couſin KING, and you together; and ſo cut off one part of the enjoyment, which you know is very valuable to me. I muſt leave it to your kindneſs and charity, to make up this loſs to me. How far the good company I have had here has been able to raiſe me into a forgetfulneſs of the decays of age, and the uneaſineſs of my indiſpoſition, my couſin KING is judge. But this, I believe, he will aſſure you, that my infirmities prevail ſo faſt on me, that unleſs you make haſte hither, I may loſe the ſatiſfaction of ever ſeeing again a man, that I value in the firſt rank of thoſe, that I leave behind me †.

TO THE SAME. [Directed thus:]

FOR ANTHONY COLLINS, Eſq;

To be delivered to him after my deceaſe.

Oates, 23 Auguſt 1704.

DEAR SIR,

BY my will, you will ſee that I had ſome kindneſs for ****. And I knew no better way to take care of him, than to put him, and what I deſigned for him, into your hands and management. The knowledge I have of your virtue, of all kinds, ſecures the truſt, which by your permiſſion I have placed in you; and the peculiar eſteem and love, I have obſerved in the young man for you, will diſpoſe him to be ruled and influenced by you, ſo that of that I need ſay nothing.

BUT there is one thing, which it is neceſſary for me to recommend to your eſpecial care, and memory ******

MAY you live long and happy, in the enjoyment of health, freedom, content, and all thoſe bleſſings, which providence has beſtowed on you, and your virtue intitles you to. I know you loved me living; and will preſerve my memory, now I am dead. All the uſe to be made of it is, that this life is a ſcene of vanity, that ſoon paſſes away; and affords no ſolid ſatiſfaction, but in the conſciouſneſs of doing well, and in the hopes of another life. This is what I can ſay upon experience; and what you will find to be true, when you come to make up the account. Adieu; I leave my beſt wiſhes with you.

JOHN LOCKE.

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* SIR PETER KING's father in law.

† Mr. LOCKE died on the 28th of October 1704; that is, 27 days after the writing of this letter.

A LETTER to the Reverend Mr. RICHARD KING.

Oates, 23 July 1703.

SIR,

I CANNOT but think myſelf beholden to any occaſion that procures me the honour of a letter from you. I return my acknowledgments for thoſe great expreſſions of civility and marks of friendſhip, I received in yours of the eighth inſtant; and wiſh I had the opportunity to ſhew the eſteem I have of your merit, and the ſenſe of your kindneſs to me, in any real ſervice.

THE deſire of your friend, in the incloſed letter you ſent me, is what of myſelf I am inclined to ſatisfy; and am only ſorry, that ſo copious a ſubject has loſt, in my bad memory, ſo much of what heretofore I could have ſaid concerning that great and good man, of whom he enquires *. Time, I daily find, blots out apace the little ſtock of my mind, and has diſabled me from furniſhing all, that I would willingly contribute, to the memory of that learned man. But give me leave to aſſure you, that I have not known a fitter perſon than he, to be preſerved as an example, and propoſed to the imitation of men of letters. I therefore wiſh well to your friend's deſign, tho' my mite be all I have been able to contribute to it.

I WISH you all happineſs, and am, with a very particular reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

A LETTER to ****

Oates, 23 July 1703.

SIR,

I HAVE ſo great a veneration for the memory of that excellent man, whoſe life you tell me you are writing †, that when I ſet myſelf to recollect what memoirs I can (in anſwer to your deſire) furniſh you with; I am aſhamed I have ſo little in particular to ſay, on a ſubject that afforded ſo much. For I conclude you ſo well acquainted with his learning and virtue, that I ſuppoſe it would be ſuperfluous to trouble you on thoſe heads. However, give me leave not to be wholly ſilent upon this occaſion. So extraordinary an example, in ſo degenerate an age, deſerves for the rarity, and I was going to ſay, for the incredibility of it, the atteſtation of all that knew him, and conſidered his worth.

THE chriſtian world is a witneſs of his great learning, that the works he publiſhed would not ſuffer to be concealed. Nor could his devotion and piety lie hid, and be unobſerved in a college; where his conſtant and regular aſſiſting at the cathedral ſervice, never interrupted by ſharpneſs of weather, and ſcarce reſtrained by downright want of health, ſhewed the temper and diſpoſition of his mind.

BUT his other virtues, and excellent qualities, had ſo ſtrong and cloſe a covering of modeſty and unaffected humility; that, tho' they ſhone the brighter to thoſe, who had the opportunities to be more intimately acquainted with him, and eyes to diſcern and diſtinguiſh ſolidity from ſhew, and eſteem virtue that ſought not reputation; yet they were the leſs taken notice, and talked of, by the generality of thoſe, to whom he was not wholly unknown. Not that he was

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* Dr. POCOCKE. See the following letter.

† Dr. EDWARD POCOCKE, regius profeſſor of Hebrew, in the univerſity of Oxford. He was born at Oxofrd on the 8th of November 1603, and he died on the 10th of September 1691.

was at all cloſe and reſerved; but, on the contrary, the readieſt to communicate to any one that conſulted him.

Indeed he was not forward to talk, nor ever would be the leading man in the diſcourſe, tho' it were on a ſubject that he underſtood better than any of the company; and would often content himſelf to ſit ſtill and hear others debate in matters, which he himſelf was more a maſter of. He had often the ſilence of a learner, where he had the knowledge of a maſter; and that, not with a deſign, as is often, that the ignorance any one betrayed might give him the opportunity to diſplay his own knowledge, with the more luſtre and advantage to their ſhame; or cenſure them, when they were gone. For theſe arts of triumph and oſtentation, frequently practiſed by men of ſkill and ability, were utterly unknown to him. 'Twas very ſeldom that he contradicted any one; or if it were neceſſary at any time to inform any one better, who was in a miſtake, it was in ſo ſoft and gentle a manner, that it had nothing of the air of diſpute or correction, and ſeemed to have little of oppoſition in it. I never heard him ſay any thing, that put any one that was preſent the leaſt out of countenance; nor ever cenſure, or ſo much as ſpeak diminiſhingly of any one, that was abſent.

He was a man of no irregular appetites. If he indulged any one too much, it was that of ſtudy, which his wife would often complain of, (and, I think, not without reaſon) that a due conſideration of his age and health could not make him abate.

Tho' he was a man of the greateſt temperance in himſelf, and the fartheſt from oſtentation and vanity in his way of living; yet he was of a liberal mind, and given to hoſpitality; which, conſidering the ſmallneſs of his preferments, and the numerous family of children he had to provide for, might be thought to have out-done thoſe, who made more noiſe and ſhew.

His name, which was in great eſteem beyond ſea, and that deſervedly, drew on him viſits from all foreigners of learning, who came to Oxford, to ſee that univerſity. They never failed to be highly ſatisfied with his great knowledge and civility, which was not always without expence.

Tho' at the reſtoration of king Charles, when preferment rained down upon ſome mens heads, his merits were ſo over-looked or forgotten, that he was barely reſtored to what was his before, without receiving any new preferment then, or at any time after; yet I never heard him take any the leaſt notice of it, or make the leaſt complaint in a caſe, that would have grated ſorely on ſome mens patience, and have filled their mouths with murmuring, and their lives with diſcontent. But he was always unaffectedly chearful; no marks of any thing that lay heavy at his heart, for his being neglected, ever broke from him. He was ſo far from having any diſpleaſure lie concealed there, that whenever any expreſſions of diſſatisfaction for what they thought hard uſage, broke from others in his preſence, he always diverted the diſcourſe; and if it were any body, with whom he thought he might take that liberty, he ſilenced it with viſible marks of diſlike.

Tho' he was not, as I ſaid, a forward, much leſs an aſſuming talker; yet he was the fartheſt in the world from being ſullen or moroſe. He would talk very freely, and very well, of all parts of learning, beſides that wherein he was known to excel. But this was not all; he could diſcourſe very well of other things. He was not unacquainted with the world, tho' he made no ſhew of it.

His backwardneſs to meddle in other people's matters, or to enter into debates, where names and perſons were brought upon the ſtage, and judgments and cenſures were hardly avoided; concealed his abilities, in matters of buſineſs and conduct, from moſt people. But yet I can truly ſay, that I knew not any one in that univerſity, whom I would more willingly conſult, in any affair that required conſideration, nor whoſe opinion I thought better worth the hearing than his, if he could be drawn to enter into it, and give his advice.

THO' in company he never uſed himſelf, nor willingly heard from others, any perſonal reflections on other men, tho' ſet off with a ſharpneſs that uſually tickles, and by moſt men is miſtaken for the beſt, if not the only ſeaſoning of pleaſant converſation; yet he would often bear his part in innocent mirth, and by ſome appoſite and diverting ſtory continue and heighten the good-humour.

I SHALL give you an inſtance of it in a ſtory of his, which on this occaſion comes to my mind; and I tell it you not as belonging to his life, but that it may give you ſome part of his character; which, poſſibly, the very ſerious temper of this good man may be apt to make men overſee. The ſtory was this. There was at Corpus-Chriſti college, when he was a young man there, a proper fellow, with a long grey beard, that was porter of the college. A waggiſh fellow-commoner of the houſe would be often handling and ſtroaking this grey beard, and jeſtingly tell the porter, he would, one of theſe days, fetch it off. The porter, who took his beard for the great ornament that added grace and authority to his perſon, could ſcarce hear the mention, in jeſt, of his beard being cut off, with any patience. However, he could not eſcape the mortal agony that ſuch a loſs would cauſe him. The fatal hour came; and ſee what happened. The young gentleman, as the porter was ſtanding at the college-gate with other people about him, took hold of his beard with his left hand, and with a pair of ſciſſars, which he had ready in his right, did that execution, that the porter and by-ſtanders heard the cutting of ſciſſars, and ſaw a handful of grey-hairs fall to the ground. The porter, on that ſight, in the utmoſt rage, ran immediately away to the preſident of the college; and there, with a loud and lamentable out-cry, deſired juſtice to be done on the gentleman-commoner, for the great indignity and injury he had received from him. The preſident demanding what harm the other had done him; the porter replied, an affront never to be forgiven; he had cut off his beard. The preſident, not without laughing, told him, that his barber was a bungler, and that therefore he would do him that juſtice, that he ſhould have nothing for his pains, having done his work ſo negligently; for he had left him, for aught he could ſee, after all his cutting, the largeſt and moſt reverend beard in the town. The porter, ſcarce able to believe what he ſaid, put up his hand to his chin, on which he found as full a grown beard as ever. Out of countenance for his complaint for want of a beard, he ſneaked away, and would not ſhew his face for ſome time after.

THE contrivance of the young gentleman was innocent and ingenious. He had provided an handful of white horſe-hair, which he cut, under the covert of the other's beard, and ſo let it drop; which the teſty fellow, without any farther examination, concluded to be of his own growth; and ſo, with open mouth, drew on himſelf every one's laughter; which could not be refuſed to ſuch ſad complaints, and ſo reverend a beard.

SPEAKING of the expedite way of juſtice in Turkey, he told this pleaſant ſtory; whereof he was an eye-witneſs at Aleppo. A fellow, who was carrying about bread to ſell, at the turn of a ſtreet ſpying the Cadee coming towards him, ſet down his baſket of bread, and betook himſelf to his heels. The Cadee coming on, and finding the baſket of bread in his way, bid ſome of his under-officers to weigh it; (for he always goes attended, for preſent execution of any fault he ſhall meet with) who finding it as it ſhould be, left it, and went on. The fellow watching, at the corner of the ſtreet, what would become of his bread; when he found all was ſafe, returned to his baſket. The by-ſtanders aſked him, why he ran away, his bread being weight? That was more than I knew, ſays he; for tho' it be not mine, but I ſell it for another, yet if it had been leſs than weight, and taken upon me, I ſhould have been drubbed.

MANY things of this nature, worth notice, would often drop from him in converſation; which would inform the world of ſeveral particularities, concerning that country and people, among whom he ſpent ſeveral years. You will pardon me, if on the ſudden my bad memory cannot, after ſuch a diſtance of time, recollect more of them. Neither, perhaps, had this now occured, occurred, had I not, on an occaſion that revived it in my memory ſome time ſince by telling it to others, refreſhed it in my own thoughts.

I know not whether you find amongſt the papers of his, that are, as you ſay, put into your hands, any Arabick proverbs, tranſlated by him. He has told me that he had a collection of 3000, as I remember; and that they were, for the moſt part, very good. He had, as he intimated, ſome thoughts of tranſlating them, and adding ſome notes, where they were neceſſary to clear any obſcurities; but whether he ever did any thing in it before he died, I have not heard. But to return to what I can call to mind, and recover of him:

I do not remember that, in all my converſation with him, I ever ſaw him once angry, or to be ſo far provoked as to change colour or countenance, or tone of voice. Diſpleaſing accidents and actions would ſometimes occur; there is no help for that; but nothing of that kind moved him, that I ſaw, to any paſſionate words; much leſs to chiding or clamour. His life appeared to me one conſtant calm.

How great his patience was in his long and dangerous lameneſs (wherein there were very terrible and painful operations,) you have, no doubt, learnt from others. I happened to be abſent from Oxford moſt of that time; but I have heard, and believed it, that it was ſuitable to the other parts of his life.

To conclude, I can ſay of him, what few men can ſay of any friend of theirs, nor I of any other of my acquaintance; that I do not remember I ever ſaw in him any one action that I did, or could in my own mind blame, or thought amiſs in him.

Sir, if I had been put upon this taſk ſoon after his death, I might poſſibly have ſent you a paper better furniſhed than this is, and with particularities fitter for your purpoſe, to fill up the character of ſo good and extraordinary a man, and ſo exemplary a life. The eſteem and honour I have ſtill for him would not ſuffer me to ſay nothing; tho' my decaying bad memory did ill ſecond my deſire, to obey your commands. Pray accept this, as a mark of my willingneſs, and believe that I am,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

John Locke.

A LETTER to the Reverend Mr. Richard King.

Oates, 25 Aug. 1703.

SIR,

YOURS of the 4th inſtant I received; and tho' I am conſcious I do not deſerve thoſe advantageous things, which your civility ſays of me in it, yet give me leave to aſſure you, that the offers of my ſervice to you, which you are pleaſed to take notice of, is that part, which I ſhall not fail to make good on all occaſions.

You aſk me, "what is the ſhorteſt and ſureſt way, for a young gentleman, "to attain a true knowledge of the chriſtian religion, in the full and juſt extent of it?" For ſo I underſtand your queſtion; if I have miſtaken in it, you muſt ſet me right. And to this I have a ſhort and plain anſwer: "Let him "ſtudy the holy ſcripture, eſpecially the new Teſtament." Therein are contained the words of eternal life. It has God for its author; ſalvation for its end; and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter. So that it is a wonder to me, how any one profeſſing chriſtianity, that would ſeriouſly ſet himſelf to know his religion, ſhould be in doubt where to employ his ſearch, and lay out his pains for his information; when he knows a book, where it is all contained, pure and entire; and whither, at laſt, every one muſt have recourſe, to verify that of it, which he finds any where elſe.

YOUR other queſtion, which I think I may call two or three, will require a larger anſwer.

As to Morality, which, I take it, is the firſt in thoſe things you enquire after; that is the beſt to be found in the book that I have already commended to you. But becauſe you may perhaps think, that, the better to obſerve thoſe rules, a little warning may not be inconvenient, and ſome method of ranging them be uſeful for the memory; I recommend to you the "whole duty of "man," as a methodical ſyſtem, and if you deſire a larger view of the parts of morality, I know not where you will find them ſo well and diſtinctly explained, and ſo ſtrongly inforced, as in the practical divines of the church of England. The ſermons of Dr. BARROW, Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, and Dr. WHICHCOTE, are maſter-pieces in this kind; not to name abundance of others, who excel on that ſubject. If you have a mind to ſee how far human reaſon advanced in the diſcovery of morality, you will have a good ſpecimen of it in "TULLY's offices;" unleſs you have a mind to look farther back into the ſource, from whence he drew his rules; and then you muſt conſult ARISTOTLE, and the other Greek philoſophers.

THO' Prudence be reckoned among the cardinal virtues, yet I do not remember any profeſſed treatiſe of morality, where it is treated in its full extent, and with that accuracy that it ought. For which poſſibly this may be a reaſon, that every imprudent action does not make a man culpable "in foro conſcientiæ." The buſineſs of morality, I look upon to be the avoiding of crimes; of prudence, inconveniencies, the foundation whereof lies in knowing men and manners. Hiſtory teaches this beſt, next to experience; which is the only effectual way to get a knowledge of the world. As to the rules of prudence, in the conduct of common life, tho' there be ſeveral that have employed their pens therein; yet thoſe writers have their eyes ſo fixed on convenience, that they ſometimes loſe the ſight of virtue; and do not take care to keep themſelves always clear from the borders of diſhoneſty, while they are tracing out what they take to be, ſometimes, the ſecureſt way to ſucceſs; moſt of thoſe that I have ſeen on this ſubject having, as it ſeemed to me, ſomething of this defect. So that I know none that I can confidently recommend to your young gentleman, but the ſon of SIRACH.

To "compleat a man in the practice of human offices," (for to that tend your enquiries), there is one thing more required; which, tho' it be ordinarily conſidered, as diſtinct both from virtue and prudence, yet I think it ſo near allied to them, that he will ſcarce keep himſelf from ſlips in both, who is without it. That, which I mean, is good breeding. The ſchool, for a young gentleman to learn it in, is the converſation of thoſe, who are well-bred.

As to the laſt part of your enquiry, which is after "books that will give "an inſight into the conſtitution of the government, and real intereſt of his "country;" to proceed orderly in this, I think the foundation ſhould be laid, in inquiring into the ground and nature of civil ſociety; and how it is formed into different models of government; and what are the ſeveral ſpecies of it. ARISTOTLE is allowed a maſter in this ſcience, and few enter upon the conſideration of government, without reading his politicks. Hereunto ſhould be added, true notions of laws in general; and property, the ſubject-matter about which laws are made. He, that would acquaint himſelf with the former of theſe, ſhould thorowly ſtudy the judicious HOOKER's firſt book of "eccleſiaſti-"cal polity." And property, I have no where found more clearly explained, than in a book intitled, "two treatiſes of government." But not to load your young gentleman with too many books on this ſubject, which require more meditation than reading; give me leave to recommend to him, PUFFENDORF's little treatiſe, "de officio hominis & civis."

To get an inſight into the particular conſtitution of the government of his own country, will require a little more reading; unleſs he will content himſelf with ſuch a ſuperficial knowledge of it as is contained in CHAMBERLAYNE's "ſtate of England," or SMITH "de republica Anglicana." Your enquiry manifeſtly looks farther than that; and to attain ſuch a knowledge of

it,

it, as becomes a gentleman of England to have, to the purpoſes that you mention, I think he ſhould read our antient lawyers; ſuch as Bracton, "Fleta," the mirror of juſtice," &c. which our couſin King * can better direct you to, than I; joining with them, the "hiſtory of England under the "Normans," and ſo continuing it down quite to our times; reading it always in thoſe authors, who lived neareſt thoſe times; their names you will find, and characters often in Mr. Tyrrel's "hiſtory of England." To which, if there be added, a ſerious conſideration of the laws made in each reign, and how far any of them influenced the conſtitution; all theſe together will give him a full inſight into what you deſire.

As to the intereſt of any country, that, 'tis manifeſt, lies in its proſperity and ſecurity. Plenty of well-imployed people, and riches within; and good alliances abroad, make its ſtrength. But the ways of attaining theſe comprehend all the arts of peace and war; the management of trade; the imployment of the poor; and all thoſe other things, that belong to the adminiſtration of the publick; which are ſo many, ſo various, and ſo changeable, according to the mutable ſtate of men, and things, in this world; that 'tis not ſtrange, if a very ſmall part of this conſiſts in book-learning. He, that would know it, muſt have his eyes open upon the preſent ſtate of affairs; and from thence take his meaſures of what is good, or prejudicial, to the intereſt of his country.

You ſee how ready I am to obey your commands, tho' in matters wherein I am ſenſible of my own ignorance. I am ſo little acquainted with books, eſpecially on theſe ſubjects relating to politicks, that you muſt forgive, if, perhaps, I have not named to you the beſt in every kind. And you muſt take it as a mark of my readineſs to ſerve you, that I have ventured ſo far out of what lay in my way of reading, in the days that I had leiſure to converſe with books. The knowledge of the bible, and the buſineſs of his calling, is enough for an ordinary man; a gentleman ought to go farther.

Those of this place return their ſervice and thanks, for the honour of your remembrance. I am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Dear SIR,

I AM ſorry to find, that the queſtion, which was the moſt material, and my mind was moſt upon, was anſwered ſo little to your ſatisfaction, that you are fain to aſk it again. Since therefore you aſk me a ſecond time, "what "is the beſt method to ſtudy religion?" I muſt aſk you, "what religion you "mean?" For if it be, as I underſtood you before, the "chriſtian religion in its "full extent and purity;" I can make you no other anſwer but what I did, viz. that "the only way to attain a certain knowledge of that, is the ſtudy of "the holy ſcripture." And my reaſon is, becauſe the chriſtian religion is a revelation from God almighty, which is contained in the bible; and ſo, all the knowledge we can have of it muſt be derived from thence. But if you aſk, "which is the beſt way to get the knowledge of the Romiſh, Lutheran, or "Reformed religion, of this or that particular church, &c." each whereof entitles itſelf to be the true chriſtian religion, with ſome kind of excluſion or diminution to the reſt; that will not be hard to tell you. But then it is plain, that the books, that beſt teach you any one of theſe, do moſt remove you from all the reſt; and in this way of ſtudying, you pitch upon one as the right, before you know it to be ſo; whereas that choice ſhould be the reſult of your ſtudy of the chriſtian religion, in the ſacred ſcriptures. And the method I have propoſed would, I preſume, bring you the ſureſt way to that church, which, I imagine, you already think moſt conformable to the word of God.

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* Sir Peter King.

I FIND, the letter you laſt honoured me with contains a new queſtion, and that a very material one, viz. "What is the beſt way of interpreting the ſacred "ſcripture?" taking Interpreting to mean, Underſtanding; I think the beſt way for underſtanding the ſcripture, or the New Teſtament (for of that the queſtion will here be in the firſt place) is to read it aſſiduouſly and diligently; and, if it can be, in the original. I do not mean, to read every day ſome certain number of chapters, as is uſual; but to read it ſo, as to ſtudy and conſider, and not leave till you are ſatisfied that you have got the true meaning.

To this purpoſe, it will be neceſſary to take the aſſiſtance of interpreters and commentators; ſuch as are thoſe called the Criticks, and POOL's "ſynopſis cri- "ticorum;" Dr. HAMMOND on the New Teſtament, and Dr. WHITBY, &c.

I SHOULD not think it convenient to multiply books of this kind, were there any one that I could direct you to, that was infallible. But you will not think it ſtrange, if I tell you, that after all you muſt make uſe of your own judgment; when you conſider, that it is, and always will be, impoſſible to find an expoſitor, whom you can blind-fold rely upon, and cannot be miſtaken in following. Such a reſignation as that is due to the holy ſcriptures alone; which were dictated by the infallible Spirit of God.

SUCH writings alſo as Mr. MEDE's and Dr. LIGHTFOOT's are very much conducing to lead us into a true ſenſe of the ſacred ſcriptures.

AS to the method of reading them, order requires that the four Evangeliſts ſhould, in the firſt place, be well ſtudied, and thorowly underſtood. They all treating of the ſame ſubject do give great light to one another; and, I think, may, with the greateſt advantage, be read in harmony. To this purpoſe, Monſieur LE CLERC's, or Mr. WHISTON's "harmony of the four Evan- "geliſts," will be of uſe, and ſave a great deal of time and trouble, in turning the bible. They are now both in Engliſh, and LE CLERC's has a paraphraſe. But if you would read the Evangeliſts in the original, Mr. LE CLERC's edition of his "harmony" in Greek and Latin will be the beſt.

IF you find that, by this method, you advance in the knowledge of the Goſpel; when you have laid a foundation there to your ſatisfaction, it will not be hard to add what may help you forwards, in the ſtudy of other parts of the New Teſtament.

BUT I have troubled you too much already, for which I beg your pardon; and am, &c.

TO THE SAME.

Oates, 20 January 1703-4.

SIR,

THE ſmall acknowledgments I was able to make, for the honour of your viſit, and enjoyment of your company here, left the debt on my ſide, and deſerve not the notice you are pleaſed to take of them.

IN your obliging letter of the 13th, you do me favours, and you thank me too. If you intend by this a perfect acquiſition of ſo inconſiderable a thing as I am, your worth and virtue diſpoſe me to be as much at your ſervice as you pleaſe; I wiſh I found any thing in myſelf that might promiſe you any uſefulneſs from me. That defect I ſhall endeavour to make up the beſt I can, with a perfect eſteem, and a readineſs of will; which muſt ſupply the want of the abilities of doing.

I THANK you for the printed paper you ſent me *, and am very glad to ſee ſuch a ſpirit raiſed, for the ſupport and enlargement of religion. Proteſtants, I think, are as much concerned now as ever, to be vigorous in their joint endeavours for the maintenance of the reformation. I wiſh all, that call themſelves ſo, may be prevailed with by thoſe, whom your paper intimates, to imitate the zeal, and purſue the principles of thoſe great and pious men, who were inſtrumental

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* An account of the ſociety for promoting chriſtian knowledge.

mental to bring us out of Roman darkneſs and bondage. I heartily pray for good ſucceſs on all ſuch endeavours.

If I may gueſs at the intention of the ſociety, by the only man you let me know of it, I may be confident that the glory of God, and the propagation of true religion is the only aim of it. May God eminently proſper all endeavours that way, and increaſe the number of thoſe, who ſeriouſly lay it to heart.

SIR FRANCIS*, my lady, and the reſt of this family, return you their humble ſervice. I am, &c.

RULES of a SOCIETY,

Which meet once a week, for their improvement in uſeful knowledge, and for the promoting of truth and chriſtian charity.

I.

THAT it begin at ſix in the evening, and end at eight; unleſs a majority of two-thirds preſent are inclined to continue it longer.

II.

THAT no perſon be admitted into this ſociety, without the ſuffrage of two-thirds of the parties preſent, after the perſon, deſiring ſuch admiſſion, hath ſubſcribed to the rules contained in this paper, and anſwered in the affirmative to the following queſtions:

1. " WHETHER he loves all men, of what profeſſion or religion ſoever?"
2. " WHETHER he thinks no perſon ought to be harmed in his body, name,
" or goods, for mere ſpeculative opinions, or his external way of worſhip?"
3. " WHETHER he loves and ſeeks truth for truth's ſake; and will endeavour
" impartially to find and receive it himſelf, and to communicate it to others?"

III.

THAT no perſon be admitted occaſionally, without a good teſtimony from ſome of the ſociety that knows him, and he anſwering in the affirmative to the above-mentioned queſtions.

IV.

THAT every member in his courſe, if he pleaſe, be moderator; (and the courſe here meant, is that of their ſirnames, according to the alphabet); whoſe care muſt be to keep good order, to propoſe the queſtion to be debated, recite what may have been ſaid to it already, briefly deliver the ſenſe of the queſtion, and keep the parties cloſe to it; or, if he pleaſe, he may name one to be moderator for him. The queſtion for the enſuing conference to be always agreed, before the company departs.

V.

THAT no perſon or opinion be unhandſomely reflected on; but every member behave himſelf with all the temper, judgment, modeſty, and diſcretion he is maſter of.

VI.

THAT every member place himſelf to the left hand of the moderator, in order, as he happens to come in; and in his turn ſpeak as plainly, diſtinctly, and conciſely as he can to the queſtion propoſed, directing his diſcourſe to the moderator.

VII.

THAT no more than one perſon ſpeak at once; and none object, till it come to his turn to ſpeak.

VIII.

THAT the queſtion having gone round; if the time will permit, and the company pleaſes, it may be diſcourſed again in the ſame order; and no weighty queſtion to be quitted, till a majority of two-thirds be ſatisfied, and are willing to proceed to a new one. That when a controverſy is not thought

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* Sir FRANCIS MASHAM.

by two-thirds of the company, likely to be ended in a convenient time; then thoſe two-thirds may diſmiſs it, and, if they pleaſe, another queſtion may be propoſed. That two-thirds of the company may adjourn the ordinary ſubject in queſtion, for good and ſufficient reaſons.

IX.

THAT no queſtion be propoſed, that is contrary to religion, civil government, or good manners; unleſs it be agreed to debate ſuch queſtion, merely and only the better to confute it.

WE whoſe names are here under-written, propoſing to ourſelves an improvement in uſeful knowledge, and the promoting of truth and chriſtian charity, by our becoming of this ſociety, do hereby declare our approbation of, and conſent to the rules before written.

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